This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

LIBRARY
OF THE
University of California.

No. Travel Loan 933
Division
Range
Shelf
Received July 1870.

TRAVELS

IN

VARIOUS COUNTRIES

OF

EUROPE, ASIA, AND AFRICA.

BY EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE, L. L. D.

PART THE FIRST.

RUSSIA, TARTARY, AND TURKEY.

SECTION 1.

SECOND AMERICAN EDITION.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY FAY, & CO. 157, CHATHAM ST.

1813.

F
975
C6
1813
v.1

PREFACE.

UNDER circumstances of peculiar anxiety, the author presents the first part of his travels to the publick. A sense of unearned praise, already bestowed by too eager anticipation, weighs heavy on his mind; and some degree of apprehension attaches to the consciousness of having obeyed a strong impulse of duty in the unfavourable representation made of the state of society in Russia. The moral picture afforded of its inhabitants may seem distorted by spleen, and traced under other impressions than those of general charity and Christian benevolence: on which account the reader is doubly entreated to pardon defects, which experience, chastened by criticism, may subsequently amend; and to suspend the judgment, which more general acquaintance with the author may ultimately mitigate. The present publication is not the only one on which he will have to form an opinion. It is merely an introduction to his future notice. The plan under contemplation is to complete, in THREE separate PARTS, a series of travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa; so that each portion, consisting of one or more volumes, may constitute a survey of some particular region. Thus, for example, the work now published, relates to travels in *Russia*, *Tartary*, and *Turkey*; a second may include the observations collected in *Greece*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*; and, finally, a third; those which presented themselves in *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Sweden*, *Lapland*, and *Finland*. But, in order to accomplish so extensive an undertaking, some indulgence is required to the manner of its execution; some credit for better disposition towards his fellow-creatures, than the author's severe pennance in Russia may seem to have excited. It is not so generally known as it may be, that the passage of a small rivulet, which separates the two countries of Sweden and Russia, the mere crossing of a bridge conducts the traveller from all that adorns and dignifies the human mind, to whatsoever, most abject, has been found to degrade it. If the late empress and autocrat of all the Russias, Catherine the Second, could find a Volney, who would prostitute his venal pen to varnish the deformities of her reign and of her empire; if Potemkin did not want an apologist, and an advocate, even among the writers of this country; Great Britain will forgive the frankness of one among her sons, who has ventured, although harshly, to speak the truth. It is a language not wholly obscured in the more cautious descriptions of former writers. Tubervile, of England, Augustine, of Germany, Olearius, of Denmark, and, more recently, the Abbe de la Chappe, of France, together with the authors of many anonymous productions, represent the real character of the people, in colours, which neither the *antidote* of Alexis Mussin Pushkin, the drivelings of Voltaire nor all the hired deceptions of French philosophers and *savans*, have been able to wipe away.

A few words, by way of acknowledgment to those who have contributed to the accomplishment of the present undertaking, it is hoped will not be deemed superfluous. At the same time it is not necessary to repeat expressions which occur in the following pages. With the exception, therefore, of lord Whitworth, whose respectable name the author here begs leave to introduce, no repetition will be offered. To his kindness, while ambassadour at Petersburgh, the very existence of the present volume may be ascribed; and his character ought to stand recorded, in having afforded, as an English minister, the very rare example of liberal patronage to his travelling countrymen, during the whole of his embassy.

In the course of the subsequent narrative, the author has generally used a plural expression, even with reference to his own personal observations. This mode of writing was adopted, not solely with a view to devest his style of egotism, but in allusion to his friend, the cause and companion of his travels, John Marten Cripps, M. A. of Jesus College, Cambridge. To his unceasing ardour, in prosecuting every enterprise, was added a mildness and suavity of manners, which endeared him to the inhabitants of whatever country he visited. The constancy and firmness he preserved through all the trials and privations of a long and arduous journey, as well as the support he rendered to the author in hours of painful and dangerous sickness, demand the warmest expressions of gratitude. The plants collected during the route, were the result of their mutual labour; but the whole of the meteorological statement in the appendix,* together with the account given of relays and distances,† are due to his patient observation and industry.

To the Rev. Reginald Heber, of Brazen-Nose College, Oxford, the author is indebted for the valuable manuscript journal, which afforded the extracts given in the notes. In addition to Mr. Heber's habitual accuracy may be mentioned the statistical information, which stamps a peculiar value on his observations. This has enriched the volume by communications the author himself was incompetent to supply.

To Aylmer Bourke Lambert, esq. Fellow of the Royal Antiquarian, and Linnean Societies, author of several botanical writings, and, among others, of a splendid work on the Genus *Pinus*, as well as possessor of the finest Herbarium in Europe, for his kindness in arranging the plants collected in the Crimea, and in preparing a list of them for the appendix.‡

Notwithstanding the care bestowed on the accurracy of the text, it is highly probable that some errours have escaped the author's notice. Should this prove to be the case, it is hoped the publick will overlook defects in the style of a mere writer of travels, from which the more responsible pages of an Addison, a Steele, and a Gibbon, have not been found exempt. In the progress of transcribing a journal written in a foreign land, remote from scenes of literature, more attention was often given to the fidelity of the extract, than to the elegance, or even purity of the composition. And if the following sentiments of the celebrated Shaftsbury§ be correct, the reader will not wish to be detained from a perusal of the volume by any such considerations.

* *See No. VII. of the Appendix.*

† *Ibid. No. VI.*

‡ *See appendix, No. V. Mr. Lambert is the present possessor of the celebrated Herbarium of Pallas, purchased by Mr. Cripps, during his residence with the professor, and brought to England in the Braakel, by captain George Clarke, of the royal navy, A. D.* 1805.

§ *Advice to an Author.*

"So enchanted we are with the travelling memoirs of any casual adventurer, that, be his character or genius what it will, we have no sooner turned over a page or two, than we begin to interest ourselves highly in his affairs. No sooner has he taken shipping at the mouth of the Thames or sent his baggage before him to Gravesend or Buoy, in the Nore, than straight our attention is earnestly taken up. If, in order to his more distant travels, he takes some part of Europe in his way, we can with patience hear of inns and ordinaries, passage-boats and ferries, foul and fair weather, with all the particulars of the author's diet, habit of body, his personal dangers and mischances, on land and sea. And thus, full of desire and hope, we accompany him, till he enters on his great scene of action, and begins by the description of some *enormous fish or beast.*"

*** The unsettled state of English orthography, as far as it affects the introduction of Russian names, produces considerable embarrassment to the writer who wishes to follow a fixed rule. Upon this subject it not only happens that no two authors agree, but the same author is inconsistent. Jonas Hanway, whose writings are more accurate than those of any other English traveller who has visited Russia, may be considered as affording, perhaps, the best model in this respect, but he is not consistent.*

In the Russian alphabet there is no letter answering to our W; yet we write *Moscow* and *Woronetz*. Where custom has long sanctioned an abuse of this kind, the established mode seems preferable to any deviation which may wear the appearance of pedantry. The author has, in this respect, been guided by the authority and example of Gibbon; who affirms,† that "some words, notoriously corrupt, are fixed, and, as it were, naturalized in the vulgar tongue. The prophet *Mohammed* can no longer be stripped of the famous, though improper, appellation of *Mahomet*; the well known cities of *Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo*, would almost be lost in the strange descriptions of *Haleb, Damashk*, and *Al Cahira*." But, it may be fairly asked, where is the line to be drawn? What are the Russian names, which we are to consider as *fixed and naturalized in the vulgar tongue?* Are we to write *Woronetz*, or *Voronèje*; *Wolga* or *Volga*; *Koiw*, or *Kiof*; *Azow* or *Azof*? Lord Whitworth wrote *Chioff* and *Asoph*, although both these names have the same original termination.‡ It is the B [*Vêdy*] redoubled in compound words, which occasions the principal difficulty, and which has been confounded with our W. Thus, as it is mentioned by Storch,§ from Levesque, the Russian word *Vvèdènie*, signifying *introduction*, consists of the preposition *vo* or *v* [*into*] and *vèdènie* [to *conduct.*] The proper initial letter in English, therefore, for the word, would be *V*, whose power it alone possesses; and not W, which conveys a false idea of pronunciation.¶ When this com-

* *The name of the same place is written* Kieva *in vol. I. p.* 9. Khieva *in p.* 15. *and* Khiva *in a note.* Nagai Tartars, *in p.* 8· *vol. I. are written* Nagay Tartars *in p.* 11. *Throughout his work the terminating vowel is sometimes* i, *and as often* y; *as* Valdai, Poderosnoi *and* Yakutsky, Nasorowsky.

† *P. S. to Pref. ch.* 39. *Hist. of Decl. and Fall, &c.*

‡ *Account of Russia, by Charles Lord Whitworth. Strawb. Hill,* 1758.

§ *Tableau de l'Empire de Russie, tom. I. p.* 19.

¶ *The reader will find this example mentioned in a note to p.* 140; *but it might be improper to omit the insertion of it in a part of the volume expressly appropriated to verbal criticism.*

pound occurs as the termination of a word, it is best expressed by our *f*; as *Orlof*, for *Orlow*; which exactly answers the mode of pronunciation in Russia. Some writers use the letter doubled, by adding *ff*: this is however, superfluous. The plan pursued by the author, but to which, perhaps, he has not regularly adhered, was to substitute a *V* for the Russian VV, whenever it occurs at the beginning or in the middle of a word; and an *f*, whenever it is found as a termination.

There is yet another letter of the Russian alphabet which from its frequent recurrence as an initial, requires a perfect reconciliation to some settled law of English orthography; viz. the *Tchèrve*: this has the power of our *ch*, in *cheese*, and *child*, and occurs in the name of the Cossacks of the Black Sea, *Tchernomorski*. The author had written this word *Tshernomorski*, in the beginning of the first chapter of this volume, when he became acquainted with Karjavie's Remarks on the Russian alphabet,* which enabled him to adopt a more accurate mode of writing.

With regard to words terminating in *ai* and *oi*, as *Valdai*, *Paulovskoi*, perhaps it would be well to substitute *ay* and *oy*, as *Valday*, *Paulovskoy*, or *y* only, as *Valdy*, *Paulovsko*; which last offers a close imitation of the vulgar mode of pronunciation in general: but the variety caused by different dialect in different parts of the empire, will, after every attention is paid to a settled rule of writing, occasion frequent perplexity and embarrassment. In the orthography of the names of places immediately south of Moscow, frequent attention was paid to the map of Reymann, published by Schmit, at Berlin, in 1802. But even in that map, the territory of the Don Cossacks, Kuban Tartary, and the Crimea, appear only as a forlorn blank. Many years may expire before Russia, like Sweden, will possess a HERMELIN, to illustrate the geography of the remote provinces of her empire; especially as it is a maxim in her policy to maintain the ignorance which prevails in Europe concerning those parts of her dominions. On this account, the indecision, which must appear in the perusal of this volume, to characterize the description of the country between Biroslaf and Odessa, admits of explanation. The geography of all that district is little known. The courses of the Dniester, the Bog, and the Dniper, as well as the latitude and soundings of the coast, near the embouchures have never been adequately surveyed. The only tolerable charts are preserved by the Russain government; but sedulously secreted from the eyes of Europe. It has, however, fallen to the author's lot to interfere in some degree, with this part of its political system, by depositing within a British admiralty certain documents, which were a subsequent acquisition made during his residence in Odessa. These he conveyed from that country at the hazard of his life. They are too voluminous for insertion in the work, but may serve to facilitate the navigation of the Russian coasts of the Black sea, if ever the welfare of Great Britain should demand the presence of her fleets in that part of the world. In making this addition to our stock of knowledge, for the use of our navy, no ties of confidence, or honour, were broken with a people, who have violated every engagement with this country. Those documents were intrusted to the author by persons fully authorized to concede the information, and their injunctions have been sacredly obeyed.

* *Remarques sur la Langue Russienne, par Pheodore Karjavine Petersb.* 1791.

TABLES

OF

RUSSIAN MEASURE, WEIGHT, AND MONEY.

MEASURE.

N. B. The *Archine*, or Russian yard, equals 28 English inches.
The *Sajen*, or Russian fathom, equals 7 English feet.
Three *Versts* equal 2 English miles.
The Russian *foot* is exactly that of England.
The *Vershock* equals 1 English inch and 3-4.
104 Versts equal 1 Degree.
500 Sajens, equal 1 Verst.
3 Archines, equal 1 Sajen.
16 Vershocks, equal 1 Archine.

WEIGHT.

The smallest weight of Russia is the *Solotnick*, which equals six grains
3 Solotnicks, equal 1 Lot.
32 Lots, equal 1 Pound.
40 Pounds, equal 1 Poud.

MONEY.

N. B. The first silver money of Russia was coined at Novogorod, in 1420, in small pieces, which were called Copeeks. The present value of the copeek may be estimated as equal to an English halfpenny. Almost all calculations of the country are made according to the number of Copeeks.

In 1654, roubles were introduced at Moscow in the form of bars, with deep notches in them [*roubi*] which enabled the possessor to detach as much of the bar as his payment might require.* Hence the origin of the word *rouble*. Almost all the copper money of Russia is coined in Siberia, and principally at Catherinebourg, near the Ural mines. Sixteen roubles of pure copper weigh a pond.

At present the specie of the country has nearly disappeared, and paper is its only representative. The copeek no longer exists as current coin.

* *Georgi. Descript de St. Petere. p.* 167. *Edit. Franc. Petere.* 1793.

The following statement of the names and value of Russian money is chiefly extracted from Georgia.*

SILVER MONEY.

1 Rouble	equals	100	Copeeks.
1 Polten, or 1-2 rouble . . .	=	50	Do.
1 Polupolten, or 1-4 rouble	=	25	Do.
1 Dvagriven	=	20	Do.
1 Paetalten	=	15	Do.
1 Griven	=	10	Do.
1 Paetach	=	5	Do.

COPPER MONEY.

1 Paetach	equals	5	Copeeks.
1 Altine	=	3	Do.
1 Grosh	=	2	Do.
1 Copper Copeek	=	1	Do.

N. B. This last coin represents in front, the figure of St. George on horseback, piercing a dragon with his spear. "From this spear," says Georgi,† called *Copæa* in Russian, the word *Copeek* has been derived.

1 Denga, or Denushka . . . . . = 1-2 a Copeek,

1 Polushka, the smallest coin of Russia = 1-4 Do.

N. B. The *Polushka* takes its name from a hare skin, Ushka (which before the use of money was one of the lowest articles of exchange) *Pol* signifying *half;* and Polushka *half a hare's skin.*

The gold coinage of Russia is scarcely ever seen. It consists principally of ducats, the first of which were struck by Peter the Great, worth two roubles and twenty five copeeks each.

When the author was in Petersburgh, a coinage was going on at the mint, day and night, for the private use of the emperour Paul, of seventy three poud of gold; the whole of which was made into ducats. The mint was worked by steam engines.

* *Idid. p.* 187. *sect.* 8, *chap.* 3.

† *Georgi. Descript. de St. Petere. p.* 191. *Sect.* 8. *Chap,* 3.

CHAPTER I.

PETERSBURGH.

Preliminary Observations—State of Publick Affairs—Strange Conduct of the Emperour—Insolence of the Police—Extraordinary Phenomenon.

IT has probably happened to others, as to myself, to cast an eye of wishful curiosity towards the eastern boundaries of Europe. Above two thousand years ago they were the same they now are. The Tanaïs, watering the plains of Sarmatia, separated the Roxolani and the Jazyges from the Hamaxobii and the Alani. In modern geography, the same river, altered in its appellation, divides the tribe of Don Cossacks from that of the Tshernomorski, whose territory extends from the Sea of Azof to the Kuban. The Greeks, by their commerce in the Euxine, derived a slight knowledge of the people who lived on the Palus Mæotis. The wars of Russia and Turkey directed our attention sometimes to the inhabitants of the same country; but the knowledge of them, both among the ancients and moderns, has scarcely exceeded the names of their tribes and their character in war. With their domestick habits, the productions of their country, the nature of its scenery, the remains of antiquity they possess, we are very little acquainted. By referring to ancient history, we find that the same want of information prevailed formerly as at present. This may be accounted for from the wandering disposition of the people, who were seldom settled for any length of time upon the same spot: and with regard to their successors, since the migration of the Poles to the marshes of the Don, and the expulsion of the Kuban Tartars by the Cossacks of the Black Sea, their country has been submitted to very little examination. It was among these people that the political differences of England and Russia drove me a willing exile from the cities of Petersburgh and Moscow, in the last year of the eighteenth century. Necessity and

inclination were coupled together; and I had the double satisfaction of escaping from the persecution of the enemies of my country, and of exploring regions which, in the warmest sallies of hope, I had never thought it would be my destiny to visit.

In the course of this journey, through extensive plains which have been improperly called deserts, and among a secluded people who, with as little reason, have been deemed savages, I had certainly neither the luxuries and dissipation of polished cities, nor the opportunities of indolence, to interrupt my attention to my journal. If, therefore, it fails to interest the publick, I have no excuse to offer. I present it to them as similar as possible to the state in which notes taken on the spot were made; containing whatever my feeble abilities were qualified to procure for their information and amusement; and adhering, as far as I am conscious, in every representation, strictly to the truth.

After suffering a number of indignities, in common with others of my countrymen, during our residence in Petersburgh, about the middle of March, 1800, matters grew to such extremities, that our excellent ambassadour, sir Charles [now Lord] Whitworth, found it nesessary to advise us to go to Moscow. A passport had been denied to his courier to proceed with despatches to England. In answer to the demand made by our minister for an explanation, it was stated to be *the emperour's pleasure.* In consequence of which, sir Charles enclosed the note containing his demand, and the emperour's answer, in a letter to the English government, which he committed to the postoffice with very great doubts of its safety.

In the mean time, every day brought with it some new example of the sovereign's absurdities and tyranny, which seemed to originate in absolute insanity. The sledge of count Razumoffski was, by the emperour's order, broken into small pieces, while he stood by and directed the work. The horses had been found with it in the streets, without their driver. It happened to be of a blue colour; and the count's servants wore red liveries; upon which a *ukase* was immediately published, prohibiting, throughout the empire of all the Russias, the use of blue colour in ornamenting sledges, and red liveries. In consequence of this wise decree, our ambassadour, and many others, were compelled to alter their equipage.

One evening, being at his theatre in the Hemitage, a French piece was performed, in which the story of the English powder plot was introduced. The emperour was observed to listen to it with more than usual attention; and as soon as it was concluded, he ordered all the vaults beneath the palace to be searched.

Coming down the street called the Perspective, he perceived a nobleman who was taking his walk, and had stopped to look at some workmen who were planting trees by the emperour's order. "What are you doing?" said he. "Merely seeing the men work," replied the nobleman. "Oh, is that your employment? Take off his pelisse, and give him a spade! There, now, work yourself!"

When enraged, he lost all command of himself, which sometimes gave rise to very ludicrous scenes. The courtiers knew very well when the storm was coming on, by a trick, which he had in those moments, of blowing from his under lip against the end of his nose. In one of his furious passions, flourishing his cane about, he struck by accident the branch of a large glass lustre, and broke it. As soon as he perceived what had happened, he attacked the lustre in good earnest, and did not give up his work until he had entirely demolished it.

In the rare intervals of better temper, his good humour was betrayed by an uncouth way of swinging his legs and feet about in walking. Upon those occasions he was sure to talk with indecency and folly.

But the instances were few in which the gloom, spread over a great metropolis, by the madness and malevolence of a suspicious tyrant, was enlivened even by his ribaldry. The accounts of the Spanish inquisition do not afford more painful sensations than were excited in viewing the state of Russia at this time. Hardly a day passed without unjust punishment. It seemed as if half the nobles in the empire were to be sent exiles to Siberia. Those who were able to leave Petersburgh went to Moscow. It was in vain they applied for permission to leave the country; the very request might incur banishment to the mines. If any family received visiters in an evening; if four people were seen walking together; if any one spoke too loud, or whistled, or sang, or looked too inquisitive, and examined any publick building with too much attention, they were in imminent danger. If they stood still in the streets, or frequented any particular walk more than another, or walked too fast

or too slow, they were liable to be reprimanded and insulted by the police officers. Mungo Park was hardly exposed to greater severity of exaction and of villany among the Moors in Africa, than Englishmen experienced at that time in Russia, and particularly in Petersburgh. They were compelled to wear a dress regulated by the police; and as every officer had a different notion of the mode of observing these regulations, they were constantly liable to be interrupted in the streets and publick places, and treated with impertinence. The dress consisted of a cocked hat, or, for want of one, a round hat pinned up with three corners; a long cue; a single breasted coat and waistcoat; knee buckles instead of strings; and buckles in the shoes. Orders were given to arrest any person seen in pantaloons. A servant was taken out of his sledge, and caned in the streets, for having too thick a neckcloth; and if it had been too thin, he would have met a similar punishment. After every precaution, the dress, when put on, never satisfied; either the hat was not straight on the head, the hair too short, or the coat was not cut square enough. A lady at court wore her hair rather lower in the neck than was consistent with the decree, and she was ordered into close confinement, to be fed on bread and water. A gentleman's hair fell a little over his forehead, while dancing at a ball; a police officer attacked him with rudeness and with abuse; and told him, if he did not instantly cut his hair he would find a soldier who could shave his head.*

When the ukase first appeared concerning the form of the hat, the son of an English merchant, with a view to baffle the police, appeared in the streets of Petersburgh, having on his head an English hunting cap, at sight of which the police officers were puzzled. "It was not a cocked hat," they said, "neither was it a round hat." In this embarresment they reported the affair to the emperour. A ukase was accordingly promulgated, and levelled at the hunting cap; but not knowing how to describe the anomaly, the emperour ordained, that "*no person should appear in publick with the thing on his head worn by the merchant's son.*"

An order against wearing boots with coloured tops was most rigorously enforced. The police officers stopped a gentleman driving through the streets in a pair of English

* A mode in which criminals are punished in Russia.

boots. The gentleman expostulated, saying that he had no others with him, and certainly would not cut off the tops of his boots; upon which the officers, each seizing a leg, as he sat in his droski, fell to work, and drew off his boots, leaving him to go barefooted home.

If Englishmen ventured to notice any of these enormities in their letters, which were all opened and read by the police, or expressed themselves with energy in praise of their own country, or used a single sentiment or expression offensive or incomprehensible to the police officers or their spies, they were liable to be torn in an instant, without any previous notice, from their families and friends, thrown into a sledge, and hurried off to the frontier, or to Siberia. Many persons were said to have been privately murdered, and more were banished. Never was there a system of administration more offensive in the eyes of God or man. A veteran officer, who had served fifty years in the Russian army, and attained the rank of colonel, was broken without the smallest reason. Above a hundred officers met with their discharge, all of whom were ruined; and many others were condemned to suffer imprisonment or severer punishment. The cause of all this was said to be the emperour's ill humour; and when the cause of that ill humour became known, it appeared that his mistress, who detested him, had solicited permission to marry an officer, to whom she was betrothed. To such excessive cruelty did his rage carry him, against the author of an epigram, in which his reign had been contrasted with his mother's, that he ordered his tongue to be cut out; and sent him to one of those remote islands, in the Aleoutan tract on the northwest coast of America, which are inhabited by savages.*

Viewing the career of such men, who, like a whirlwind, work their progress through the ages in which they live, by a track of desolation, can we wonder at the stories we read of regicides? "There is something," says Mr. Park, "in the frown of a tyrant, which rouses the most inward emo-

* The following is the sense of that memorable epigram, according to different translations in French and in English. It originated in the emperour Paul's attempting to finish with brick work the beautiful church of St. Isaac, which his predecessor Catherine had begun in marble.

De deux regnes voici l'image allegorique :
La base est d'un beau marbre, et le somet de brique!

This great monument is emblematick of two reigns;
The bottom is of marble, and the top of brick!

tions of the soul." In the prospect of dismay, of calamity, and of sorrow; mankind might experience in the reign of Paul, I felt an inward, and, as the event has proved, a true pre-sentiment of his approaching death; and I will freely confess, much as I abhor the manner of it, that it was

"——— a consummation
Devoutly to be wish'd."——

The season began to change before we left Petersburgh. The cold became daily less intense; and the inhabitants were busied in moving from the Neva large blocks of ice into their cellars. A most interesting and remarkable phenomenon took place the day before our departure. The thermometer of Celsius stood at that time only five degrees below the freezing point, and there was no wind. Snow, in the most regular and beautiful crystals, fell gently on our clothes, and on the sledge, as we were driving in the streets. All of them possessed exactly the same figure, and the same dimension. Every particle consisted of a wheel or star, with six equal rays, bounded by circumferences of equal diameters; they had all of them the same number of rays branching from a common centre. The size of each of these little stars was equal to the circle presented by dividing a pea into two equal parts. This appearance continued during three hours, in which time no other snow fell; and there was sufficient leisure to examine them with the strictest attention.

As water, in its crystallization, seems to consist of radii diverging from a common centre, by the usual appearances on the surface of ice, it might be possible to obtain the theory, and to ascertain the laws, from which this stellar structure results. Monge, president of the National institute of Paris, noticed, in falling snow, stars with six equal rays, which fell, during winter, when the atmosphere was calm. Hauy records this, in his observations on the muriat of ammonia.*

The first *droskit* had made its appearance in the streets of Petersburgh before we left it, and we began to entertain

* "Il en résulte des étoiles à six rayons, lorsque le temps est calme, et que la température n'est pas assez elevée pour déformer les cristaux." HAUY, Traité de Min. tom. ii. p. 386.

† The DROSKI is a kind of bench upon four wheels, used in Russia as our hackney coaches; it contains four or six persons, sitting back to back, thus driven sideways by the coachman, who sits at the end of the bench. This vehicle succeeds the sledge, after the melting of the snow.

serious apprehensions that the snow would fail, and our sledge-way to Moscow be destroyed. We had often been told of the rapidity with which the warm season makes its appearance in this climate, there being hardly any interval of spring, but an almost instantaneous transition from winter to summer. The frozen provisions of the city, if not consumed by the appointed time, which may be generally conjectured to a day almost instantly putrify when the frost disappears.

CHAPTER II.

JOURNEY FROM PETERSBURGH TO MOSCOW.

Departure from Petersburgh—Manner of Travelling—Palace of Tsarskoselo—Gardens—Anecdote of Billings's Expedition to the Northwest Coast of America—Ledyard—Barbarous Decoration of the Apartments—Arrival at Novogorod—Cathedral—Ancient Greek Paintings—Manner of imitating them in Russia—Superstitions of the Greek Church—Virgin with three Hands—Story of her Origin—Russian Bogh.

WE set out on the morning of the third of April, 1800, and arrived, with great expedition, at Tsarskoselo. Our carriage had been placed upon a *traineau*, or sledge; and another sledge, which followed us, conveyed the wheels. It is worth while to be particular in describing our mode of travelling, that others may derive advantage from it. If the journey is confined to countries only where a sledge road may be had, the common method, used by the inhabitants, is always the best; but if a passage is to be effected with ease and expedition, from one climate to another, some plan must be determined which may secure the traveller from the rigours of the seasons, without impeding his progress by superfluous incumbrance. For this purpose, the kind of carriage called a *German batardé* is unquestionably the most convenient. A delineation is given in the work of

Reichard,* who also mentions the expense of building them at Vienna, where they are made for one fourth of the money required by the London coach makers; and they answer every purpose of travelling, full as well as those made in England. This carriage is nothing more than an English chariot with a *dormeuse*, which advances in front, and which should be made sufficiently high to furnish a commodious seat for two persons on the outside, upon the springs. We made the driver always sit upon the trunk, in front; but it would be better to provide for him a little chair, raised for that purpose. The door of the *dormeuse*, within the carriage, lets down upon the seat; and it contains leather cushions, and a pillow covered with thin leather. The carriage has besides, an imperial, a well, a swordcase, which may be converted into a small library; and, instead of a window behind, a large lamp, so constructed as to throw a strong light without dazzling the eyes of those within. Thus provided, a person may travel night and day, fearless of want of accommodation or houses of repose. His carriage is his home, which accompanies him every where; and if he chooses to halt, or accidents oblige him to stop in the midst of a forest, or a desert, he may sleep, eat, drink, read, write, or amuse himself with any portable, musical instrument, careless of the frosts of the north, or the dews, the mosquitoes, and vermin of the south. Over snowy regions, he places his house upon a sledge, and, when the snow melts, upon its wheels; being always careful, where wheels are used for long journeys through hot countries, to soak them in water, whenever he stops for the night.

Setting out from Petersburgh for the south of Russia, the traveller bids adieu to all thoughts of inns, or even houses with the common necessaries of bread and water. He will not even find clean straw, if he should speculate upon the chance of a bed. Every thing he may want, must, therefore, be taken with him. A pewter teapot will become of more importance than a chest of plate, and more so than one of silver, because it will not be stolen, and may be kept equally clean and entire. To this he will add, a kettle, a saucepan, the top of which may be used for a dish; tea, sugar, and a large cheese, with several loaves of bread, made into rusks, and as much fresh bread as he thinks will keep till he has a chance of procuring more. Then, while the frost continues,

* Guide de Voyageurs en Europe, tom. ii. planche 1.

he may carry frozen food, such as game, or fish, which, being congealed, and as hard as flints, may jolt about among his kettles, in the well of the carriage, without any chance of injury. Wine may be used in a cold country, but never in a hot, nor even in a temperate climate, while upon the road. In hot countries, if a cask of good vinegar can be procured, the traveller will often bless the means by which it was obtained. When, with a parched tongue, a dry and feverish skin, they bring him bad or good water to assuage his burning thirst, the addition of a little vinegar will make the draught delicious. Care must be taken not to use it to excess, for it is sometimes so tempting a remedy against somnolency, that it is hardly possible to resist using the vinegar without any adulteration of water.

The palace of Tsarskoselo is twenty-two versts from Petersburgh, and the only object worth notice between that city and Novorogood. It is built of brick, plastered over. Before the edifice is a large court, surrounded by low buildings for the kitchens, and other outhouses. The front of the palace occupies an extent of near eight hundred feet; and it is entirely covered, in a most barbarous taste, with columns, and pilasters, and cariatides, stuck between the windows; all of which, in the true style of Dutch gingerbread, are gilded. The whole of the building is a compound of what an architect ought to avoid rather than to imitate. Yet, so much money has been spent upon it, and particularly on the interiour, that it cannot be passed without notice. It was built by the empress Elizabeth; and was much the residence of Catharine, in the latter part of her life, when her favourites, no longer the objects of a licentious passion, were chosen more as adopted children than as lovers.

In the gardens of this palace, persons, who wished to gain an audience of the empress, used to place themselves when she descended for her daily walk. A complaint, from which she suffered in her legs, made her introduce the very expensive alteration of converting the staircase of the Hermitage, at Petersburgh, into an inclined plane, which offered a more commodious and more easy descent. A similar alteration was introduced at Tsarskoselo, which conducted her from the apartments of the palace into the garden. It was in one of those walks, as professor Pallas afterwards informed me, that commodore Billings obtained, by a stratagem, her final order for his expedition to the north-

west coast of America. Bezborodko, the minister, although he had received the empress's order, put him off from time to time, not choosing to advance the money requisite for the different preparations; and Billings began to fear the plan would never be put in execution. In the midst of his despondency, professor Pallas undertook to make the matter known to the empress, and advised commodore Billings to accompany him to Tsarskoselo. As soon as they arrived, Pallas conducted him to a part of the garden which he knew the empress would frequent at her usual hour; and placing themselves in one of the walks, they had not waited long before she made her appearance. With her usual affability, she entered into conversation with professor Pallas; and, after inquiries respecting his health, asked the name of the young officer, his companion. The professor informed her, and added, he is the person whom your majesty was pleased to appoint, in consequence of my recommendation, to the command of the expedition destined for the northwest coast of America. "And what," said the empress, "has delayed his departure?" "He waits, at this moment, your majesty's orders," replied the professor. At this the empress, without any reply, and evidently somewhat ruffled, quickened her pace towards the palace. The next morning the necessary supplies came from the minister, with orders that he should set out immediately.

That the expedition might have been confided to better hands, the publick have been since informed, by the secretary Sauer.* This professor Pallas lamented to have discovered, when it was too late. But the loss sustained by any incapacity in the persons employed to conduct that expedition, is not equal to that which the publick suffered by the sudden recall of the unfortunate Ledyard; which, it is said, would never have happened but through the jealousy of his own countrymen, whom he chanced to encounter as he was upon the point of quitting the eastern continent for America, and who caused the information to be sent to Petersburgh which occasioned the order for his arrest.

The gardens of Tsarskoselo are laid out in the English taste, and, therefore, the only novelty belonging to them is their situation; so far removed from the nation whose ideas they pretend to represent.

* See Account of an Expedition to the Northern Parts of Russia, &c. by Martin Sauer, Secretary to the Expedition. 4to. London. 1802.

The interiour of the building presents a number of spacious and gaudy rooms, fitted up in a style combining a mixture of barbarity and magnificence which will hardly be credited. The walls of one of the rooms are entirely covered with fine pictures, by the best of the Flemish, and by other masters. They are fitted together, without frames, so as to cover, on each side, the whole of the wall, without the smallest attention to disposition or general effect. But, to consummate the *Vandalism* of those who directed the work, when they found a place they could not conveniently fill, the pictures were cut, in order to adapt them to the accidental spaces left vacant. The soldiers of Mummius, at the sacking of Corinth, would have been puzzled to contrive more ingenious destruction of the fine arts. Some of Ostades' best works were among the number of those thus ruined. I was also assured, by authority I shall not venture to name, that a profusion of pictures of the Flemish school were then lying in a cellar of the palace. But the most extraordinary apartment, and that which usually attracts the notice of strangers, more than any other, is a room, about thirty feet square, entirely covered on all sides, from top to bottom, with amber; a lamentable waste of innumerable specimens of a substance, which could nowhere have been so ill employed. The effect produces neither beauty nor magnificence. It would have been better employed even in ornamenting the heads of Turkish pipes; a custom which consumes the greatest quantity of this beautiful mineral. The appearance made by it on the walls is dull and heavy. It was a present from the king of Prussia. In an apartment prepared for prince Potemkin, the floor was covered with different sorts of exotick wood, interlaid; the expense of which amounted to a hundred roubles for every squared archine. A profusion of gilding appears in many of the other rooms. The ballroom is a hundred and forty feet long, by fifty two feet wide, and two stories high. The walls and pilasters of another apartment were ornamented with lapis lazuli, as well as the tables it contained. The Cabinet of Mirrors is a small room, lined with large pier glasses, looking upon a terrace, near which is a covered gallery, above two hundred and sixty feet long. There are various statues about the house and gardens, in marble and in bronze, all without merit. The chapel is entirely of gilded wood, and very richly ornamented.

A small flower garden leads to the bath, which is ornamented with jasper, agates, and statues and columns of marble. The grotto is also adorned in the same way with a number of beautiful products of the mineral kingdom, wrought into columns, busts, bas reliefs, vases, &c. among others, a vase composed of the precious stones of Siberia. From this grotto is seen a lake, on which appears the rostral column to Orlof, which the empress erected in honour of the naval victory he obtained over the Turks at Tchesmé.

After we left Tsarskoselo, the snow diminished very fast, and our fears of reaching Moscow on sledges increased.* But, during the night, and part of the morning of the 4th of April, it fell in such abundance, that all trace of the roads disappeared, and we lost our way once or twice before we arrived at

NOVOGOROD.

The place was half buried in snow; but we managed to get to the cathedral, curious to see the collection of pictures, idols of the Greek church, which that ancient building contains; and which, with many others dispersed in the cities and towns of Russia, were introduced long before the art of painting was practised in Italy. The knowledge of this circumstance, led me to hope that I should make some very curious acquisitions in the country; and, upon my first arrival from the Swedish frontier, I had given a few pounds to a Russian officer for his god; which consisted of an oval plate of copper, on which the figure of a warriour was beautifully painted, on a gold ground. This warriour proved afterwards to be St. Alexander Nevski. And as I advanced through the country to Petersburgh, there was hardly a hut, or a post house, that did not contain one or more paintings, upon small pannels of wood; the figures of which were represented, after the manner of the earliest specimens of the art, upon a gold ground, and sometimes protected in front by a silver coat of mail, which left only the faces and hands of the images visible. A small attention to the history and character of the Russians will explain the cause.

* The carriage road from Petersburgh to Moscow, a distance of near 500 miles, in the summer season, consists of the trunks of trees laid across. In consequence of the jolting these occasion, it is then one of the most painful and tedious journies in Europe.

When the religion of the Greek church was first introduced into Russia, its propagators, prohibited by the second commandment from the worship of carved images, brought with them the pictures of the saints, of the virgin, and the Messiah. The earliest churches in the holy land had paintings of this kind, which the first Christians worshipped; as may be proved by the remains of them at this time in that country.* To protect these holy symbols of the new faith from the rude, but zealous fingers and lips of its votaries, in a country where the arts of multiplying them by imitation were then unknown, they were covered by plates of the most precious metals, which left the features alone visible. As soon as the messengers of the gospel died, they became themselves saints, and were worshipped by their followers. The pictures they had brought were then suspended in the churches, and regarded as the most precious relicks. Many of them, preserved now in Russia, are considered as having the power of working miracles. It would, then, necessarily follow, that with new preachers, new pictures must be required. The Russians, characterized at this day by a talent of imitation, though without a spark of inventive genius, followed, not only the style of the original painting, but the manner of laying it on, and the materials on which it was placed. Thus we find, at the end of the eighteenth century, a Russian peasant placing before his bogh, a picture, purchased in the markets of Moscow and Petersburgh, exactly similar to those brought from Greece during the tenth; the same stiff representation of figures which the Greeks themselves seem to have originally copied from works in mosaick; the same mode of mixing and laying on the colours on a plain gold surface; the same custom of painting upon wood; and the same expensive covering of a silver coat of mail; when, from the multitude and cheapness of such pictures, the precaution, at first used to preserve them, is no longer necessary. In other instances of their religion, the copy of sacred relicks seems, to the Russians, as much an object of worship as the original. This will appear by the description of Moscow; in the neighbourhood of which city is a building erected, at prodigious

* Among the ruins of some of the most ancient churches in Palestine, I found several curious examples of encaustick painting, of a very early date. One of these, from Sephoris, near Nazareth, is now in the possession of the principal librarian of the University of Cambridge, to whom I presented it.

expense, in imitation of the church of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem; having exactly the same form, and containing a faithful representation of the same absurdities.

The cathedral of Novogorod, dedicated to St. Sophia, in imitation of the name given to the magnificent edifice erected by Justinian at Constantinople, was built in the eleventh century. Many of the pictures seem to have been there from the time in which the church was finished, and doubtless were some of them painted long before its consecration, if they were not brought into the country with the introduction of Christianity. At any rate, we may consider them as having originated from the source whence Italy derived a knowledge of the art, though prior to its appearance in that country. Little can be said of the merit of any of them. They are more remarkable for singularity than beauty. In the dome of a sort of antichapel, as you enter, are seen the representations of monsters with many heads, and such a strange assemblage of imaginary beings, that it might be supposed a pagan, rather than a Christian temple. The different representations of the virgin, throughout Russia, will show to what a pitch of absurdity superstition has been carried. I believe most of them are found in all their principal churches; and as their worship forms so conspicuous a feature in the manners of the Russians, it will be proper to annex fac similes of those pictures which have the greatest number of votaries; for though they are all objects of adoration, they have each of them particular places, in which, as tutelary deities, they obtain more peculiar reverence; and sometimes small chapels and churches, dedicated particularly to some one of them individually. These are, principally, The Virgin of Vladimir; The Virgin with the Bleeding Cheek; and—*spectatum admissi, risum teneatis?*—The Virgin with three Hands! The authors of the Universal History appropriate this last picture to the church of the convent of the New Jerusalem. I believe it to have been originally painted, as a barbarous representation, or symbol, of the trinity; and, therefore, it more properly applies to another convent in the neighbourhood of Moscow. The following story has, however, been circulated, concerning its history.

An artist, being employed on a picture of the Virgin and Child, found, one day, that, instead of two hands, which he had given the Virgin, a third had been added, during his absence from his work. Supposing some person had been

playing a trick with him, he rubbed out the third hand, and, having finished the picture, carefully locked the door of his apartment. To his great surprise, he found, the next day, the extraordinary addition of a third hand in his picture, as before. He now began to be alarmed; but, still concluding it possible that some person had gained access to his room, he once more rubbed out the superfluous hand, and not only locked the door, but also barricadoed the windows. The next day, approaching his elaboratory, he found the door and windows fast, as he had left them; but, to his utter dismay and astonishment, as he went in, there appeared the same remarkable alteration in his picture, the virgin appearing with three hands, regularly disposed about the child. In extreme trepidation, he began to cross himself, and proceeded once more to alter the picture; when the virgin herself appeared in person, and bade him forbear, as it was her pleasure to be so represented.

Many of those absurd representations are said to be the work of angels. In the Greek church they followed the idols of paganism, and have continued to maintain their place. They are one of the first and most curious sights which attract a traveller's notice; for it is not only in their churches that such paintings are preserved; every room throughout the empire has a picture of this nature, large or small, called the bogh, or god, stuck up in one corner; to which every person who enters offers adoration, before any salutation is made to the master or mistress of the house; and this adoration consists in a quick motion of the right hand in crossing, the head bowing all the time, in a manner so rapid and ludicrous, that it reminds one of those Chinese mandarin images, seen upon the chimney pieces of old houses, which, when set a going, continue nodding, for the amusement of old women and children. In the myriads of idol paintings dispersed throughout the empire, the subjects represented are very various.

CHAPTER III.

NOVOGOROD.

Ancient History of Novogorod—First Churches in Russia—Procopius—Evagrius—Baptism of Olga, afterwards Helena—Arms of Novogorod—Ceremony of Crossing—General Picture of this Route—Heights of Valdai—Costume—Tumuli—Jedrova—Domestick Manners of the Peasants—Servile State of the Empire—Vyshnei Volashok—Torshok—Tver—Milanese Vagrants—Volga—Tumuli—Klin—Petrovski—Arrival at Moscow—Police—Accommodations.

THE melancholy ideas excited by the present appearance of Novogorod have been felt by all travellers. Who has not heard the ancient saying, which went forth in the days of its greatness?* Nomade Slavonians were its founders, about the time the Saxons, invited by Vortigern, first came into Britain. Four centuries after, A. D. 450, a motley tribe, collected from the original inhabitants of all the watery and sandy plains around the Finland Gulph, made it their metropolis. Near a thousand years have passed away, since Rurick, the Norman, gathering them together at the mouth of the Volchova, laid the foundation of an empire, destined to extend over the vast territories of all the Russias; then ascending the river, to the spot where its rapid current rushes from the Ilmen to the Ladoga Lake, he fixed his residence in Novogorod.

In the midst of those intestine divisions, which resulted from the partition of the empire, at the death of Vladimir, who divided his estate between his twelve sons, there arose three independent princes, and a number of petty confederacies. The seat of government was successively removed

* "Quis contra Deos, et Magnam Novogordiam?" "Who can resist the Gods, and Great Novogorod?"

from Novogorod to Suzedal, Vladimir, and Moscow. Novogorod adopted a mixed government, partly monarchical and partly republican. In the middle of the thirteenth century it was distinguished by the victories of its grand duke, Alexander Nevski, over the Swedes, on the banks of the Neva; and by its remote situation, escaped the ravages of the Tartars in the fourteenth. In the fifteenth, it submitted to the yoke of Ivan the first, whose successor, Ivan the second, in the sixteenth, ravaged and desolated the place carrying away the palladium of the city, the famous bell, which the inhabitants had dignified with the appellation of *Eternal*. But its ruin was not fully accomplished until the building of Petersburgh when all the commerce of the Baltick was transferred to that capital.

Bodies, miraculously preserved, or rather mummied, of saints who were mortal, ages ago, are shown in the cathedral of St. Sophia. This edifice has been described as one of the most ancient in the country. The first Russian churches were certainly of wood; and their date is not easily ascertained. Christianity was preached to the inhabitants of the Don so early as the time of Justinian. That emperour was zealous in building churches among remote and barbarous people. According to Procopius, he caused a church to be erected among the Abasgi, in honour of the Theotocos, and constituted priests among them. The same author also relates, that the inhabitants of Tanaïs earnestly entreated him to send a bishop among them, which was accordingly done. Evagrius Scholasticus* has related this circumstance, as recorded by Procopius. But by Tanaïs is said to be intended that stream, which runs out of the Mæotis into the Euxine; that is to say, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, or Straits of Taman. The arrival of a bishop so invited, and under such patronage, might be followed by the establishment of a church; and it is probable, from existing documents as well as the traditions of the people, that this really happened either on the Asiatick, or the European side of those Straits, about that time. The jurisdiction of the province afterwards annexed to the crown of Russia by Svetoslav the first, father of Vladimir the great, included the isle of Taman, and the peninsula of Kertchi. In those districts, therefore, we might be allowed to place the first tabernacles

* Lib. iv. c. 23.

of Christian worship; although, in the distant period of their introduction, the foundation of the Russian empire had scarce been laid. It is pleasing to bring scattered portions of history to bear upon any one point, particularly, when by so doing, the obscurity of some of them may be elucidated. The journey of Olga, wife of Igor, son of Rurick, to Constantinople, after avenging the death of her husband upon the Volga, occurred very early in the annals of that country. "She went," say the compilers of the Modern Universal History,* "for what reason we know not, to Constantinople." Yet when it is related, that she was baptised there;† that, in consequence of her example, many of her subjects became converts to Christianity; that the Russians, to this day, rank her among their saints; and annually commemorate her festival; the cause of her journey will hardly admit a doubt. The result of it proves, incontestably, the introduction of Christianity, and the establishment of churches in Russia, at an earlier period than is generally admitted; namely, the baptism of Vladimir, A. D. 991.‡

The reader is requested to pardon any prolixity in the investigation of this subject. It is materially connected with the history of the fine arts; for, with Christianity, the art of painting was introduced into Russia. Some of the most chosen idols of their churches are, those curious Grecian pictures, which the first gospel missionaries brought with them from Constantinople. Their inscriptions often exhibit the Greek characters of those times; and they offer most interesting examples of the art, many centuries before it became known to the enlightened nations of Europe.

* Vol. XXXV. p. 182.

† The emperour, John Zimisces, according to some historians, was her godfather upon this occasion. It has been related, that he became enamoured of the Scythian princess, and proposed marriage; which was refused. The old lady, notwithstanding, was at that time in her sixty sixth year; for she died at the age of eighty, which happened fourteen years after her baptism. Collateral annals, by discordant chronology, seem to prove, that the whole story, about the eastern emperour's amorous propensities, is founded in errour and absurdity. Zimisces was not crowned until Christmas day, A. D. 969. Ten years before this period, Helena (which was the name born by Olga, after her baptism) had sent ambassadours to Otho, emperour of the west, desiring missionaries to instruct her people. A mission was consequently undertaken by St. Adelbert, bishop of Magdeburg, A. D. 962.

‡ Some authors place this event four years earlier. I have followed the chronology of Du Fresnoy.

Nor was the art of painting alone introduced with Christianity into Russia. All they knew of letters, or of any useful and liberal art, for many centuries afterwards, was derived from the same source. The inhabitants of the South Sea Islands can hardly be more savage than were the Russians, when the gospel was first preached to them. The full accomplishment of this great event certainly did not take place till Vladimir became converted. It was a condition of his marriage with the sister of the Greek emperour; and, it is said, that no less than twenty thousand of his subjects were christened on the same day. The change effected by this measure was nothing less than a complete revolution in manners and in morals. Vladimir led the way by his example. The pagan idols, and eight hundred concubines, were dismissed together; and the twelve sons, which his six wives had born him, were baptized; churches and monasteries drew around them towns and villages; and civilization seemed to dawn upon the plains and the forests of Scythia. A memorial of the blessed effects of Christianity, among a people who were scarce removed from the brute creation, seems preserved, even in the arms of the government of Novogorod, the district in which it was first established; and the ludicrous manner in which it is typified, is consistent with the barbarity of the people. Two bears, supporters, are represented at an altar, upon the ice, with crucifixes crossed before the bogh, on which is placed a candelabrum with a triple lustre, emblem of the trinity.

The fortress of Novogorod is large, but of wretched appearance. It was constructed after the plan of the Kremlin at Moscow, towards the end of the fifteenth century, and contains the cathedral. Upon the bridge, leading to this fortress, from the town, is a small chapel, where every peasant who passes, either deposits his candle or his penny. Before this place, which is filled with old pictures of the kind I have described, and which a stranger might really mistake for a picture stall, devotees, during the whole day, may be seen, bowing and crossing themselves. A Russian hardly commits any action without this previous ceremony. If he is to serve as a coachman, and drive your carriage, his crossing occupies two minutes before he is mounted. When he descends, the same motion is repeated. If a church is in view, you see him at work with his head and hand, as if seized with St. Vitus's dance. If he makes any earnest

protestation, or enters a room, or goes out, you are entertained with the same manual and capital exercise. When beggars return thanks for alms, the operation lasts a longer time; and then between, the crossing, by way of interlude, they generally touch their forehead to the earth.

The snow increased very fast in our way from Novogorod to Tver; but afterwards we had barely sufficient to pass on, and in some places the earth was bare. The traveller will be more interested in this information than readers at home; and he will of course compare the observation with the date of the journey [April 6, 7, and 8] as the weather in Russia is not subject to those irregular vicissitudes experienced in England. It may generally be ascertained by the calendar.

I do not know what first gave rise to a notion very prevalent, that the road from Petersburgh to Moscow is a straight line through forests, except that it was the intention of Peter the Great to have it so made.* The country is generally open, a wide and fearful prospect of hopeless sterility, where the fir and the dwarf birch, which cover even Arctick regions, scarcely find existence. The soil is for the most part sandy, and apparently of a nature to set agriculture at defiance. Towards the latter part of the journey corn-fields appeared, of considerable extent. What the summer road may be, I am unable to say; but our progress was as devious as possible. In all the province or district of Valadi, the soil is hilly, not to say mountainous; so that what with the undulations of the road itself, from the heaps of drifted snow, and the rising and sinking of the country, our motion resembled that of a vessel rolling in an Atlantick calm. My good friend, professor Pallas, experienced as rough a journey along this route a few years before. He mentions the delay, and even the danger, to which he was exposed on the Heights of Valdai.† So precisely similar were the circumstances of the seasons, that in both cases the snow failed in the moment of arrival at Moscow.

The female peasants of the Valdai have a costume which resembles one in Switzerland. It consists of a shift with

* When Jonas Hanway [Travels, Vol. I. p. 92.] passed in 1743, only one hundred miles had been completed according to the original plan, which was, to make a bridge of timber for the whole distance of four hundred and eighty seven miles. For that space of four hundred miles, according to the calculation made by him, no less than two million one hundred thousand trees were required.

† Travels through the Southern Provinces, &c. Vol. I. P. 4.

full sleeves, and a short petticoat with coloured stockings. Over this, in winter, they wear a pelisse of lamb's wool, as white as the snow around them, lined with cloth, and adorned with gold buttons and lace. The hair of unmarried women, as in most parts of Russia, is braided, and hangs to a great length down their backs. On their heads they wear a handkerchief of coloured silk. When married, the hair is trussed up, and this constitutes the outward mark of a virgin, or a matron. Generally speaking, the traveller may pass over a vast extent of territory without noticing any change in the costume. How very different is the case in Italy; where the mere passage of a bridge, in the same city, as at Naples, leads to a different mode of dress. The male peasants of Russia are universally habited, in winter, in a jacket made of sheep's hide, with the wool inwards; a square crowned red cap, with a circular edge of black wool round the rim, which is very becoming, and appears shadowing the eyes. These, with a long, black beard, sandals made of the bark of the birch-tree, and legs bandaged in woollen, complete the dress.

Conical mounds of earth, or tumuli, occur very frequently on this road. The most remarkable may be observed in the stage between Yezelbisky and Valdai, on both sides of the road, but chiefly on the left; and they continue to appear from the latter place to Jedrova. Professor Pallas has given a representation of four of these tumuli, in a vignette, at the begining of the first volume of his late work.* They are common all over the Russian empire; and, indeed, it may be asked, where the country is, in which such sepulchral hillocks do not appear.

We had been pestered the whole way from Petersburgh by a bell, which the drivers carried, suspended to their belt; but were not aware that it passed as a mark of privilege, until we came to Jedrova. Here we saw a poor fellow cudgelled by a police officer, because he had presumed to carry a bell without a *Poderosnoi*;† which is the title to such a distinction.

The whole journey from Petersburgh to Moscow offers nothing that will strike a traveller more than the town or

* Travels through the Southern Provinces. &c.

† The imperial order for horses. Those who travel with post-horses carry a bell. It serves, as the horn in Germany, to give notice to persons on the road to turn out of the way; such horses being in the service of the crown.

village of Jedrova. It consists of one street, as broad as Piccadilly, formed by the gable ends of wooden huts, whose roofs project far over their bases, and terminated by its church. A view of one of these towns affords a correct idea of all the rest, as there is seldom any difference in the mode of constructing the poorer towns of Russia. A window in such places is a mark of distinction, and seldom noticed. The houses in general have only small holes, through which, as you drive by, you see a head stuck, as in a pillory.

Upon some of the women I observed such stockings as the Tyrolese wear, covering only the lower part of the leg, about the ancle, with a sort of cylinder, formed by spiral hoops of wool.

The forests, for the most part, consist of poor, stunted trees; and the road, in summer, is described as the most abominable that can be passed. It is then formed by whole trunks of trees, laid across, parallel to each other, which occasion such violent jolting, as the wheels move from one to the other, that it cannot be born without beds placed for the traveller to sit or lie upon.

We had a very interesting peep into the manners of the peasantry; for which we were indebted to the breaking of our sledge at Poschol. The woman of the house was preparing a dinner for her family, who were gone to church. It consisted of soup only. Presently her husband, a boor, came in, attended by his daughters, with some small loaves of white bread, not larger than a pidgeon's egg, which I suppose the priest had consecrated, for they placed them with great care before the BOGH. Then the bowing and crossing began, and they went to dinner, all eating out of the same bowl. Dinner ended, they went regularly to bed, as if to pass the night there, crossing and bowing as before. Having slept about an hour, one of the young women, according to an etiquette, constantly observed, called her father, and presented him with a pot of vinegar, or *quass*, the Russian beverage.* The man then rose, and a complete fit of crossing and bowing seemed to seize him, with interludes so inexpressibly characteristick and ludicrous, that it was

* It is made by mixing flower and water together, and leaving it till it has fermented and turned sour. The flavour is like that of vinegar and water. It looks thick, and is very unpleasing to strangers; but, by use, we became fond of it; and in the houses of the nobles, where attention is paid to its brewing, it is esteemed a delicacy, particularly in summer.

very difficult to preserve gravity. The pauses of scratching and grunting, with all the attendant circumstances of ventriloquism and eructation; the apostrophes to his wife, to himself, and to his god, were such as drunken Barnaby might have put into Latin, but need not be expressed in English.

The picture of Russian manners varies little with reference to the prince or the peasant. The first nobleman in the empire, when dismissed by his sovereign from attendance upon his person, or withdrawing to his estate, in consequence of dissipation and debt, betakes himself to a mode of life little superiour to that of brutes. You will then find him, throughout the day, with his neck bare, his beard lengthened, his body wrapped in a sheep's hide, eating raw turnips, and drinking *quass*, sleeping one half of the day, and growling at his wife and family the other. The same feelings, the same wants, wishes, and gratifications, then characterize the nobleman and the peasant; and the same system of tyranny, which extends from the throne downwards, through all the bearings and ramifications of society, even to the cottage of the lowest boor, has entirely extinguished every spark of liberality in the breasts of a people who are all slaves. They are all, high and low, rich and poor, alike servile to superiours; haughty and cruel to their dependants; ignorant, superstitious, cunning, brutal, barbarous, dirty, mean. The emperour canes the first of his grandees; princes and nobles cane their slaves; and the slaves their wives and daughters. Ere the sun dawns in Russia, flagellation begins; and, throughout its vast empire, cudgels are going, in every department of its population, from morning until night.

How forcibly opposed to these characteristicks are the manners of the Swedes! In the pleasing recollection of the honesty, the benevolence, the bravery, and all the manly virtues that adorn the breasts of the inhabitants of Sweden, the contrast is, indeed, painfully striking. When I reflect on the long track over which I have passed, and the many examples of human excellence which it has been my lot to witness, I almost repent that I have begun with the journey among the Russians; lest, from the statement I am compelled to make, it should be supposed that I have been actuated by other motives than a love of truth.

Vyshnei Voloshok is a place of considerable importance, remarkable for the extensive canals on which the great in-

land navigation of Russia is carried on. A junction has been formed between the Tvertza and the Msta, uniting, by a navigable channel of at least five thousand versts, the Caspian with the Baltick sea. I suspect that there is not in the world an example of inland navigation so extensive, obtained by artificial means, and with so little labour; for the Volga is navigable almost to its source; and three versts, at the utmost, is all that has been cut through, in forming the canal. The merchandise of Astracan, and other parts of the south of Russia, are brought to this place. Above four thousand vessels pass the canal annually. The town, or village, as it is called, is full of buildings and shops. It is spacious, and wears a stately, thriving appearance; forming a striking contrast with the miserable places on this road.

At the different stations which occur in the route from Petersburgh to Moscow, are buildings appropriated to the emperour's use, when he passes. This rarely happens above once in a reign. As there is hardly an instance of accommodation for travellers, no harm would happen to the buildings if they were used for that purpose; neither would the national character suffer by its hospitality. Of course I speak of what may be done in better times; for, when we traversed the country, kindness to a stranger, and especially to an Englishman, was a crime of the first magnitude, and might prove the means of a journey to Siberia. It is but justice to make this apology for the conduct of those under the immediate eye of government; at the same time, it must be confessed, they made the best use of an opportunity which encouraged them to exaction, plunder, and oppression.

From Vyshnei Volochok we came to Torshok, seventy one versts distant, remarkable for a spring, which is superstitiously venerated, and brings pilgrims from all parts. It has no less than twenty churches, some of which are built of stone, and is a thriving town.

At Tver, sixty three versts further, there is a decent inn. A shop is, also, annexed to it, as it often happens in all the northern countries of Europe. This shop is kept by Italians, natives of the Milanese territory, a vagrant tribe, whose industry and enterprise carry them from the lake of Como to the remotest regions of the earth. I have seen them in all countries, and even in Lapland. Generally, they carry a large basket, covered by an oil-skin, containing cheap, coloured prints, mirrors, thermometers, and barometers.

They are always men of ingenuity, of uncommon perseverance, industry, and, I may add, of honesty. Living with the most scrupulous economy, they collect, after many years of wandering, their hard earnings, with which they return to settle in the land of their fathers, and to send out an offspring as nomade as themselves.

At Tver we beheld the Volga, and not without considerable interest; for, though bound in "thick-ribbed ice," and covered with snow, the consciousness of its mighty waters, navigable almost to their source, rolling through a course of four thousand versts in extent, bearing wealth and plenty, is one of the most pleasing reflections. It seems to connect us with the Caspian, and the remote tribes of those nations, so little known, who dwell upon its shores.

The situation of Tver, upon the lofty banks of the Volga, is very grand. It has a number of stone buildings; and its shops, as well as churches, merit particular regard. The junction of the Volga and the Tvertza is near the Street of Millions. Pallas speaks of the delicious sterlet, taken from the Volga, with which travellers are regaled in this town, at all seasons of the year.

The journey from Tver to Moscow, in the winter, with a kibitki, is performed in fifteen hours. The road is broad and more straight than in the former route from Petersburgh. But in certain seasons, such as those of melting snow, it is as bad as possible. In the second stage from Tver, between the sixth and seventh verst from the post-house on the left hand, appeared an entire groupe of those ancient tumuli before mentioned. They are so perfect in their forms, and so remarkably situated, that they cannot escape notice. I endeavoured to learn of the peasants if they had any tradition concerning them. All the information they gave me was, that they were constructed beyond all memory, and believed to contain bodies of men slain in battle. A notion, less reasonable, although common to countries widely distant from each other, is, that such mounds are the tombs of giants. Thus, on the hills near Cambridge, two are shown as the tombs of Gog and Magog. And the tomb of Tityus, the most ancient of all those mentioned in the history of Greece, is described by Homer* as a mound of earth raised over the spot on which that giant fell, warring against the gods.

* Pausanius saw it in Phocis, at the base of Parnassus, twenty stadia from Chæronea; where I found it in the year 1801. It is one of those monu-

Eighty three versts from Tver we came to a small settlement between two hills, which is marked in the Russian map as a town, and called Klin. It hardly merits such distinction. On the right, as we left it, appeared one of those houses constructed for the accommodation of the empress Catherine on her journey to the Crimea.

The rising towers and spires of Moscow greeted our eyes six versts before we reached the city. The country around it is flat and open; and the town, spreading over an immense district, equals, by its majestick appearance, that of Rome when beheld at an equal distance. As we approached the barrier of Moscow, we beheld, on the left, the large palace of Petrovsky, built of brick-work. It wears an appearance of great magnificence, though the style of architecture is cumbrous and heavy. It was erected for the accommodation of the Russian sovereigns, during their visits to Moscow; the inhabitants of which city pretend that none of them durst take up a lodging within its walls, being kept much more in awe of their subjects than they are at Petersburgh. It is said the empress Catherine used to call Moscow her little, haughty republick. This palace is about four versts from the city.

Arriving at the barrier, we were sometime detained during the examination of our passports. This entrance to the city, like most of the others, is a gate with two columns, one on each side, surmounted by eagles. On the left is the guard-house. Within this gate a number of slaves were employed, removing the mud from the streets, which had been caused by the melting of the snow. Peasants, with their *kibitkis*,* in great numbers, were leaving the town. Into these kibitkis, the slaves amused themselves by heaping as much of the mud as they could throw in, unperceived by the drivers, who sat in front. The officer appointed to superintend their labour chanced to arrive and detect them in their filthy work, and we hoped he would instantly have prohibited such an insult from being offered to the poor men. His conduct however, only served to afford a trait of the national character. Instead of preventing any

ments which defy time; a lofty conical mound. The story of Homer, concerning its origin, is still related by the natives of the country.

* The *kibitki* is the old Scythian wagon. In some parts of Tartary the top takes off, and at night becomes a tent. Hence the name given by the Russians to the tents of the Calmucks and Nogais; both of which they call kibitki.

further attack upon the kibitkis, he seemed highly entertained by the ingenuity of the contrivance; and to encourage the sport, ordered every peasant to halt, and to hold his horse, while they filled his kibitki with the mud and ordure of the streets; covering with it the provisions of the poor peasants, and whatever else their kibitkis might contain with which they were going peaceably to their wives and families. At last, to complete their scandalous oppression, they compelled each peasent, as he passed, to sit down in his kibitki, and then they covered him also with the black and stinking mud. At this unexampled instance of cruelty and insult, some of the peasants, more spirited than the rest, ventured to murmur. Instantly, blows, with a heavy cudgel, on the head and shoulders, silenced the poor wretches' complaints. Before this began, the two sentinels at the gate had stopped every kibitki as it passed, with a very different motive. First a loud and menacing tone of voice seemed to indicate some order of government; but it was quickly silenced, and became a whisper, in consequence of a small piece of money being slipped into their hands by the peasants, when they passed on without further notice. If the practice continues, the post of sentinel at a Russian barrier must be more profitable than that of a staff-officer in the service. I was witness to upwards of fifty extorted contributions of this nature, in the course of half an hour, when the plunder ended, as has been described.

A miserable, whiskered figure on horseback I believe intended for a dragoon, was now appointed to conduct us to the commandant's; and here the *poderosnoi*, which he had *bought* of the emperour in Petersburgh, together with our other passports, underwent a second examination. The snow was, by this time, entirely melted; and the sledge, upon which our carriage moved, was dragged over the stones by six horses, with so much difficulty, that at last the drivers gave it up, and declared the carriage would break, or the horses drop, if we compelled them to advance. The dragoon said we must take every thing, exactly as we arrived at the commandant's, and proceed sitting in the carriage. At the same time, he threatened the peasents with a flagellation and, giving one of them a blow over his loins, bade him "halt at his peril." Another effort was, of course, made, and the sledge flew to pieces. It was highly amusing to observe the dilemma into which the dragoon was now

thrown; as it was not probable either his menaces or his blows would again put the carriage in motion. A droski was procured, on which we were ordered to sit, and thus proceeded to the commandant. From the commandant, we were next ordered to the indendant of the police; and all this did not save us from the visits, and the insolence, of two or three idle officers, lounging about as spies, who entered our apartments, examined every thing we had; and asked a number of impertinent questions, with a view to extort money. Some of them found their way even into our bedrooms, when we were absent, and gave our servant sufficient employment to prevent them from indulging a strong national tendency to pilfer; a species of larceny, which actually took place afterwards, committed by persons much their superiours in rank.

The accommodation for travellers is, beyond description bad both in Petersburgh and Moscow. In the latter, nothing but necessity would render them sufferable. They demand three roubles a day for a single room, or kennel, in which an Englishman would blush to keep his dogs. The dirt on the floor may be removed only with an iron hoe, or a shovel. These places are entirely destitute of beds. They consist of bare walls, with two or three old stuffed chairs, ragged, rickety, and full of vermin. The walls themselves are still more disgusting; as the Russians load them with the most abominable filth.

In thus giving the result of impressions, made on entering this remarkable city, I might appeal to some of the first families in the empire, for the veracity of my statement; but such a test of their liberality would materially affect their safety. I shall, therefore, unreservedly, proceed to relate what I have seen, in that confidence, which a due regard to truth will always inspire. Moscow contains much worth notice; much that may compensate for the fatigue and privation required in going thither; for the filthiness of its hotels; the depravity of its nobles; and the villany of its police.

CHAPTER IV.

MOSCOW.

Peculiarities of climate—Impressions made on a first Arrival—Russian Hotel—Persian, Kirgisian, and Bucharian Ambassadours—Fasts and Festivals—Ceremonies observed at Easter—Palm Sunday—Holy Thursday—Magnificent Ceremony of the Resurrection—Excesses of the Populace—Presentation of the Paschal Eggs—Ball of the Peasants—Ball of the Nobles—Characteristick Incident of Caprice in Dress.

THERE is nothing more extraordinary in this country than the transition of the seasons. The people of Moscow have no spring: winter *vanishes*, and summer *is!* This is not the work of a week, or a day, but of one instant, and the manner of it exceeds belief. We came from Petersburgh to Moscow on sledges. The next day, snow was gone. On the eighth of April, at midday, snow beat in at our carriage windows. On the same day, at sunset, arriving in Moscow, we had difficulty in being dragged through the mud to the commandant's. The next morning the streets were dry, the double windows had been removed from the houses, the casements thrown open, all the carriages were upon wheels, and the balconies filled with spectators. Another day brought with it twenty-three degrees of heat of Celsius, when the thermometer was placed in the shade at noon.

We arrived at the season of the year in which this city is most interesting to strangers. Moscow is in every thing extraordinary, as well in disappointing expectation, as in surpassing it; in causing wonder and derision, pleasure and regret. Let me conduct the reader back with me again to the gate by which we entered, and thence through the streets. Numerous spires, glittering with gold, amidst burnished domes and painted palaces, appear in the midst of an open plain, for several versts before you reach this gate. Having passed, you look about, and wonder what is become of the city, or where you are; and are ready to ask,

once more; How far is it to Moscow; They will tell you: "This is Moscow!" and you behold nothing but a wide and scattered suburb; huts, gardens, pigsties, brick walls, churches, dunghills, palaces, timberyards, warehouses and a refuse, as it were, of materials, sufficient to stock an empire with miserable towns and miserable villages. One might imagine all the states of Europe and Asia had sent a building, by way of representative, to Moscow; and, under this impression, the eye is presented with deputies from all countries, holding congress: timber huts from regions beyond the Arctick; plastered pallaces from Sweden and Denmark, not whitewashed since their arrival; painted walls from the Tyrol: mosques from Constantinople; Tartar temples from Bucharia; Pagodas, pavilions, and virandas, from China; cabarets from Spain; dungeons, prisons, and publick offices, from France; architectural ruins from Rome, terraces and trellisses from Naples and warehouses from Wapping.

Having heard accounts of its immense population, you wander through deserted streets. Passing suddenly towards the quarter where the shops are situated, you might walk upon the heads of thousands. The daily throng is there so immense, that, unable to force a passage through it or assign any motive that might convene such a multitude, you ask the cause; and are told that it is always the same. Nor is the costume less various than the aspect of the buildings. Greeks, Turks, Tartars, Cossacks, Chinese, Muscovites, English, French, Italians, Poles, Germans, all parade in the habits of their respective countries.

We were in a Russian inn; a complete epitome of the city itself. The next room to ours was filled by ambassadours from Persia. In a chamber beyond the Persians, lodged a party of Kirgisians; a people yet unknown, and any one of whom might be exhibited in a cage, as some newly discovered species. They had bald heads, covered by conical, embroidered caps, and wore sheep's hides. Beyond the Kirgisians lodged a *nidus* of Bucharians, wild as the asses of Numidia. All these were ambassadours from their different districts, extremely jealous of each other, who had been to Petersburgh, to treat of commerce, peace, and war. The doors of all our chambers opened into one gloomy passage, so that, sometimes, we all encountered, and formed a curious masquerade. The Kirgisians and Bucharians were best at arms' length; but the worthy old

Persian, whose name was *Orazai*, often exchanged visits with us. He brought us presents, according to the custom of his country; and was much pleased with an English pocket knife we had given him, with which he said he should shave his head. At his devotions, he stood silent for an hour together, on two small carpets, barefooted, with his face towards Mecca; holding, as he said, intellectual converse with Mohammed.

Orazai came from Tarky, near Derbent, on the western shore of the Caspian. He had with him his nephew, and a Cossack interpreter from Mount Caucasus. His beard and whiskers were long and grey, though his eyebrows and eyes were black. On his head he wore a large cap of fine black wool. His dress was a jacket of silk, over which was thrown a large, loose robe of the same materials, edged with gold. His feet were covered with yellow, morocco slippers, which were without soles, and fitted like gloves. All his suite joined in prayer, morning and evening, but the old man continued his devotions long after he had dismissed his attendants. Their poignards were of such excellent iron, that our English swords were absolutely cut by them. Imitations of these poignards are sold in Moscow, but of worse materials than the swords from England. When they sit, which they generally do during the whole day, they have their feet bare. Orazai was very desirous that we should visit Persia; and taking out a reed, and holding it in his left hand, he began to write from right to left, putting down our names, and noting the information we gave him of England. Afterwards he wrote his own name in fair Persian characters, and gave it to me, as a memorial by which he might recognise me if ever we met in Persia.

Upon the journey, they both purchased and sold slaves. He offered an Indian negro, who acted as his cook, for twelve hundred roubles. An amusing embarrassment took place whenever a little dog of mine found his way into the ambassadour's room, in search of me. The Persians immediately drew up their feet, and hastily caught up all their clothes, retiring as far back as possible upon their couches. They told us, that if a dog touches even the skirt of their clothing, they are thereby defiled, and cannot say their prayers without changing every thing, and undergoing complete purification. His slaves sometimes played the *balalaika*, or guitar with two strings. The airs were very

lively, and not unlike our English hornpipe. The ambassadour's nephew obliged us by exhibiting a Persian dance, which seemed to consist of keeping the feet close together, hardly ever lifting them from the ground, and moving slowly, to quick measure, round the room. They drink healths as we do; and eat with their hands, like the Arabs, all out of one dish, which is generally of boiled rice. If they eat meat, it is rarely any other than mutton, stewed into a soup. The young man used to drink the Russian beverage of hydromel, a kind of mead; and sometimes, but rarely, smoked. The ambassadour never used a pipe; which surprised me, as the custom is almost universal in the east. Their kindness to their slaves is that of parents to children; the old man appearing, like another Abraham, the common father of all his attendants. The dress of their interpreter, who was of the Cossacks of the Volga, though stationed on Mount Caucasus, in the territories of the Circassians, was very rich. It consisted of a jacket of purple cloth lined with silk, and a silk waistcoat, both without buttons; a rich shawl round his waist; very large trowsers of scarlet cloth; and a magnificent sabre.

Ambassadours of other more oriental hordes drove into the court-yard of the inn, from Petersburgh. The emperour had presented each of them with a barouche. Never was any thing more ludicrous than their appearance. Out of respect to the sovereign, they had maintained a painful struggle to preserve their seat, sitting cross-legged, like Turks. The snow having melted, they had been jolted in this manner over the trunks of trees, which form a timber causeway between Petersburgh and Moscow; so that, when taken from their fine, new carriages, they could hardly crawl, and made the most pitiable grimaces imaginable. A few days after coming to Moscow, they ordered all the carriages to be sold for whatever sum any person would offer.

But it is time to leave our oriental friends and fellow-lodgers, that we may give an account of the ceremonies of Easter; during the preparations for which, we had the good fortune to arrive. The people of Moscow celebrate the *Paque* with a degree of pomp and festivity unknown to the rest of Europe. The most splendid pageants of Rome do not equal the costliness and splendour of the Russian church. Neither could Venice, in the midst of her carni-

val, ever rival, in debauchery and superstition, in licentiousness and parade, what passes during this season in Moscow.

It should first be observed, there are no people who observe Lent with more scrupulous and excessive rigour than the Russians. Travelling the road from Petersburgh to Moscow, if at any time, in poor cottages, where the peasants appeared starving, I offered them a part of our dinner, they would shudder at the sight of it, and cast it to the dogs; dashing out of their children's hands, as an abomination, any food given to them; and removing every particle that might be left, entirely from their sight. In drinking tea with a Cossack, he not only refused to have milk in his cup, but would not use a spoon that had been in the tea offered him with milk, although wiped carefully in a napkin, until it had passed through scalding water. The same privation prevails among the higher ranks; but, in proportion as this rigour has been observed, so much the more excessive is the degree of gluttony and relaxation, when the important intelligence that "*Christ is risen*" has issued from the mouth of the arch-bishop. During Easter, they run into every kind of excess, rolling about drunk the whole week; as if rioting, debauchery, extravagance, gambling, drinking, and fornication, were as much a religious observance, as starving had been before; and that the same superstition which kept them fasting during Lent, had afterwards instigated them to the most beastly excesses.

Even their religious customs are perfectly adapted to their climate and manners. Nothing can be contrived with more ingenious policy to suit the habits of the Russians. When Lent fasting begins, their stock of frozen provisions is either exhausted, or unfit for use; and the interval which takes place allows sufficient time for procuring, killing, and storing, the fresh provisions of the spring. The night before the famous ceremony of the resurrection, all the markets and shops of Moscow, are seen filled with flesh, butter, eggs, poultry, pigs, and every kind of viand. The crowd of purchasers is immense. You hardly meet a foot-passenger who has not his hands, nay his arms, filled with provisions; or a single *droski* that is not ready to break down beneath their weight.

The first ceremony which took place, previous to all this feasting, was that of the *Paque fleuries*, or Palm Sunday.

On the eve of this day, all the inhabitants of Moscow resort, in carriages, on horseback, or on foot, to the Kremlin, for the purchase of palm-branches, to place before their boghs, and to decorate the sacred pictures in the streets, or elsewhere. It is one of the gayest promenades of the year. The governour, attended by the *maître de police*, the commandant, and a train of nobility, go in procession, mounted on fine horses. The streets are lined by spectators; and cavalry are stationed on each side, to preserve order. Arriving in the Kremlin, a vast assembly, bearing artificial *bouquets* and boughs, are seen moving here and there, forming the novel and striking spectacle of a gay and moving forest. The boughs consist of artificial flowers, with fruit. Beautiful representations of oranges and lemons in wax are sold for a few *copeeks** each, and offer a proof of the surprising ingenuity of this people in the arts of imitation. Upon this occasion, every person who visits the Kremlin, and would be thought a true Christian, purchases one or more of the boughs, called Palm-branches; and in returning, the streets are crowded with *droskis*, and all kinds of vehicles, filled with devotees, holding in their hands one or more palm-branches, according to the degree of their piety, or the number of boghs in their houses.

The description often given of the splendour of the equipages in Moscow but ill agrees with their appearance during Lent. A stranger, who arrives, with his head full of notions of Asiatick pomp, and eastern magnificence, would be surprised to find narrow streets, execrably paved, covered by mud or dust; wretched looking houses on each side; carriages, drawn, it is true, by six horses, but such cattle! blind, lame, old, out of condition, of all sizes and all colours, connected by rotten ropes and old cords, full of knots and splices: on the leaders and on the box, figures that seem to have escaped from the galleys; behind, a lousy, ragged lackey, or, perhaps, two, with countenances exciting more pity than derision; and the carriage itself like the worst of the night-coaches in London. But this external wretchedness, as far as it concerns the equipages of the nobles, admits of some explanation. The fact is, that a dirty, tattered livery, a rotten harness, bad horses, and a shabby vehicle, constitute one part of the privation of the season. On Easter Monday the most gaudy but fantastick

* The *copeek* equals in value an English halfpenny.

buffoonery of splendour fills every street in the city. The emperour, it is true, in his high consideration for the welfare and happiness of his subjects, deemed it expedient to adapt the appearance to the reality of their wretchedness: and, in restraining the excessive extravagance of the people of Moscow, evinced more wisdom, than the world have given him credit for possessing.

The second grand ceremony of this season takes place on Thursday before Easter, at noon, when the archbishop washes the feet of the apostles. This we also witnessed. The priests appeared in their most gorgeous apparel. Twelve monks, designed to represent the twelve apostles, were placed in a semicircle before the archbishop. The ceremony is performed in the cathedral, which is crowded with spectators. The archbishop, performing all and much more than is related of our Saviour in the thirteenth chapter of St. John, takes off his robes, girds up his loins with a towel, and proceeds to wash the feet of them all, until he comes to the representative of Peter, who rises; and the same interlocution takes place between him and the archbishop, which is said to have taken place between our Saviour and that apostle.

The third, and most magnificent ceremony of all, is celebrated two hours after midnight, in the morning of Easter Sunday. It is called the ceremony of the resurrection, and certainly exceeded every thing of the kind celebrated at Rome, or any where else. I have not seen so splendid a sight in any Roman catholick country; not even that of the benediction by the pope during the holy week.

At midnight, the great bell of the cathedral tolled. Its vibrations seemed the rolling of distant thunder; and they were instantly accompanied by the noise of all the bells in Moscow. Every inhabitant was stirring, and the rattling of carriages in the streets was greater than at noonday. The whole city was in a blaze; for lights were seen in all the windows, and innumerable torches in the streets. The tower of the cathedral was illuminated from its foundation to its cross. The same ceremony takes place in all the churches; and, what is truly surprising, considering their number, it is said they are all equally crowded.

We hastened to the cathedral, which was filled with a prodigious assembly of all ranks and sexes, bearing lighted wax tapers, to be afterwards heaped as vows on the different shrines. The walls, ceilings, and every part of

this building, is covered by the pictures of saints and martyrs. In the moment of our arrival the doors were shut; and on the outside appeared Plato, the archbishop, preceded by banners and torches, and followed by all his train of priests, with crucifixes and censers, who were making three times, in procession, the tour of the cathedral; chaunting with loud voices, and glittering in sumptuous vestments, covered by gold, silver, and precious stones. The snow had not melted so rapidly in the Kremlin as in the streets of the city; and this magnificent procession was therefore constrained to move upon planks over the deep mud which surrounded the cathedral. After completing the third circuit, they all halted opposite the great doors, which were shut; and the archbishop, with a censer, scattered incense against the doors, and over the priests. Suddenly those doors were opened, and the effect was beyond description great. The immense throng of spectators within, bearing innumerable tapers, formed two lines, through which the archbishop entered, advancing with his train to a throne near the centre. The profusion of lights in all parts of the cathedral, and, among others, of the enormous chandelier which hung from the centre, the richness of the dresses, and the vastness of the assembly, filled us with astonishment. Having joined the suite of the archbishop, we accompanied, the procession and passed even to the throne, on which the police officers permitted us to stand, among the priests, near an embroidered stool of satin, placed for the archbishop. The loud chorus, which burst forth at the entrance to the church, continued as the procession moved towards the throne, and after the archbishop had taken his seat; when my attention was, for a moment, called off, by seeing one of the Russians earnestly crossing himself with his right hand, while his left was employed in picking my companion's pocket of his handkerchief.

Soon after, the archbishop descended, and went all round the cathedral; first offering incense to the priest, and then to the people as he passed along. When he had returned to his seat, the priests, two by two, performed the same ceremony; beginning with the archbishop, who rose and made obeisance with a lighted taper in his hand. From the moment the church doors were opened, the spectators had continued bowing their heads and crossing themselves; insomuch that some of the people seemed really exhausted, by the constant motion of the head and hands.

I had now leisure to examine the dresses and figures of the priests, which were certainly the most striking I ever saw. Their long, dark hair, without powder, fell down in ringlets, or straight and thick, far over their rich robes and shoulders. Their dark, thick beards, also, entirely covered their breasts. On the heads of the archbishop and bishops were high caps, covered with gems, and adorned by miniature paintings, set in jewels, of the crucifixion, the virgin and the saints. Their robes of various coloured satin, were of the most costly embroidery, and even on these were miniature pictures set with precious stones.

Such, according to the consecrated legend of ancient days, was the appearance of the high-priests of old, Aaron and his sons, holy men standing by the temple of the congregation in fine raiments, the workmanship of "Bezaleel, the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah." It is said there is a convent in Moscow where the women are entirely employed in working dresses for the priests.

After two hours had been spent in various ceremonies, the archbishop advanced, holding forth a cross, which all the people crowded to embrace, squeezing each other nearly to suffocation. As soon, however, as their eagerness had been somewhat satisfied, he retired to the sacristy; where, putting on a plain, purple robe, he again advanced, exclaiming three times, in a very loud voice: *Christ is risen!*

The most remarkable part of the solemnity now followed. The archbishop, descending into the body of the church, concluded the whole ceremony by crawling round the pavement on his hands and knees, kissing the consecrated pictures, whether on the pillars, the walls, the altars, or the tombs; the priests and all the people imitating his example. Sepulchres were opened, and the mummied bodies of incorruptible saints exhibited, all of which underwent the same general kissing.

Thus was Easter proclaimed; and riot and debauchery instantly broke loose. The inn in which we lodged became a pandemonium. Drinking, dancing, and singing, continued through the night and day. But, in the midst of all these excesses, quarrels hardly ever took place. The wild, rude riot of a Russian populace is full of humanity. Few disputes are heard; no blows are given; no lives endangered, but by drinking. No meetings take place of any kind, without repeating the expressions of peace and joy, *Christos*

voscress! Christ is risen! to which the answer always is the same, *Vo istiney voscress!* He is risen indeed!

On Easter Monday begins the presentation of the paschal eggs: lovers to their mistresses, relatives to each other, servants to their masters, all bring ornamented eggs. Every offering, at this season, is called a paschal egg. The meanest pauper in the street, presenting an egg, and repeating the words *Christos voscress*, may demand a salute, even of the empress. All business is laid aside; the upper ranks are engaged in visiting, balls, dinners, suppers, and masquerades; while boors fill the air with their songs, or roll drunk about the streets. Servants appear in new and tawdry liveries; and carriages in the most sumptuous parade.

In the midst of this uproar, I made myself as much like a Russian as possible, and went in a *caftan* to one of the publick balls of the citizens, given in our inn. It was held in a suite of several apartments; and a numerous band of musick, composed of violins, wind instruments, and kettle-drums, had been provided. The master of the inn had, also, taken care to invite a company of gipsies, to entertain the company by their dancing. A single rouble was demanded, as the price of admission. All fears of appearing like a foreigner vanished, upon entering the principal hall-room; for I found an assembly as various in their appearance, as characters in a masquerade. On the benches were squatted Turks, with their usual gravity and indifference, looking on with a solemn, vacant stare, unmoved, by shouts of joy or tumultuous songs, by the noise of the dancing, or the thundering of a pair of kettle drums close to their ears. In another part were a party of Bucharians, with flat noses, high cheek bones, and little eyes; their heads shaved, and a small, conical, embroidered cap on the crown of their sculls; in red morocco boots, long trowsers, of blue cloth, with a girdle and a poignard. Besides these were Chinese merchants, Cossacks, and even Calmucks, all of whom appeared as spectators. In the middle of the room the Russian boors and tradesmen were dancing with prostitutes, while their own wives and daughters were walking about. A party of gipsies were performing the national dance, called *Barina*. It resembled our English hornpipe; but never was displayed more ferocious licentiousness by voice and gesture. The male dancer expressed his savage joy in squeaks, contortions, and sudden, convulsive spasms, that seemed to agitate his whole frame; standing sometimes

still; then howling, whining tenderly, or trembling in all his limbs, to the musick, which was very animating. This dance, though very common in Russia, they confess to have derived from the gipsies; and it may, therefore, seem probable, that our hornpipe was introduced by the same people. Other gipsies were telling fortunes, according to their universal practice, or begging for presents of oranges and ices. This extraordinary people, found in all parts of Europe, were originally one of the *casts* of India, driven out of their own territory, and distinguished, among Indian tribes, by a name, which signifies thieves.* They have a similar appellation among the Fins, and with the same signification. They preserve, everywhere, the same features, manners, and customs, and, what is more remarkable, almost always the same mode of dress. The extraordinary resemblance of the female gipsies, to the women of India, was remarked by our officers and men in Egypt, when general Baird arrived with his army to join lord Hutchinson. The seapoys had many of their women with them, who were exactly like our gipsies. In their dress, they lavish all their finery upon their head. Their costume, in Russia, is very different from that of the natives. They wear enormous caps covered with ribbands, and decorated in front with a prodigious quantity of silver coins, which form a matted mail work over their foreheads. They also wear such coins as necklaces, and have the smallest to be met with in the empire, for pendants to their ears. The Russians hold them in great contempt, never speaking of them without abuse; and feel themselves contaminated by their touch, unless it be to have their fortune told. They believe a gipsy not only has the wish, but the power, to cheat every one they see; and, therefore, generally avoid them. Formerly they were more scattered over Russia, and paid no tribute; but now they are collected, and all belong to one nobleman, to whom they pay a certain tribute, and rank among the number of his slaves. They accompany their dances by singing, and loud clapping of the hands; breaking forth, at intervals, with shrieks, and short expressive cries, adapted to the sudden movements, gestures, and turns of the dance. The male dancers hold in one hand a handkerchief, which they

* See the Commentary of professor Porthan, of Abo in Finland, upon the Chronicle of that University. His works are not sufficiently known. He has given the history and origin of the Finland tribes; and a very erudite dissertation concerning the gipsies.

wave about, and manage with grace, as well as art. The dance, full of the grossest libidinous expression, and most indecent posture, is, in other respects, graceful. Nothing can be more so, than the manner in which they sometimes wave and extend their arms. It resembles the attitudes of Bacchanalians represented on Greek vases. But the women do not often exhibit these attitudes. They generally maintain a stiff, upright position, keeping their feet close, and beating a tattoo with their high heels.

When the Russians dance the *barina*, it is accompanied with the *balalaika*. Formerly they were great admirers of that simple and pleasing instrument. But now, imitating the manners of France and England, it has been laid aside. Many of them are still able to play it; but, as they deem such an accomplishment a sort of degradation in the eyes of foreigners, they are seldom prevailed upon to use it. Like the ladies of Wales, who, scarce able to speak English, affect ignorance of their native tongue.

Collected in other parts of rooms, opened for this assembly, were vocal performers, in parties of ten or twelve each, singing voluntaries. They preserved the most perfect harmony, each taking a separate part, though without any seeming consciousness of the skill thus exerted. The female dancers and assistants, in this ball, were many of them prostitutes; but the wives and daughters of the peasants, and lower tradesmen, mingled with them, dressed out in their full national costume, and apparently not at all displeased with such society.

The ball of the nobles admits a very different description. It took place every Tuesday; and, it may be truly said, Europe has not beheld its equal. I was never more struck by the appearance of an assembly, convened for the purpose of dancing. The laws of the society exclude every person, who is by birth a plebeian; and this exclusion has been extended to foreigners; therefore, we felt grateful in being allowed admission. Prince Viazemskoi, who married an English lady, kindly procured tickets for us; although it was considered dangerous, at that time, to have the character of hospitality towards Englishmen.* If his highness be now living, he is requested to pardon this testimony of

* I wish to lay particular stress upon this circumstance, as almost all travellers have celebrated Russian hospitality, and particularly that of the inhabitants of Moscow. "L'hospitalité des Russes," say the authors of the Voyage de Deux Français, "paroit ici dans tout son jour."

his generous condescension. I feel sensible, that a congeniality of sentiment will render any apology superfluous, for the sacrifice I have elsewhere made in the cause of truth.

The *coup d'œil*, upon entering the grand saloon, is inconceivable. During ten years that I have been accustomed to spectacles of a similar nature, in different parts of the continent, I have never seen any thing with which it might compare. The company consisted of near two thousand persons; nobles only being admitted. The dresses were the most sumptuous that can be imagined; and, what is more remarkable, they were conceived in the purest taste, and were in a high degree becoming. The favourite ornaments of the ladies were cameos, which they wore upon their arms, in girdles round their waists, or upon their bosoms; a mode of adorning the fair, which has since found its way to our own country, and which was originally derived from Paris. But the women of France and England may go to Moscow, in order to see their own fashions set off to advantage. Their drapery was disposed chiefly after the Grecian costume, and they wore their hair bound up round the head. The modes of dress, in London and Paris, are generally blended together, by the ladies of Moscow, who select from either what may become them best; and, in justice to their charms, it must be confessed, no country in the world can boast superiour beauty. When, in addition to their personal attractions, it is considered, that the most excessive extravagance is used, to procure whatever may contribute to their adornment;* that a whole fortune is, sometimes, lavished on a single dress; that they are assembled in one of the finest rooms in the world, lighted and decorated with matchless elegance and splendour; it may be supposed the effect has never been surpassed.

In such an assembly, we have every reason to suppose, a couple of English travellers might pass without notice. We had, moreover, a particular reason for hoping this would be the case; as, in obedience to a decree of the emperour Paul, we had collected our short hair into a cue, which ap-

* It is related, very generally, in the higher circles of the city, that a princess of Moscow, who had purchased a wig, to imitate the colour of her own hair, confined her hairdresser in a closet, fed him always herself, and allowed him only to come out during her toilette, in order that her false tresses might not be detected.

peared most ridiculously curtailed, sticking out, like any thing but that which it was intended to represent; and most remarkably contrasted with the long tails of the Russians. Unfortunately, the case was otherwise; and a curiosity to see the two Englishmen becoming general, to our great dismay we found ourselves surrounded by a crowd of persons, some of whom thought proper to ask, "*Who cut our hair?*" Such questions, it may be conceived, did not add to the evening's amusement. But our astonishment was completed the next day, in receiving the thanks and blessing of a poor ragged barber, who had powdered us at the inn, and whose fortune, he assured us, we had made; all the young nobles having sent for him, to cut and dress their hair in the same ridiculous manner.

I should not have mentioned such a trifling incident, if it had not ultimately taken a very serious turn; for the police officers interfering, the young men, who had thus docked themselves, were apprehended in the publick walks, severely reprimanded, and compelled to wear false hair; and we were obliged to use the utmost circumspection, lest we should also be apprehended, and, perhaps, treated with more rigour.

The dances were called Quadrilles, Polonese, and English. The Waltz, once their favourite, had been prohibited. But whatever name they gave them, they were all dull; consisting merely in a sort of promenade. Neither the men nor the women evinced the slightest degree of animation while dancing, but seemed to consider it an apology for not sitting still. Every person wore full dress; the men appearing either in uniform, or coats of very rich embroidery.

CHAPTER V.

MOSCOW.

Surprising Talents of Imitation among the Russians—Remarkable fraud practised by a Native Artist—Booksellers—State of Literature—Libraries of the Nobles—Equipages—Costume of the Bourgeoisie—Amusements of the People—Chapel of the Tverschaia—Miracles wrought there—Nature of the Imposture—Artifice of a Merchant—Assassination of an Archbishop—Motive for the Worship of Pictures—Resemblance between Neapolitans and Russians—Wives of the Nobles—Conduct of their Husbands—Children of Orloff—Princess Menchicoff—Retributive spirit exercised by the Emperour at the Funeral of his Mother.

IN whatever country we seek original genius, we must go to Russia for a talent of imitation. It is the acme of Russian intellect; the principle of all their operations. They have nothing of their own; but it is not their fault if they have not every thing which others invent. Their surprising powers of imitation exceed all that has been hitherto known. The meanest Russian slave has been found adequate to the accomplishment of the most intricate and most delicate works of mechanism; to copy, with his single hand, what has demanded the joint labours of the best workmen in France or England. Though untutored, they are the best actors in the world. A Russian gentleman, who had never seen a theatre, assisted during the representation of a play, in one of the remote, eastern provinces; and was accidentally seen by persons capable of estimating the merit of his performance, which they pronounced superiour to that of any of our European actors. I am disposed to credit this account, because, in examples of their imitative genius, I have witnessed something similar. If they were instructed in the art of painting, they would become the finest portrait painters in the world. In proof of this I saw one example: it was a miniature portrait of the emperour, executed by a poor slave, who had only once seen

him, during the visit he made to Moscow. In all that concerned resemblance and minuteness of representation, it was the most astonishing work which, perhaps, ever appeared. The effect produced was like that of beholding the original through a diminishing lens. The Birmingham trinket manufactory, in which imitations of jewelry and precious metals are wrought with so much cheapness, is surpassed in Moscow; because the workmanship is equally good, and the things themselves are cheaper. But the great source of wonder is in the manner of their execution. At Birmingham they are the workmanship of many persons; in Moscow of one only; yet the difference between divided and undivided labour in this branch of trade occasions none in the price of the articles. I saw, in Moscow, imitations of the Maltese and Venetian gold chains, which would deceive any person, unless he were himself a goldsmith. This is not the case with their cutlery, in which a multiplication of labour is so requisite. They fail, therefore, in hard ware; not because they are incapable of imitating the works they import, but because they cannot afford to sell them for the same price. Where a patent, as in the instance of Bramah's locks, has kept up the price of an article in England beyond the level it would otherwise find, the Russians have imitated such works with the greatest perfection, and sold the copy at a lower rate than the original, though equally valuable. This extraordinary talent for imitation has been shown also in the fine arts. A picture by Dietriei, in the style of Polemberg, was borrowed by one of the Russian nobility from his friend. The nobleman who owned the picture had impressed his seal upon the back of it, and had inscribed verses and mottos of his own composition. With so many marks he thought his picture safe any where. But a copy so perfect was finished, both as to the painting and all the circumstances of colour in the canvass, the seal, and the inscriptions, that when put into the frame of the original, and returned to its owner, the fraud was not discovered. This circumstance was afterwards made known by the confession of the artist employed; and there are now residing in Petersburgh and Moscow, foreign artists* of the highest respectability and talents, who attest its truth. One of them, Signior Camporesi, assured me, that walking in the

* Guarenghi of Petersburgh, and Camporesi of Moscow, Italian architects employed by the crown.

suburbs of Moscow, he entered a miserable hut belonging to a cobbler; where, at the further end, in a place contrived to hold pans and kettles, and to dress victuals, he observed a ragged peasant at work. It was a painter in enamel, copying very beautiful pictures which were placed before him. The same person, he added, might have been found, next day, drunk in a cellar, or howling beneath the cudgel of his task-master. Under the present form of government in Russia, it is not very probable the fine arts will ever flourish. A Russian is either a slave, or has received his freedom. In the former instance, he works only when instigated by the rod of his master, and is cudgelled as often as his master thinks proper. While employed in works of sculpture or painting, he is frequently called off, to mend a chair or a table, to drive nails into a wainscot, or daub the walls of the house. When evening comes, as certainly comes a cudgel across his shoulders. And this is not the way to make artists. In the latter instance, if he has received his freedom, the action of the cudgel having ceased, all stimulus to labour ends. He has then no other instigation to work, except the desire of being able to buy brandy, and to get drunk; which he does whenever he can procure the means; and there is soon a period put to any exertions of his talents. Neither is this a way to make artists.

The booksellers' shops in Moscow are better furnished than in Petersburgh; but they are very rarely placed upon a ground floor. The convenience of walking into a shop from the street, without climbing a flight of stairs, is almost peculiar to England; though there are some exceptions, as in the palais royal at Paris, and in a few houses, at Vienna. A catalogue of Russian authors in some of the shops, fills an octavo volume of two hundred pages. French, Italian, German, and English books, would be as numerous here as in any other city, were it not for the ravages of the publick censors, who prohibit the sale of books from their own ignorant misconception of their contents. Sometimes a single volume, nay a single page, of an author, is prohibited, and the rest of the work, thus mangled, permitted to be sold. There is hardly a single modern work which has not been subject to their correction. The number of prohibited books is such, that the trade is ruined. Contraband publications are often smuggled; but the danger is so great, that all the respectable booksellers leave the trade to per-

sons, either more daring, or who, from exercising other occupations, are less liable to suspicion.

Yet there are circumstances arising from the state of publick affairs in the two cities, which gives a superiority to the booksellers of Moscow. In and near the city reside a vast number of Russian nobility. A foreigner might live many years there, without even hearing the names of some of them; whereas at Petersburgh a few only are found, who all belong to the court, and are therefore all known. The nobles of Moscow have many of them formerly figured in the presence of their sovereign, and have been ordered to reside in that city; or they have passed their youth in foreign travel, and withdrawn to their seats in its environs. Many of these have magnificent libraries; and, as the amusement of collecting, rather than the pleasure of reading books, has been the reason of their forming those sumptuous collections, the booksellers receive orders to a very large amount.* When a Russian nobleman reads, which is very rare, it is commonly a novel; either some licentious trash in French, or some English romance translated into that language. Of the latter, the Italian of Mrs. Radcliffe, has been better done than any other; because, representing customs which are not absolutely local, it admits of easier transition into any other European tongue. But when they attempt to translate Tom Jones, The Vicar of Wakefield, or any of those inimitable, original pictures of English manners, the effect is ridiculous beyond description. Squire Western becomes a French philosopher, and Goldsmith's Primrose a *Fleur de Lis*.

Books of real, literary reputation are not to be obtained, either in Petersburgh or Moscow. Productions of other days, which, from their importance in science, have become rare, are never to be found. Costly and frivolous volumes, sumptuously bound, and most gorgeously decorated, constitute the precious part of a library, in Russian estimation. Gaudy French editions of Fontenelle, of Marmontel, of Italian sonneteers, with English folios of butterflies, shells, and flowers; editions by Baskerville, Bensley, and Bulmer, with hot-pressed and wire-wove paper; in short, the toys rather than the instruments of science, attract the notice of all the Russian amateurs. A magnificent library in Russia,

* These orders are sometimes given in the style related of one of the late empress's favourites, who sent for a bookseller, and said: "*Fit me up a handsome library: little books above, and great ones below.*"

in which immense sums have been expended, will be found to contain very little of useful literature. In vain, among their stately collections, smelling like a tannery of leather which bears their name, may we seek for classick authors, historians, lawgivers, and poets. A copy of the Encyclopedia, placed more for ostentation than for use, may perhaps, in a solitary instance or two, greet the eye, as the only estimable work, throughout their gilded shelves.

After London and Constantinople, Moscow is, doubtless, the most remarkable city in Europe. A stranger, passing rapidly through, might pronounce it the dullest, dirtiest, and most uninteresting city in the world; while another, having resided there, would affirm, that it had rather the character of a great commercial and wealthy metropolis of a vast and powerful empire. If the grandeur and riches of the inhabitants, are to be estimated by the number of equipages, and the number of horses attached to each, Moscow would excel, in splendour, all the cities of the globe. There is hardly an individual, above the rank of plebeian, who would be seen without four horses to his carriage; and the generality have six. But, the manner in which this pomp is displayed, is a perfect burlesque upon stateliness. A couple of ragged boys are placed as postilions, before a coachman, in such sheep's hides as are worn by the peasants in the woods; and, behind the carriage, are stationed a couple of lackeys, more tawdry, but not less ludicrous than their drivers. To give all this greater effect, the traces of the harness are so long, that it requires considerable management to preserve the horses from being entangled, whenever they turn the corner of a street, or make a halt. Notwithstanding this, no stranger, however he may deride its absurdity, will venture to visit the nobles, if he wishes for their notice, without four horses to his chariot, a ragged coachman and postilion, and a parade of equipage, that must excite his laughter, in proportion as it ensures their countenance and approbation.

The wives of the tradesmen, during the season of their festivals, are seen driving about in droskis, with riches upon their persons sufficient to purchase a peerage. Caps made of matted work of pearls, with Turkish and Persian shawls, and diamond earrings; preserving, at the same time, always the national costume, however costly their apparel. This costume is remarkably graceful, when the shawl is worn, and as much otherwise when it is not. The shawl

covers the head, and falls in thin folds over the shoulders, reaching almost to the feet. The celebrated Pallas presented me with a drawing, representing the wife of a Russian tradesman, with the old duenna, or nurse, which is found in almost every family. It was executed by his artist, Geisler. With that good humour which always characterizes him, finding the women unwilling to have their figures delineated, he caused Mrs. Pallas to assume the dress of the young wife, and put on his own person the habit of a duenna; thus affording a scenick representation, in which the persons of the drama, though strongly caricatured, are, the professor and his wife.

The amusements of the people, are those of children; that is to say, of English children; for, in Paris and Naples, I have witnessed similar amusements, in which grave senators and statesmen mounted wooden horses, *round-abouts*, and *ups-and-downs*, with the inhabitants of those cities. It will be said, the English are a grave people. Be it so. But, I believe, I could assign a better reason for the want of such infantine sports at their wakes and fairs. Certainly there is no part of our island, in which men of forty and fifty years of age, would be seen riding on a wooden horse, or swinging about in a vaulting chair. Three Russians at a time will squeeze themselves into one, and, as they are whirled round, scream, for joy, like infants, tossed in the nurse's arms. I remember seeing the king of the Two Sicilies, joining, with his principal courtiers, in a similar amusement.

Entering by the gate of the Resurrection, which forms the eastern extremity of the Tverschaia, one of the principal streets in Moscow, there is a small chapel, or chamber, open to the street; before which, at all hours of the day, a mob is seen assembled, crossing and prostrating themselves. I had the curiosity to penetrate this host of devotees, and to enter the sanctuary. There I found an old man, with a long beard, busy in selling candles to the numerous visitants, who, immediately after buying them, placed them before a picture of the virgin. The little chapel was filled with a variety of pictures of saints and martyrs; but there were two of the virgin with the infant, larger than the rest, and placed facing the streets; one of which is said to have been brought hither by an angel, which causes the extraordinary devotion paid to that picture in particular; although there are many such pictures in other parts of

Moscow, with the same reputation of a miraculous transportation. The particular picture, to which reference is now made, was framed in silver, set round with gems, true or false, of various magnitudes. It has great celebrity, from the numberless miracles it has wrought, in healing the sick, restoring sight to the blind, and showering down favours of all kinds upon its worshippers. Now, supposing only four persons present themselves before this image, as it is called, in the compass of a single minute (and sometimes fifty in the same instant may be observed opposite the shrine) no less a number than two thousand eight hundred and eighty persons will be found to visit it in the short space of twelve hours. It would be indeed, a miracle, if, out of this number, one or two did not occasionally experience relief, either from sickness of body, or sorrow, or some pleasing, accidental change in circumstances. And, whenever this happens, if only once in thirty days, which would be one out of eighty six thousand four hundred persons, not reckoning nightly visitants, the noise of it is circulated far and wide, the story itself exaggerated, and the throng of votaries increased. Upon such ground, an idiot might be the occasion of as vast a superstructure of ignorance and credulity as any which even Russia has witnessed. The picture of a saint found accidentally in the street, human bones dug up in a forest, a dream, any casual and rude representation of a cross, in straws which have fallen together at the meeting of roads, or a *lusus naturæ*, the colours of a pied horse, veins in a piece of flint or marble, in short, whatever represents, or is supposed to represent, any object in their prodigious catalogue of superstition, might occasion a resort of devotees, give rise to a church, or a marketplace for waxchandlers, painters, and silversmiths, as famous as the shrine of Diana of Ephesus.

What is so probable, has frequently happened. A merchant of Moscow, more renowned for speculation than piety, some years ago caused a coffin to be dug up, with the supposed body of a saint, in the interior of the empire, eastward of the city. The throng to it from all parts became immense; the blind were healed, the lame left their crutches suspended as trophies of miraculous cures; and, in a short time, all the other churches were deserted, in consequence of the reputation of the newly discovered saint. It was, moreover, said, that his saintship was very passionate; that he was angry at being disturbed; and insisted

having a church built over him, to ensure his future ose. A church was, therefore, erected; when the news of the whole affair reaching the ears of the late empress Catherine, she ordered the building to be shut. The emperour Paul, from a determination to undo every thing she did, and to do as much as possible what she would not have done, caused it to be again opened; although it was well known in Russia, that the merchant, after the church was shut by the empress's order, frequently avowed, and laughed at the fraud he had committed. Much after the same manner, during the plague which raged in Moscow about thirty years ago, a picture was placed in one of the streets of the city, to which the people eagerly thronged upon the earliest intelligence of it. The archbishop Ambrose, finding that the danger of spreading the infection increased as the people crowded to this picture, ordered it to be removed, and shut up in a church, the doors of which were forced open by the populace; and the venerable prelate, being dragged from the convent of Donskoi, was inhumanly put to death. The late empress, in her correspondence with Voltaire, gave an account of this event; recommending it as a supplement to the article *fanaticism*, in the French Encyclopædia.*

All that has been said or written of Roman catholic bigotry, affords but a feeble idea of the superstition of the Greek church. It is certainly the greatest libel upon human reason; the severest scandal upon universal piety, that has yet disgraced the annals of mankind. The wild, untutored savage of South America, who prostrates himself before the sun, and pays his adoration to that which he believes to be the source of life and light, exercises more rational devotion than the Russian, who is all day crossing himself before his bogh, and sticking farthing candles before a picture of St. Alexander Nevski. But in the adoration paid by this people to their saints and virgins, we may discern strong traces of their national character. The homage they offer to a court parasite or to a picture, are both founded on the same principle; and in all their speculations, political or religious, they are prompted by the same motive. A deity, or a despot, by the nature of the one, and the policy of the other, is too far removed from their view to admit of any immediate application. All their petitions, instead of being addressed at once to a spir-

* "Lettres de l'Impér. de Russie," &c. Lett. 94.

itual or a temporal throne, are directed to one or the other by channels which fall beneath the cognizance of sense. Thus we find *favouritism* the keystone of Russian government, and adoration of saints the pillar of their faith. The sovereign is disregarded in the obeisance offered to his favourites; and the Creator forgotten in the worship of his creatures.

As we lived in some degree of intimacy with many of the Russian nobility, their manners and opinions could not escape our notice. Of all Europeans they bear the greatest resemblance to the nobles of the "Two Sicilies." The Neapolitans, and the grandees of Palermo, are exactly like those of Moscow; and even the peasants of the two countries have a certain degree of resemblance. The similitude may arise from a similarity of government; vitious and despotick; ignorant and superstitious. The same character prevails in their national dances, and in their mode of dress. The *barina* differs little from the *tarantala;* and the female peasants of the Campana Felice dress very much like the women near Moscow; with the same shoes; the same kind of headdress; the same embroidered suits; the same load of finery. Cannot this be explained? The costume of magna Græcia came from the archipelago; and the art of dress was introduced to Russia from Constantinople. I have before mentioned, that in their sports the Russians and Neopolitans are the same. In the class of the nobles, the women are far superiour to the men: they are mild, affectionate, often well informed, beautiful, and highly accomplished; while the men are destitute of every qualification which might render them, in the eyes of their female companions, objects of admiration. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that ladies of rank in Moscow have the character of not being strict in their fidelity to their husbands; especially when the profligate example so lately offered them in their empress Catherine, be taken into consideration. It is difficult to conceive how the wives of the generality of nobles in Moscow can entertain any respect for their husbands. Married, without passion, by the policy and self-love of their parents, frequently to men they never saw until the time of wedlock; subjected to tyrants, who neither afford examples to their children, nor any source of social enjoyment to themselves; who are superannuated before the age of thirty, diseased, dirty, and overwhelmed by debt; the women of Moscow regard the matri-

monial life as superiour, indeed, to that of imprisonment in a convent; but as a state of slavery, from which they look to a joyful deliverance in the death of their husbands. Every one acquainted with the real history of the empress Catherine, and the manner in which she burst the connubial bonds, will find in it a model of the state of female society throughout the empire. The wives of the nobles, it is true, do not assassinate their husbands; but the ties of wedlock are altogether disregarded. In giving this representation, I would be understood with reference to the general state of the community. I shall not offend my reader, nor wound the feelings of individuals, by retailing private anecdotes for publick purposes; neither is it necessary to relate the few exceptions of which the statement may admit. Whatever credit may be given to it in this country, I am very sure it will not be contradicted in Russia.

A Russian nobleman will sell any thing he possesses, from his wife to his lap dog; from the decorations of his palace, to the ornaments of his person; any thing to obtain money; any thing to squander it away. Visiting a trading mineralogist, I was surprised to see glass cases filled with court dresses: and still more in being told they were dresses of the nobility, sent to be exposed for sale, as often as they wanted money. Their plan is to order whatever they can procure credit for; to pay for nothing; and to sell whatever they have ordered as soon as they receive it. We should call such conduct in England, *swindling*. In Moscow it bears another name: it is called *Russian magnificence*.

The children of those who murdered Peter the third resided in Moscow when we were there. One of them married the daughter of the governour. The princess Menzikof, grand-daughter of the favourite of Peter the great, was also there: we were often in her company; and too much amused by her cheerful disposition, to repent the style of conversation she indulges every where. However, that which is a proverb in Russia may bear an allusion in England. When the late empress died, her son and successour caused the body of his father to be taken up, and laid in state by the coffin of his mother in the palace at Petersburgh. It is said there was only one person, an archbishop, who knew where they had laid him; as he was interred without monument and inscription, in the church of the monastery of St. Alexander Nevski. Orlof, his murderer,

was then at Moscow. An order from the emperour brought him to Petersburgh; and when the bodies were removed to the church of St. Peter and St. Paul in the citadel,* he was compelled to walk in the procession from the palace to the citadel, following the body of the person he had murdered so long before. It was then the people of Petersburgh beheld an interesting spectacle of retribution. One of them, an eye-witness of the whole scene, related it to me. The bodies were drawn upon low chariots by horses. Immediately after the coffin of Peter the third, and close to it, walked, with slow and faltering steps, his assassin, Orlof, having his eyes fixed on the ground, his hands folded, and his face pale as death. Next to Orlof walked the emperour, certainly manifesting, by this sublime, though mysterious sacrifice to the manes of his father, an action worthy of a greater character. The ceremony ended, Orlof was ordered to quit the empire; and lately was travelling in Germany, and in the south of Europe.

CHAPTER VI.

MOSCOW.

State of Exiles in Siberia—Tobolski—Generous Conduct of a Citizen—Prince turned Pawnbroker—Picture Dealers—State of Medicine—Manners of the People—Opinions entertained of the English—Relative Condition of Slaves and their Lords—Noble Behaviour of Count Govolkin's Peasants—Servants of the Nobility—Theft committed by a Party of Nobles—Convent of the New Jerusalem—New Prohibitions—Publick Censors—Convent of the Trinity—Church of St. Basil—Ivan Basilovich—Tuberville's Letters.

IN England we hear of persons sent to Siberia as a very severe punishment, and entertain very erroneous notions concerning the state of exiles in that country. To a Russian nobleman, the sentence of exile can hardly imply

* The place where state prisoners are kept.

punishment. The consequence of their journey is very often an amelioration of their understanding and their hearts. They have no particular attachment to their country; none of that *maladie du pays*, which sickens the soul of an Englishman in banishment. They are bound by no strong ties of affection to their families; neither have they any friendship worth preserving. Tobolski, from the number and rank of the exiled, is become a large and populous city, full of shops and society, with theatres and elegant assemblies of amusement. Its inhabitants, above two thousand versts from Moscow, have booksellers, masquerades, French hotels, and French wives, with the porter and beer of England. Those who have resided there, either as officers on duty, as travellers, or as exiles, give the highest accounts of its gayety and population. An officer of considerable rank in the Russian service told me, he would rather have the half of his pay and live at Tobolski, than the whole of it in residence at Petersburgh. Many who have been ordered home have wished and sought to return thither. This is no subject of wonder. Tobolski is admirably adapted to the Russian taste. According to Gmelin, it is a very temple of Bacchus and indolence. Provisions were so cheap when he was there, in the middle of the last century, that a person might maintain himself for ten roubles a year; not two pounds of our money. His account of the Carnival and Easter festival* proves there was not much difference between the state of society in Tobolski and in Moscow at that time; and there is much less at present.

A circumstance occurred during my abode in Moscow, attended by a trait of so much generosity in a Russian, that I conceive it deserves to be related. On Wednesday, the seventh of May, the sub-governor received an order for his exile to Siberia. No reason whatever was assigned for the displeasure of the emperour; no offence was alleged. The whole city flocked to take leave of him, for he was much

* "Les gens les plus considérables se rendoient visite et se donnoient des divertissemens. Quant au peuple il étoit comme fou: ce n'étoit jour et nuit que promenades, cris, tumultes, batteries. Il étoit difficile d'aller dans les rues, tant il y avoit d'hommes, de femmes, de bêtes, et de traîneaux." *Voyage en Sibérie*, traduit par Keralio, tom. I. p. 53.

"On passe gaiment les fêtes de Pâques à recevoir et faire des visites. Le peuple s'amusa à sa manière; ce dont il s'occupa le plus fut le commerce des filles publiques qui ne sont pas rares à Tobolsk. Je n'avois vû nulle part tant des gens san nez que j'en vis ici." *Ibid.* p. 67.

beloved; and dangerous as such a testimony of their affection might prove, yet they crowded to his house, and considered him as a man sacrificed to the caprice of a tyrant. Among others came a humble citizen, and demanded admission. It was granted. "*You are going to leave us*," said he, "*and may not have time to settle your affairs. Do you not want money? I come as your banker.*" "I have need of some," said the governour, "but it is much more than you can furnish." "*How much?*" "Twenty five thousand roubles!" The honest fellow withdrew, and speedily returning with notes to the amount of the sum specified, placed them on the table, carefully counting them over, then made his bow, and retired.

Acquaintance with Camporesi, the architect, procured me admission at the house of prince Trubetzkoi, a dealer in minerals, pictures, hosiery, hats, cutlery, antiquities, in short, all the furniture of shops and museums. Having squandered away his fortune, he picked up a livelihood by selling, for himself and others, whatever came in his way. His house, like a pawnbroker's shop, exhibited one general magazine, occupying several rooms. A prince presiding over it, and practising all the artifices of the meanest tradesman, was a spectacle perfectly novel. Any thing might be bought of his highness, from a pair of bellows to a picture by Claude Lorraine. In the same room might be seen handkerchiefs, stockings, artificial flowers, fans, Cologne water, soap, pomatum, prints, books, guns, pistols, minerals, jewelry, harness, saddles, bridles, second-hand clothes, swords, stuffed birds, bronzes, buckles, buttons, snuff-boxes, wigs, watches, boots, and shoes. "My house," said the prince, as we entered, "and all it contains, is at your service, or any one's else who will buy it! I will sell you the house for a single rouble, provided you will pay me also a rouble for each article of its furniture." While we bargained with his highness, prince L. sent a note, which he read aloud. It was to borrow money. "Here's a man," said prince Trubetzkoi, "with a million of roubles in his drawing-room, sends to me for forty five, to pay his expenses into the country. You see how we go on in Russia!"

The number of pictures in Moscow is really astonishing. There are four or five eminent dealers, who have large collections. The palaces of the nobles are, many of them, filled, and there is not one of their owners unwilling to sell any picture they possess. It seems as if all Europe had

been ransacked to supply such collections. At first view, a room adorned by them has an imposing and very brilliant appearance; but, upon a nearer approach, the charm vanishes. They are almost all of them copies, and the major part of them brought from Vienna. But the Russians themselves are, as I have said before, so ingenious in the art of imitation, that a nobleman, of skill and judgment in painting, has been known to purchase of a dealer, copies made a few days before by one of his own slaves, who went from his easel to his more usual and daily occupation of blacking shoes, and afterwards got drunk with the wages of his ingenuity. As the nobles have rarely any money at command, their traffick in the fine arts, as in other things, is carried on by exchange. This sort of barter is of all things that in which they take the greatest delight. They purchase a picture for a carriage, or an embroidered suit of clothes, just as they pay their physician with a snuff-box. In every thing the same infantine disposition is displayed, and, like children, they are tired of their toys almost in the moment they have acquired them. In their choice of pictures, they are pleased only with gay and splendid colouring, highly finished, in gaudy frames, "*quelque chose d'éclatant!*" to use an expression constantly in their mouths. The works of Van der Werf, Watteau, Jordaens, Berchem, and Jerhard Douw, bear the highest prices; but if productions by any of the Bolognese masters are shown to them, they are rejected. Nothing of the *sombre* cast, however sublime, has any value in their estimation. The works of the Caracci, Zampieri, or even Michael Angelo, would not meet admirers. A beautiful head by Corregio, not many years ago possessed by an artist in London, in the course of those adventures to which fine pictures are liable, fell into the hands of a Russian priest. He kept it during a short time, because he had been told it was a celebrated work. At last he exchanged it for some wretched copies, with an Italian minature-painter. "It had too much shade," he said, "and the lights were too pale; it had the air altogether of a head from the guillotine." The method of paying their physician by trinkets, which I before mentioned, might seem an inconvenience to the faculty; but it is not so. Dr. Rogerson at Petersburgh, as I am informed, regularly received his snuff-box, and as regularly carried it to a jeweller for sale. The jeweller sold it again to the first nobleman who wanted a fee for his physician, so that the doctor

obtained his box again; and at last the matter became so well understood between the jeweller and a physician, that it was considered by both parties as a sort of bank-note, and no words were necessary in transacting the sale of it.

Having mentioned the name of this respectable physician, it may be well to say something of the state of medicine in the country. The business of an *accoucheur* is, I believe, always practised by women. The emperour ordered all the midwives to undergo examination before a board of physicians, a few days before we left Petersburgh. In the regulation concerning apothecaries, however well intended, the same wisdom was not shown. It is a reproach to the country. If a stranger arrives, and is in immediate want of an emetick* or any trifling drug, he cannot obtain it without the written order of some physician. If this takes place in the night, he might die before morning; for the physician, though sent for, certainly would not attend. In Petersburgh, the fee of an eminent physician is twenty five roubles: in Moscow, only one or two. Persons calling themselves English physicians are found in almost every town upon the continent. Sometimes they have worked in apothecaries' shops in London or Edinburgh; but generally they are Scotch apothecaries, who are men of professional skill, and of acknowledged superiority. In some places abroad, the practitioners are really natives of England: but whenever this is the case, the traveller is cautioned to shun them, however celebrated they may be, as he values his existence. Without exception, I never met a single instance of a man of talent among expatriated English physicians; neither would such men leave their country, to settle among foreigners, unless compelled by circumstances of misconduct at home. Those Englishmen upon the continent who go by the name of physicians, will generally be found, upon inquiry, to have exercised no such profession in their own country, but have lived as servants in the shops of apothecaries,† chymists, and druggists, or to have practised as veterinary surgeons, farriers, or itinerant quacks.

The Russian nobility are passionately fond of travelling, and under the circumstances of the emperour Paul's admi-

* A remedy almost infallible against those dangerous fevers which are the consequence of passing over unwholesome marshes in hot countries, if taken within twenty four hours.

† The English who were at Naples, in the year 1794, will call to mind the necessity of the caution here given.

nistration, this passion increased with the difficulty of its gratification. They entertain extravagant notions of the wealth and happiness of Englishmen; and they have good reason to do so; since whatever they possess useful or estimable comes to them from England. Books, maps, prints, furniture, clothing, hardware, of all kinds, horses, carriages; hats, leather, medicine, almost every article of convenience, comfort, or luxury, must be derived from England, or it is of no estimation. Some of the nobles are much richer than the richest of our English peers; and a vast number, as may be supposed, are very poor. To this poverty, and to these riches, are equally joined the most abject meanness, and the most detestable profligacy. In sensuality, they are without limits of law, conscience, or honour. In their amusement, always children; in their resentment, women. The toys of infants, the baubles of French fops, constitute the highest object of their wishes. Novelty delights the human race; but no part of it seek for novelty so eagerly as the Russian nobles. Novelty in their debaucheries; novelty in gluttony; novelty in cruelty; novelty in whatever they pursue. This is not the case with the lower class, who preserve their habits unaltered from one generation to another. But there are characteristicks in which the Russian prince and the Russian peasant are the same. They are all equally barbarous. Visit a Russian, of whatever rank, at his country seat, and you will find him lounging about, uncombed, unwashed, unshaven, half naked, eating raw turnips, and drinking *quass*. The raw turnip, is handed about in slices, in the first houses, upon a silver salver, with brandy, as a whet before dinner. Their hair is universally in a state not to be described; and their bodies are only divested of vermin when they frequent the bath. Upon those occasions, their shirts and pelisses are held over a hot stove, and the heat occasions the vermin to fall off. It is a fact too notorious to admit dispute, that from the emperour to the meanest slave, throughout the vast empire of all the Russias, including all its princes, nobles, priests, and peasants, there exists not a single individual in a thousand, whose body is destitute of vermin. An English gentleman of Moscow, residing as a banker in the city, assured me, that, passing on horseback through the streets, he has often seen women of the highest quality, sitting in the windows of their palaces, divesting each other of ver-

min; another trait, in addition to what I have said before of their resemblance to the Neapolitans.

The true manners of the people are not seen in Petersburgh, nor even in Moscow, by entering the houses of the nobility only. Some of them, and generally those to whom letters of recommendation are obtained, have travelled, and introduce refinements, which their friends and companions readily imitate. The real Russian rises at an early hour, and breakfasts on a dram with black bread. His dinner at noon consists of the coarsest and most greasy viands, the scorbutick effects of which are counteracted by salted cucumbers, sour cabbage, the juice of his *vaccinium*, and his nectar *quass*. Sleep, which renders him unmindful of his abject servitude and barbarous life, he particularly indulges; sleeping always after eating, and going early to his bed. The principal articles of diet are the same every where; grease and brandy. A stranger, dining with their most refined and most accomplished princes, may in vain expect to see his knife and fork changed. If he sends them away, they are returned without even being wiped. If he looks behind him, he will see a servant spit in the plate he is to receive, and wipe it with a dirty napkin, to remove the dust. If he ventures (which he should avoid, if he is hungry) to inspect the soup in his plate with too inquisitive an eye, he will doubtless discover living victims in distress, which a Russian, if he saw, would swallow with indifference. It is not known to all, that Potemkin used to take vermin from his head, and kill them on the bottom of his plate at table; and beauteous princesses of Moscow do not scruple to follow his example. But vermin unknown to an Englishman, and which it is not permitted even to name, attack the stranger who incautiously approaches too near the persons of their nobility, and visit him from their sophas and chairs. If at table he regards his neighbour, he sees him picking his teeth with his fork, and then plunging it into a plate of meat which is brought round to all. The horrours of a Russian kitchen are inconceivable; and there is not a bed in the whole empire, which an English traveller, aware of its condition, would venture to approach.

In the house of young count Orlof alone, are no less than five hundred servants; many of them sumptuously clothed, and many others in rags. It is no unusual sight to see behind a chair a sort of *gala* footman, like a Neapolitan *volante*, in gold and plumes, and another behind him look-

ing like a beggar. The generation has not yet passed away, which, at the pleasure of the tsar, were sent to be whipped as dogs. The short liberty they enjoyed in the reign of Catherine did not suffice to elevate their minds from the depravity always incident to a state of slavery. Under Paul, the period came again in which they suffered the indignities offered to their forefathers. Potemkin, one of the meanest and most profligate of men, frequently taught them to remember what they had before been, by chastising with his own hand a prince or a nobleman with whom he chanced to be offended; and the emperour Paul exercised his cane upon the nobles who were his officers. Under such government, if we find them servile, oppressive, cowardly, and tyrannical, it is no more than may be expected, from their mode of education, and the discipline they undergo. They will naturally crouch with their heads in the dust before an emperour or his favourite, and trample their inferiours beneath their feet.

They consider the English as a mercenary nation, and, generally hate them, because they fear them, or court them if they want their support. One of their princes thought proper to declare in publick, at his own table, where we had been invited to dine, and were of course under protection enjoined by the laws of hospitality, that in England there is not an individual, patriot, or placeman, who is not saleable to the highest bidder. He instanced Wilkes, Gibbon, and Burke, with many others; adding: "English slavery is less justifiable than Russian. One is selfishness; the other, submission to the laws."

It is very true, that the system of slavery in Russia, like many other evils, may sometimes be productive of good. If the nobleman is benevolent, his slaves are happy; for they are fed, clothed, and lodged. In sickness they are attended, and in old age they find an asylum. In case of accidents from fire, if a whole village is burned, the nobleman must find wood to rebuild it. But when, as generally happens, the proprietor is a man without feeling or principle, their situation is indeed wretched. In such instances, the peasants often take the law into their own hands, and assassinate their lords. To prevent this, the latter live in cities, remote from their own people, and altogether unmindful of all that concerns them, except the hard tribute they are to receive. Many of the Russian nobles dare not venture near their own villages, for fear of the vengeance they have

merited by their crimes. In this sad survey, it is soothing to point out any worthy object, on which the attention, wearied by depravity, may for a few short moments repose. Some noble traits have presented themselves among the slaves.

When the father of count Golovkin was reduced to the necessity of selling a portion of his peasants, in consequence of debts contracted in the service of the crown, deputies from the number of his slaves came to Moscow, beseeching an audience of their lord. One venerable man, the oldest of the number advertised for sale, begged to know why they were to be so dismissed. "Because," said the count, "I am in want of money, and must absolutely pay the debts I have contracted." "How much?" exclaimed at once all the deputies. "About thirty thousand roubles," rejoined the count. "God help us! Do not sell us; we will bring the money."

Peter the third was a greater friend to the Russian nobility, during three months, than all the sovereigns of Russia put together; and in their gratitude, they murdered him. While, under the oppressive and degrading discipline of Paul, they kneeled, and kissed the rod. Peter liberated them from slavery and from corporeal punishment. He permitted them to sell their effects, and settle in other countries; to serve, if they pleased, under other sovereigns. In short, he gave them all they most desired; and they assassinated their benefactor.

I have already mentioned the swarm of servants in their palaces. A foreigner wonders how they are supported. The fact is, if a nobleman has fifty or five hundred, they do not cost him a shilling. Their clothes, food, every article of their subsistence, is derived from the poor, oppressed peasants. Their wages, if wages they can be called, scarce exceed an English halfpenny a day.* In the whole year, the total of daily pittance equals about five roubles, forty seven copeeks and a half; which, according to the state of exchange at the time we were there, may be estimated at twelve shillings and ninepence. Small as this sum is, it might have been omitted; for it is never paid. There are few of the nobles who think it any disgrace to owe their servants so trivial a debt. There is, in fact, no degree of meanness to which a Russian nobleman will not condescend.

* About a copeek and a half, Russian.

To enumerate the things of which we were eye-witnesses, would only weary and disgust the reader. I will end with one.

A hat had been stolen from our apartments. The servants positively asserted, that some young noblemen, who had been more lavish of their friendship and company than we desired, had gained access to the chambers in our absence, and had carried off the hat, with some other moveables even of less value. The fact was inconceivable, and we gave no credit to it. A few days after, being upon an excursion to the convent of the New Jerusalem, forty five versts north of Moscow, a party of the nobles, to whom our intention was made known the preceding evening at the *Club de Noblesse*, overtook us on horseback. One of them, mounted on an English racer, and habited like a Newmarket jockey, rode up to the side of the carriage; but his horse being somewhat unruly, he lost his seat, and a gust of wind carried off his cap. My companion immediately descended, and ran to recover it for its owner; but what was his astonishment, to perceive his own name, and the name of his hatter, on the lining. It was no other than the identical hat which one of the party had stolen from our lodgings, now become a cap, and which, under its altered shape, might not have been recognised, but for the accident here mentioned.

The love of mimickry, already mentioned as characteristick of the nation, has been carried to a great excess in the convent of the New Jerusalem; which is not only an imitation of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, but, as I mentioned in the beginning of the volume, contains representations of all the relicks consecrated in that edifice. It has been built exactly after the same model; and within it are exhibited, the tomb of Christ; the stone which was rolled from the sepulchre; the holes in which stood the crosses of our Saviour and the two thieves crucified with him; the prison in which they relate he was confined; together with all the other absurdities fabricated by the empress Helena and her ignorant priests at Jerusalem. Finding, however, some difference between the representation made of the original building in the Holy Land, and its model here, I asked the monks the reason of the alteration. They replied: "Our building is executed with more taste, because it is more ornamental; and there are many good judges who prefer ours to the original;" thus

most ignorantly implying, that the church at Jerusalem, so long an object of adoration, had been so, rather on account of its beauty, than any thing contained in it. But nothing can prove with more effect, to what an abject state of mental darkness the human mind may fall, than that the trumpery here, not having even the empty title to reverence, which relicks may claim, but confessedly imitations, should receive the veneration and the worship paid to their originals. A fat and filthy priest, pointing to a hole in the midst of Russia, exclaims: "Here stood the holy cross!" while boorish devotees shed over it tears of piety, as genuine as those which fall from the eyes of pilgrims in the tabernacles at Jerusalem. Within a cell, to which they have given the name of the prison of Jesus Christ, sits a wooden figure, so ridiculously dressed, that it is impossible to view it without laughter. It is as large as life, and intended to represent the Messiah in his confinement, with a veil of black crape cast about the head, face, and shoulders.

The "Virgin with three hands," also makes her appearance here; and an ancient picture is exhibited, which they say came from Jerusalem. It is exactly like those modern paintings now manufactured in Russia for the churches and household gods, and was probably one of the original models of the art.

The dome of the building may be esteemed among the finest works of architecture in the country. It is lighted in a very pleasing manner. The expense of its completion has been stated at thirty eight thousand roubles; or I should have suspected it to have been much more. In the library of the convent there is nothing remarkable, except thirty pieces of lead, shown as the money paid to Judas Iscariot for betraying Christ; and of course copies of a similar pretended relick at Jerusalem. The dresses of the priests are also exhibited, covered with jewels. One mitre alone, or cap, is valued at twenty four thousand roubles. Some modern manuscript bibles, in the Russian language, presented by the late empress, are seen most sumptuously bound in covers of gold, and studded with enamelled paintings, which are set round with brilliants of the finest Siberian emeralds, and other precious stones.

The approach to this convent is by a gentle ascent, on a fine, verdant plain. It is situated in a pleasing country; and the excursion to it conducts a stranger through the

most agreeable of the environs of Moscow. It was once fortified; and a few pieces of old, neglected artillery lie near the gate, beneath some trees.

We were presented to the superiour, the most greasy monk, without exception, I ever beheld. He spoke to us in Latin, and gave us the history of their great patriarch Nicon, whose portrait we had seen in the church; and, who rose from the lowest station to the high office he held. After his marriage a separation took place, by the mutual consent of husband and wife; one becoming prior of a monastery, and the other prioress of a convent.

When we returned to Moscow, we found the inhabitants murmuring in consequence of new prohibitions. A *ukase* had appeared, which forbade the importation of any kind of foreign literature; and under this head were included maps, musick, and whatever might be construed a medium of science. It will require another generation to recover the check which rising genius then sustained. Some notion may be formed of the administration of the publick censors, by a domiciliary visit of the booksellers, received during our residence in Moscow. The shops were to undergo examination for prints or plans of Riga. Every article of their property was of course overhauled. Wherever any thing appeared bearing the remotest reference to Riga, for whatever purpose calculated, it was instantly condemned. If the word "Riga" chanced to make its appearance in any book, however valuable, though but on a single page, the leaf was torn out. In this manner, they destroyed in one day, works of geography, history, the arts, atlasses, dictionaries, voyages; ravaging, tearing, and blemishing, wherever they came.

That the Russians have talents, no one will deny; but they dare not show them. Since the death of Catherine, it has seemed the wretched policy of their government to throw every obstacle in the way of intellectual improvement. Genius became a curse to its possessor. Wit, a passport to Siberia. Apathy, stupidity, and ignorance, were blessings. Truth and science, qualifications for the *knout*. The author of "*Mon Voyage à Moscou*" atoned for the brilliance of his understanding in the wilderness of Tobolski. A *bon mot*, an epigram, the sparks and ebullitions of inventive genius, like sudden flashes of lightning in the darkness of a nocturnal tempest, rendered, as they vanished, more sensible impressions of surrounding horrour. The splendour of

the long day which enlightened the reign of Catherine, contrasted with the gloomy period of Paul's administration, may be justly compared with the moral and natural phenomena of the empire; now brightened by a continual sun, and now darkened by uninterrupted night. The number of prohibitions became so numerous, and many of them were so trivial, that it was necessary to carry about manuals of obedience, and assist the memory by pocket catalogues of forbidden things. Some of these prohibitions excited more laughter than fear. Pug dogs, from the emperour's resemblance to them, were prohibited any other name than "*Mops.*" Ivory-headed canes were on no account to be permitted; being reserved solely for the use of the military. These, and many other absurd regulations, exposed foreigners daily to the insolence of the police. My companion was actually arrested for not wearing flaps to his waistcoat: and I narrowly escaped punishment for having strings in my shoes.

The convent of the trinity, distant forty miles from Moscow, is deemed particularly worth seeing, on account of its immense riches. Rather more than two miles further, is another convent, less known, but more remarkable. It contains within its walls a Gothic church, erected over a mount, supposed to typify the mountain of the ascension of Jesus Christ. At the foot of the mount, and within it, is a small chapel, containing figures executed in wax, to represent the resurrection of Lazarus. This extraordinary work has been planned by Plato, archbishop of Moscow, who resides there, and under whose inspection the whole was executed. The place is called *Vifanij*.

But the most remarkable edifice, as it affords a striking monument of national manners, is the church of St. Basil, near the Kremlin. It is a complete specimen of the Tartar taste in building; and was erected by Ivan Basilovich the second, in 1538. To add to the singularity of itshistory, it was the workmanship of Italian architects. Its numerous and heavy cupolas, surmounted by gilded crucifixes, exhibit a striking contrast of colour and ornament. Pious individuals bequeath legacies towards the perpetual gilding or painting of this or that dome, according to their various fancies; so that it is likely to remain a splendid piece of patch-work for many generations. In order to account for the origin of this building, and the oriental style exhibited in its formation, we must look back to the period of the

Russian history in which it was constructed. The stories we have hitherto received of the monarch, in whose piety or ostentation it is said to have originated, are so contradictory, that the subject itself merits a little investigation. The more we inquire into the real history of Russia, and of Russian sovereigns, the more we shall have reason to believe that the country and its people, have undergone little variation since the foundation of the empire. Peter the Great might cut off the beards of the nobles, and substitute European habits for Asiatick robes; but the inward man is still the same.* A Russian of the nineteenth century possesses

* Those who knew Potemkin, or who will merely attend to what is related of him in page 60, will find that a picture of the manners of Russian nobles, made in the seventeenth century, equally represented those of their princes in the eighteenth.

"Pendant le répas les rots qui leur sortent de la bouche avec l'odeur, de l'eau de vie, de l'ail, de l'oignon, et des raves, joints aux vents du bas ventre, dont ils ne sont point scrupuleux, exhalent une corruption capable de faire crever ceux qui sont auprès d'eux. Ils ne portent point leurs mouchoirs dans leurs poches, mais dans leurs bonnets; et comme ils ont toujours la tête nuë lorsqu'ils sont à table, s'ils ont besoin de se moucher, ils se servent de leurs doights, qu'ils essuyent ensuite, et leur nez, à la nappe" *Voyage en Moscovie, par Augustin. Baron de Mayerburg*, Leid. 1688. p. 62.

Olearius, secretary to the ambassadour from the court of Denmark, gave a similar account of their morals in the middle of the seventeenth century. The following short extracts are from the best edition of his works, translated from the German, by Wicquefort, and published at Paris, A. D. 1666.

"Il est vray que les Moscovites ne manquent point d'esprit; mais ils l'employent si mal, qu'il n'y a pas une de leurs actions, qui ait pour le but la vertu, et la gloire, qui en est inseparable——Leur industrie et la subtilité de leur esprit paroist principalement en leur trafic, où il n'y a point de finesse, n'y de tromperie dont ils ne se servent, pour fourber les autres, plustôst que pour se defendre de l'estre." *Voyage d'Olear* Tom. I. p. 145.

"Et d'autant que la tromperie ne s'exerce point sans fausseté, sans menteries et sans défiances, qui en sont inseparables, ils scavent merveilleusement bien s'ayder de ces belles qualités, aussi bien que de la calomnie." *Ibid.* p. 146.

"De cette façon d'agir des Moscovites, et du peu de fidelité qu'ils ont entr'eux, *l'on peut juger de ce que les Estrangers en peuvent esperer, et jusqu'à quel point l'on s'y peut fier. Ils n'offrent jamais leur amitié, et n'en contractent jamais, que pour leur interest particulier, et à dessein d'en profiter.* La mauvaise nourriture qu'on leur donne en leur jeunesse, en laquelle, ils n'apprennent au plus qu'à lire et escrire, et quelques petites prières vulgaires, fait qu'ils suivent aveuglement ce que l'on appelle aux bestes l'instinct; de sorte que la nature estant en elle mesme dépravée et corrompuë, leur vie ne peut estre qu'ne debordement et déreglement continuel. C'est pour quoy l'on n'y voit rien que de brutal, et des effets de leurs passions et appétits desordonnés, à qui ils laschent la bride, sans aucune retenuë." Ibid. p. 148.

"Le naturel pervers des Moscovites, et la bassesse en laquelle ils sont nourris, joint à la servitude, pour laquelle ils semblent estre nés, font que l'on est contraint de les traiter en bestes, plustôst qu'en personnes raisonnables. Et ils y sont si bien accoustumés, qu'il est comme impossible de les porter au travail, si l'on n'y employe le foüet et le baston." Ibid. p. 155.

all the servile propensities, the barbarity of manners, the cruelty, hypocrisy, and profligacy, which characterized his ancestors in the ninth.

John Basilovich the first has been considered as one of the founders of the Russian empire; but his accession did not take place till the middle of the fifteenth century. He arose, like Buonaparte, in a period of national dismay, confusion, and calamity; and, though described as a man of impetuous vices and violent passions, intrepid, artful, treacherous, and having all the ferocity of a savage, he has been hailed as the deliverer of his country, and dignified by the appellation of the *great*. It is a title which an oppressed intimidated people have frequently bestowed upon tyrants. Until his time, however, Tartars were lords of Moscow; the tsars themselves being obliged to stand in the presence of their ambassadours, while the latter sat at meat, and to endure the most humiliating ceremonies. Basilovich shook off the Tartar yoke; but it was a long time before the Russians, always children of imitation, ceased to mimick a people by whom they had been conquered. They had neither arts nor opinions of their own; every thing in Moscow was Tartarian; dress, manners, buildings, equipages; in short, all, except religion and language. Basilovich, at the conquest of Casan, was solemnly crowned with the diadem of that kingdom; which is said to be the same now used for the coronation of the Russian sovereigns. In the reign of his successour, Moscow was again taken by that people, and its tsar subjected to an ignominious tribute. Twelve years afterwards, the eldest son of that successour, John Basilovich the second, then an infant, but afterwards a ferocious and implacable tyrant, came to the throne.*

It is the more necessary to introduce these remarks, because authors of celebrity, such, for example, as Puffendroff, offer very erroneous notions to the student in modern history. "On se tromperoit beaucoup," says he, "si pour connoître les Russes d'aujourd hui, on s'arrêtoit aux portraits qui ont été faits de cette nation avant le commencement de ce siécle." *Introd. à L'Historie Modern*, &c. Tom. IV. p. 284. edit. Paris, 1756.

* Some writers endeavoured to apologise for the conduct and character of John Basilovich the second. The editors of the Modern Universal History even speak of him with eulogium. [Vol. XXXV. p. 259] Mr. Coxe thinks his character has been misrepresented [Trav. vol. I. p. 302] and yet allows it would be "contrary to historical evidence to deny many of the cruelties committed by him." If the horrible cruelties related of this monarch by Dr. Crull [see account of Muscovy, vol. I. p. 331. Lond. 1698.]

It is a curious fact, that in the very opening of his reign we read of the arrest of no less than three hundred artists, intended for Russia, in the town of Lubeck. What the great work then carrying on in Moscow was, is now uncertain; but it evidently proves a disposition, on the part of the sovereign, to superinduce the arts of western nations over the long established, oriental customs of his people. In this reign was built the church to which I have alluded. The artists arrested in Lubeck were Germans. The architects employed for the church of St. Basil were Italians; probably obtained by the connexion which subsisted between the tsars of Muscovy and the emperours of Constantinople.* From whatever country they came, the taste displayed in the edifice is evidently Tartarian. How much the manners of the people were so at this period, may be shown by reference to the curious and interesting documents preserved in Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages. It was during the bloody administration of the tyrant who then ruled in Russia, that the first ambassadours went from England to that country. By the accounts they sent home, it appears the situation of Englishmen in Russia was precisely what we experienced two hundred and thirty years afterwards under the tyranny of the emperour Paul: the same disgusting race around them; the same dread of being communicative in their letters; the same desire to quit a scene of barbarity and profligacy. The secretary to Randolph, who went as ambassadour from queen Elizabeth, was a person of the name of George Tubervile, and wrote "Certain Letters in Verse," to Dancie, Spencer, and Parker, 'describing the maners of the countrey and people.'

be untrue, what shall be said to the narrative of those who were eye-witnesses of many of his enormities? Crull says, his affected sanctity led *Jovius* into the mistake of calling him *a good Christian*. "But if any delight to reade the terrible and bloudie acts of *Ivan Basilowich*, he may glut, if not drowne himselfe in bloud, in that historie which *Paul Oderborne* hath written of his life, and both there and in others take view of other his unjust acts. I will not depose for their truth, though I cannot disprove it: adversaries perhaps make the worst. For myselfe, I list not to rake sinkes against him, and would speak in his defence, if I found not an universall conspiracy of all historie and reports against him." *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, lib. iv. c. 9. § 1.

* Some years afterwards, A. D. 1557, the tsar again made an unsuccessful application to the court of Vienna for artists; stating, that "he could easily procure them from France and Italy; but that he gave the preference to Germans, knowing them to be an upright, virtuous, and, honest people." See the authors cited in the *Med. Univ. Hist.* vol. XXXV. p. 217.

He appears to have been a young man of fashion at that time. I have selected some of the most striking passages in these letters for a note.* They are very little known,

* "I left my native soile full like, a retchlesse man,
And unacquainted of the coast, among the Russes ran:
A people passing rude, to vices vile inclinde,
Folke fit to be of *Bacchus* train, so quaffing is their kinde.

* * * *

"Such licour as they have, and as the countrey gives,
But chiefly two, one called *kuas*, whereby the *moustke* lives.
Small ware and waterlike, but somewhat tart in taste,
The rest is *meade* of honie made, wherewith their lips they baste.

* * * *

"Their idoles have their hearts, on God they never call,
Unless it be (*Nichola Bough*) that hangs against the wall.
The house that hath no god, or painted saint within,
Is not to be resorted to, that roofe is full of sinne."
Hakluyt's Voyages, pp. 384—5.

He then proceeds to mention the dissolute lives of the women, and their manner of painting their cheeks; at the close of his letter to Spencer, says:

——————"The people beastly bee.
I write not all I know, I touch but here and there,
For if I should, my penne would pinch, and eke offend I feare.

* * * *

"They say the lions paw gives judgment of the beast;
And so may you deeme of the great, by reading of the least."
Ibid. p. 387.

In his letter to Parker, the Tartar dress and manner is thus strikingly introduced:

"Their garments be not gay, nor handsome to the eye;
A cap aloft their heads they have, that standeth very hie,
Which *colpack* they do terme. They weare no ruffes at all:
The best have collers set with pearle, which they *rubasca* call.
Their shirts in Russie long, they worke them downe before,
And on the sleeves with coloured silke, two inches good and more.

* * * *

"These are the *Russies* robes. The richest use to ride
From place to place, his servant runnes, and followes by his side.
The Cassacke beares his felt, to force away the raine:
Their bridles are not very brave, their saddles are but plaine.

* * * *

"For when the *Russie* is pursued by cruel foe,
He rides away, and suddenly betakes him his boe.
And bends me but about in saddle as he sits,
And therewithall amids his race his following foe he hits.

and worth the reader's attention; not merely because they prove that Russia now is precisely what it was when they were written, but as curious examples of early English poetry. The work in which they are contained is extremely rare, and bears an enormous price.

CHAPTER VII.

MOSCOW.

Sunday Market—promenades during Easter—Kremlin—Holy Gate—Great Bell—Great Gun—Ancient Palace of the Tsars—Imperial Treasury—Manuscripts—Superb Model—General Appearance of the Kremlin—First Christian Church—Festival of the Ascension.

THE market on a Sunday in Moscow is a novel and interesting spectacle. From five in the morning till eight, the *Place de Gallitzin*, a spacious area near the Kremlin, is filled by a concourse of peasants, and people of every description, coming to buy or sell white peacocks, fan-tailed and other curious pigeons, dogs of all sorts, for the sopha or the chace, singing-birds, poultry, guns, pistols, in short, whatever chance or custom may have rendered saleable. The sellers excepting in the market of singing-birds, which is prominent and very large, have no shops; but remain with their wares either exposed upon stalls, or hawking them about in their hands. Dogs and birds constitute the principal articles for sale. The pigeon-feeders are

> Their bowes are very short, like *Turkie* boughs outright,
> Of sinowes made with birchen barke, in cunning manner dight.
>
> * * * *
>
> "The manners are so *Turkie* like, the men so full of guile,
> The women wanton, temples stuft with idoles that defile
> The seats that sacred ought to be, the customs are so quaint,
> As if I would describe the whole, I feare my pen would faint.
> In summe, I say, I never saw a prince that so did raigne,
> Nor people so beset with saints, yet all but vile and vaine.
> Wilde *Irish* are as civill as the *Russies* in their kinde,
> Hard choice which is the best of both, ech bloody, rude and blinde."
>
> *Ibid.* pp. 387—389.

distinguished in the midst of the mob by long white wands, which they carry to direct the pigeons in their flight. The nobles of Moscow take great delight in these birds, and a favourite pair will sell from five to ten roubles in the market. I was astonished to see the feeders, by way of exhibiting their birds, let them fly, and recover them again at pleasure. The principal recommendation of the pigeons consists in their rising to a great height, by a spiral curve, all flying one way, and following each other. When a bird is launched, if it does not preserve the line of curvature which the others take, the feeder whistles, waving his wand, and its course is immediately changed. During such exhibitions, the nobles stake their money in wagers, betting upon the height to which a pigeon will ascend, and the number of curves it will make in so doing. Among dogs for the chase, we observed a noble breed, common in Russia, with long, fine hair like those of Newfoundland, but of amazing size and height, which are used in Russia to hunt wolves. German pug-dogs, so dear in London, here bear a low price. I was offered a very fine one for a sum equivalent to a shilling English. We observed, also, English harriers and fox-hounds: but the favourite dog in Moscow is the English terrier, which is very rare in Russia, and sells for eighteen roubles, or more, according to the caprice of the buyer and seller. Persian cats were also offered for sale, of a bluish grey or slate colour, and much admired. Seeing several stalls apparently covered with wheat, I approached to examine its quality, but was surprised to find that what had the appearance of wheat consisted of large ants' eggs, heaped for sale. Near the same stalls were tubs full of pismires, crawling among the eggs, and over the persons of those who sold them. Both the eggs and the ants are brought to Moscow as food for nightingales, which are favourite, though common birds in Russian houses. They sing in every respect as beautifully in cages as in their native woods. We often heard them in the bird-shops, warbling with all the fulness and variety of tone which characterizes the nightingale in its natural state.* The price of one of them, in full song, is about fifteen roubles. The Russians, by rattling beads on their tables of tangible arithmetick, can make the birds sing at pleasure during

* I have been since informed, that this method of keeping and feeding nightingales is becoming prevalent in our own country.

the day; but nightingales are heard throughout the night, making the streets of the city resound the melodies of the forest.

The promenades at this season of the year are among the many sights in Moscow interesting to a stranger. The principal is on the first of May, Russian style, in a forest near the city. It affords a very interesting spectacle to strangers, because it is frequented by the *bourgeoisie* as well as by the nobles, and the national costume may then be observed in its greatest splendour. The procession of carriages and persons on horseback is immense. Beneath the trees, and upon the greensward, Russian peasants are seen seated in their gayest dresses, expressing their joy by shouting and tumultuous songs. The musick of the *balalaika*, the shrill notes of rustick pipes, clapping of hands, and the wild dances of the gipsies, all mingle in one revelry. The wives of merchants, in *droskis* and on foot, display head-dresses of matted pearls, and their most expensive attire. In costliness of apparel, there is no difference between a Moscow princess and the wife of a Moscow shopkeeper; except, that one copies the fashions of London and Paris, while the other preserves the habit of her ancestors. During Easter, promenades take place every evening, varying occasionally the site of cavalcade. They are made in carriages and on horseback; the number of the former being greater than any occasion assembles in other cities of Europe. The intention of such meetings is the same everywhere; to see and to be seen. Equipages continue to pass in the same constant order, forming two lines, which move parallel to each other. The spectacle sometimes beggars all description. Beautiful women, attired in costly and becoming dresses, fill the balconies and windows of houses between which the cavalcade proceeds to its destination. Hussars and police-officers are stationed in different parts, to preserve order. When arrived at the place particularly set apart for the display of the procession, the stranger with amazement beholds objects which can only be matched in the most wretched purlieus of St. Giles's; miserable hovels, and wooden huts, hardly discernible amidst clouds of dust. On Friday in Easter-week, the place of promenade is better selected: it is then on a plain called *La Vallée*, and the sight is the most surprising that can be conceived. Long before reaching this plain, the throng of carriages is

so great that they can scarcely move.* At last the great scene opens, and the view which breaks, all at once, upon the spectator is indeed striking. A procession, far as the eye can reach, is seen passing and repassing a spacious and beautiful lawn, the further extremity of which appears terminated by a convent. No less than two thousand carriages, generally with six horses to each, but never less than four, are present upon this occasion. So much for the general effect. The appearance in detail, of the equipages, lackeys, and drivers, is an excellent burlesque upon grandeur. The postillions are generally old men of a wretched aspect, dressed in liveries of worsted lace and cocked hats, who hold their whip and reins as if they were never before mounted. The harness consists of ropes and cords, frequently ragged and dirty; very unlike the white traces used in Poland, which have a pleasing if not magnificent appearance. The carriages themselves, if not altogether as wretched as the night-coaches of London, are ill built, old fashioned, heavy, and ugly. It is only the amazing number of equipages that affords ideas of wealth or greatness. Examined separately, every thing is little and mean. The procession is seen on the plain as far as the convent before mentioned, and returning back in the order it advanced. In the line between the carriages, a space is reserved for the cavaliers, who make their appearance on the most beautiful English and Turkish horses, riding, as they all maintain, *a l'Anglois*, but without the smallest resemblance to the manner of Englishmen. Their horses are taught the *manége*, and continue to pace and champ the bit, without advancing a step; occasionally plunging like those exhibited in amphitheatres, while their riders, in laced coats and ruffles, with cocked hats, and saddles sumptuously em-

* It may be well to insert here an extract from Mr. Heber's *Journal*, concerning the population of this remarkable city, as that gentleman has made very particular inquiry upon the subject, and his zealous attention to accuracy appears in every statement.

"The circuit of Moscow we have heard variously stated; it may, perhaps, be about thirty six versts [twenty six miles] but this includes many void spaces. The population is, as usual, exaggerated. It is decidedly greater than that of Petersburgh; I should think three or four times as much, judging from the concourse in the streets. The extent in comparison with that of Petersburgh, is nearly, as may be seen by the plan, twelve to one: yet, from the master of the police, of all men the most likely to know, the population was estimated at only 250,000 fixed inhabitants. The servants and numerous retainers of the nobles may be perhaps estimated at nearly 30,000, which are only here in winter." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

broidered, imagine they display surprising feats of horsemanship. Several families preserve the old Russian costume in their servants' habits; others clothe their attendants like running footmen in Italy; so that the variety formed by the motley appearance is very amusing.

The numberless bells of Moscow continue to ring during the whole of Easter week, tinkling and tolling, without any kind of harmony or order. The large bell near the cathedral is only used on important occasions, and yields the finest and most solemn tone I ever heard. When it sounds, a deep and hollow murmur vibrates all over Moscow, like the fullest and lowest tones of a vast organ, or the rolling of distant thunder. This bell is suspended in a tower called the Belfry of St. Ivan, beneath others, which, though of less size, are enormous. It is forty feet nine inches in circumference; sixteen inches and a half thick; and it weighs more than fifty seven tons.*

The Kremlin is, above all other places, most worthy a traveller's notice. It was our evening walk, whenever we could escape the engagements of society. The view it affords of the city surpasses every other, both in singularity and splendour, especially from St. Ivan's tower. This fortress is surrounded on all sides by walls, towers and ramparts, and stuffed full of domes and steeples. The appearance differs in every point of view, on account of the strange irregularity in the edifices it contains. Entering it by the arched portal, painted red, called The Holy Gate, persons of every description are compelled to walk bare-headed near a hundred paces. This gate is on the south side, facing the quarter of the shops. The approach to it is by a bridge across the fosse which surrounds the walls. It is a vaulted portal; and over the entrance is a picture,† with a lamp continually burning. Sentinels are here placed, as at all the entrances to the Kremlin. No one ventures to pass this gate without taking off his hat. I wished to see if the rule was rigorously enforced, and, feigning ignorance,

* 3551 Russian pouds. *Voyage de Deux Français*, Tom. III. p. 295.

† "You enter the Holy Gate by a long, narrow bridge over the fosse. On the left hand is a noble view down to the river. The whole *coup d'œil* much resembled Seringapatam, as represented in Kerr Porter's Panorama. In passing under the Holy Gate, all hats are taken off, in reverence for a saint suspended over it, who delivered the citadel, as tradition affirms, by striking a sudden panick into an army of Poles which had possession of the town, and had almost succeeded in forcing this gate of the Kremlin." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

entered beneath the arch with my hat on. A sentinel challenged me; but without taking notice of him, I walked forward. Next, a bare-headed peasant met me, and, seeing my head covered, summoned the sentinels and people with very loud expressions of anger; who, seizing me by the arms, very soon taught me in what manner to pass the *Holy Gate* for the future.

The great bell of Moscow, known to be the largest ever founded, is in a deep pit in the midst of the Kremlin. The history of its fall is a fable; and, as writers are accustomed to copy each other, the story continues to be propagated. The fact is, the bell remains in the place where it was originally cast. It never was suspended. The Russians might as well attempt to suspend a first rate line of battle ship with all its guns and stores. A fire took place in the Kremlin, the flames of which caught the building erected over the pit in which the bell yet remained; in consequence of which the metal became hot; and water thrown to extinguish the fire fell upon the bell, causing the fracture which has taken place. The entrance is by a trap door placed even with the surface of the earth. We found the steps very dangerous. Some of them were wanting, and others broken, which occasioned me a severe fall down the whole extent of the first flight, and a narrow escape for my life in not being dashed upon the bell. In consequence of this accident, a sentinel was stationed afterwards at the trap door, to prevent people becoming victims to their curiosity. He might have been as well employed in mending the steps, as in waiting all day to say they were broken. The bell is truly a mountain of metal. They relate, that it contains a very large proportion of gold and silver; for that, while it was in fusion, the nobles and the people cast in, as votive offerings, their plate and money. It is permitted to doubt the truth of traditionary tales, particularly in Russia, where people are much disposed to relate what they have heard, without once reflecting on its probability. I endeavoured, in vain, to assay a small part. The natives regard it with superstitious veneration, and they would not allow even a grain to be filed off. At the same time it may be said, the compound has a white, shining appearance, unlike bell-metal in general; and perhaps its silvery aspect has strengthened, if not given rise to a conjecture respecting the richness of its materials.

On festival days, the peasants visit the bell as they would a church, considering it an act of devotion; and they cross themselves as they descend and ascend the steps. The bottom of the pit is covered by water, mud, and large pieces of timber, which, added to the darkness, render it always an unpleasant and unwholesome place, in addition to the danger arising from the steps which lead to the bottom. I went frequently there, in order to ascertain the dimensions of the bell with exactness. To my great surprise, during one of those visits, half a dozen Russian officers, whom I found in the pit, agreed to assist me in the admeasurement. It so nearly agreed with the account published by Jonas Hanway, that the difference is not worth notice. This is somewhat remarkable, considering the difficulty of exactly measuring what is partly buried in the earth, and the circumference of which is not entire. No one, I believe, has yet ascertained the size of the lower rim of the bell, which would afford still greater dimensions than those we obtained; but it is entirely buried in the earth. About ten persons were present when I measured the part which remains exposed to observation. We applied a strong cord close to the metal in all parts of its periphery, and round the lower part where it touched the ground, taking care at the same time not to stretch the cord. From the piece of the bell broken off, it was ascertained that we had thus measured within two feet of its lower extremity. The circumference obtained was sixty seven feet and four inches; which allows a diameter of twenty two feet, five inches, and one third of an inch. We then took the perpendicular height from the top of the bell, and found it correspond exactly with the statement made by Hanway, namely: twenty one feet, four inches, and an half. In the stoutest part, that in which it should have received the blow of the hammer, its thickness equalled twenty three inches. We were able to ascertain this, by placing our hands under water, where the fracture had taken place, which is above seven feet high from the lip of the bell. The weight of this enormous mass of metal has been computed to be 443,772lbs; which, if valued at three shillings a pound, amounts to 66,565*l.* 16*s.*, lying unemployed, and of no use to any one.*

* The great bell of Moscow has long been a theme of wonder, and is mentioned by almost every traveller. The subject is of no importance; but it may be well to add, that the accounts given of it do not apply to the same thing. Olearius describes that which he saw in 1636. It is the same

The great gun, which is also among the wonders of the Kremlin, I measured with less facility, being always interrupted by the sentinels, one of whom pointed his bayonet at me, and threatened to stab me if I persisted in my intention. Yet, by walking its length, I found it equal to eighteen feet and a half; and its diameter may be guessed, when it is known that it will admit a man sitting upright within its caliber. It is, moreover, ten inches thick. This gun is kept merely for ostentation, and never used.* Notwithstanding the neglect it has experienced, it remains in good order, without injury. It was cast in 1694. Near it are placed some artillery of less caliber, but of very extraordinary length.†

There was nothing prohibited under more severe penalty than making any drawing or sketch within this fortress; on which account I am prevented giving the superb view it affords of Moscow. But as the objects within its walls are always interesting to strangers, artists of merit were not wanting for their representation. It was, however, with the greatest difficulty I succeeded in obtaining a view of the interiour of the Kremlin, containing the ancient palace of the tsars. A window appears in the front of this build-

mentioned in p. 75, of this volume, founded by Boris Godenof. [See *Olear.* Tom. I. p. 107.] Augustine, ambassadour from Germany in 1661, describes that which is here spoken of. Jonas Hanway, and those who succeeded him bear reference to the same. It was founded, according to Augustine, in 1658, during the reign of Alexis [See *Voyage de Moscou*, p. 137.] The Russians and people of Moscow maintain that it was cast during the reign of their empress Anne, probably from the female figure represented, which may have been intended for the Virgin. Augustine's account of the weight, and his measurement of the bell, are too near the truth to suppose any other was described by him. They employed, says he, in casting it, a weight of metal equal to 440,000lbs. He moreover states its thickness equal to two feet, which is within an inch of what has been here said. He also proves that it is larger than the famous bell of Erford, and even than that of Pekin.

* According to the Voyage de Deux Français, tom. II. p. 296, its weight is 6400 *pouds*; and its dimensions, sixteen French feet in length, and four feet three inches in diameter, deducting sixteen inches for the thickness of the piece.

† A curious notice of the brass cannon in the Kremlin occurs in *Eden's History of Travayles*, as augmented by Willes, and printed by Jugge, in the black letter, at London, in 1577. "It is gathered out of Paulus Jovius, and proves that they had the use of artillery in Moscow as early as the reign of Basil Ivanovich. "Basillius dyd furthermore instytute a bande of harqabusiers on horsebacke, and caused many great brasen peeces to be made by the workemanshyp of certayne Italians; and the same with their stockes and wheeles to be placed in the castle of Mosca."

Eden's Hist. p. 301.

ing (which is an irregular, Gothick edifice) distinguished by two Gothick pillars. It is the same, they relate, from which Demetrius, in his attempt to escape, during the conspiracy of Zuski, fell, and broke his thigh, previous to his massacre. He lowered himself to a considerable distance by a rope; but the height was still too great for any hope of safety. Despair must have been great indeed, when it induced any one to make the attempt. That window was also the place where the sovereigns of Russia used to sit, and receive petitions from their subjects. The petition was placed upon a stone in the court below; and if the tsar thought proper, he sent for it. The imperial treasure is now in cases round the walls of the upper apartments of the palace; the approach to which is by a stone staircase, memorable for massacres committed there by the Strelitzes, during the mutiny excited by the sister of Peter the great. It is not a pleasing reflection, which some writers would urge, that the greatest atrocities, in times of anarchy or despotism, have been perpetrated by women. History, they affirm, has not recorded, even the severe pen of Tacitus has not described, such monsters as Catherine de Medicis, the bloody Mary, and the females of France during the late revolution. In the revolt of the Strelitzes, the princess Sophia has been accused of leading them to the execution of the most shocking enormities. Later writers have undertaken her defence; and among others, Mr. Coxe has collected many ingenious arguments to disprove the aspersions of Voltaire. Compelled, as we often are, to view the characters of illustrious persons in the representation of their adversaries, made amidst the rancour and cabal of parties, we may suspect the justice of a reproach thus cast upon the female sex. The unreasonable obloquy to which the character of Richard the third has been exposed, by writers during the reign of Henry the seventh, is now pretty generally admitted; yet prejudice, when long established, is not easily removed. Referring to the history of the Crusades, the Saracens have been always branded with the name of barbarians, although their invaders borrowed from that people the first dawnings of refinement and civilization. A scene more striking, as a subject for historical painting, can hardly be conceived, than that which took place upon this staircase, when the venerable patriarch, bearing in one hand an image of the Virgin Mary, which was supposed to work miracles, and with the other leading young John Na-

rishkin, followed by his weeping sister and the princesses, descended, calling on the infuriate mob to spare his life. They had been two days seeking him, and had threatened to set the palace on fire, if he was not delivered to be put to death. No sooner had they seized their victim, than cutting his body in pieces, they fixed his head, feet, and hands on the iron spikes of the balustrade.

We ascended by this memorable staircase to the imperial treasury. It contains very little worth notice. The old general who has the care of it is obliged to attend in person, when permission for seeing it has been obtained. He was very ill during our visit, and, being placed in an arm-chair in one of the rooms, sat grumbling the whole time with pain and impatience. The various articles have been enumerated in the anonymous travels of two Frenchmen,* who complain of being hurried, as we were. Habits of ceremony worn by the sovereigns of Russia at their coronation, and other costly, embroidered robes, thickly studded with gems and pearls, occupied the principal cabinets, and appeared to constitute the chief ornaments of the treasury. Among a number of such dresses was a vest, twelve yards in length, worn by Catherine the second. It was supported by twelve chamberlains at her coronation. The custom of amassing and exhibiting splendid attire characterized the Russians in times of their earliest potentates. In the accounts which ambassadours from our own country afforded, so long ago as the reign of Philip and Mary, we find it was the custom at Moscow to clothe tradesmen, and other inhabitants, elders of the city, in rich garments, and to place them in the antichamber of the sovereign on days of audience; but when the ceremony ended, these costly vestments were again replaced in the treasury. In a letter written by Henry Lane to Sanderson,† describing his introduction with Chancellor to the tsar's presence, in the year 1555, this circumstance is particularly mentioned. "They entred sundry rooms, furnished in shew with ancient grave personages, all in long garments of sundry colours; galde, tinsen, bawdekin, and violet, as our vestments and copes have bene in England, sutable with caps, jewels, and chaines. These were found to be no courtiers, but ancient Muscovites, *inhabitants, and*

* Voyage de Deux Français, a work of very considerable merit, prohibited at the time we were in Russia. It has been occasionally referred to in this volume.

† Hackluyt, vol. i. p. 466.

other their merchants of credite, as the manner is, furnished thus from the wardrobe and treasurie, waiting and wearing this apparell for the time, and so to restore it." Two years after, captain Jenkinson was sent from England to conduct the Russian ambassadour to Moscow. As he and his companions were preparing to leave that city, they received an invitation to see the emperour's treasury and wardrobe. Having seen all his "goodly gownes," two of which are described "as heavie as a man could easily carrie, all set with pearles over and over, and the borders garnished with saphires and other good stones abundantly," they were particularly enjoined to procure such, or better, in England,* and told "that the emperour would gladly bestow his money upon such things."

The crowns of conquered kingdoms are exhibited in the treasury. We saw those of Casan, of Siberia, of Astracan, and of the Crimea. The last, from its simplicity, and the circumstances connected with its history, excited the most interest. It was totally destitute of ornament, affording a remarkable contrast to the lavish store of riches seen on all the objects around it, and emblematical of the simplicity and virtue of the people from whom it had been plundered.† Its form was very ancient, and resembled that usually given, by painters, to our English Alfred. The part of the treasury containing the most valuable objects is that in which the crowns of the Russian sovereigns are deposited. It is said, that the rubies which adorned those of the empress Anne, and of Peter the second, have been changed, and stones of less value substituted in their place.‡

Some things were shown to us, which were once considered of great value, but are now curious only from their antiquity; such, for instance, as a long ivory comb, with which the tsars combed their flowing beards. Cupboards, below the glass-cases which cover the walls, were filled with a profusion of goblets, vases, plates, cups of all sorts, basins, gold and silver candlesticks, and other articles of value, the gift of foreign princes and tributary states. A round box of gilded silver contains, upon a scroll, the code

* Hackluyt, vol. i. p. 319.

† The writers of the Voyage de Deux Français mention a very ancient crown of gold, which may be that here noticed. "Une autre couronne d'or, plus simple que toutes les autres, qui paroît fort ancienne, mais dont on n'a pas pu nous dire l'origine."

‡ Voyage de Deux Français, tom. III. p. 291.

of laws of the several provinces of the empire, collected by Alexis, father of Peter the great, one of the best and wisest princes that ever sat upon the Russian throne. There are, also, some pieces of mechanism that would now be little esteemed any where; a toilette, the furniture of which is entirely of amber; serpentine vessels, which are supposed to possess the property of disarming poison of its baneful effects; masquerade dresses worn by their sovereigns; a few natural curiosities; and, among these, the horn of a kind of whale called *Narvhal*, above eight feet in length. This whale is found near the mouths of the rivers which fall into the Icy Sea, or on the shores of lakes in the same latitude. The horns and tusks of animals, in a fossil state, form a considerable article of the interiour commerce of Russia. Perhaps the ivory manufactured at Archangel may have been dug up in the north of Russia. Professor Pallas informed me, such prodigious quantities of elephants' teeth were discovered on an island which lies to the north of the Samoiede Land, that caravans come annually laden with them to Petersburgh. The most remarkable circumstance is, that instead of being mineralized, like elephants' tusks found in the south of Europe, they may be wrought with all the facility of the most perfect ivory; but this only happens when they are found in a latitude where the soil is perpetually frozen. They have then been preserved, like the fishes and other articles of food brought annually to the winter markets of Petersburgh. These dug in the southern parts of Siberia are found either soft and decayed, or mineralized by silicious infiltrations, and metaline compounds. What a source of wondrous reflection do these discoveries lay open! If frost alone has preserved them, they were frozen in the moment of their deposit; and thus it appears, that an animal peculiar to the warmest regions of the earth, must, at some distant period, have been habituated to a temperature which it could not now endure for an instant. In the epistolary mummery which the late empress Catherine bartered with Voltaire, these animal remains are brought forward to gratify his infidelity;* and it is difficult

* "Mais une chose qui démontre, je pense, que le monde est un peu plus vieux que nos nourrices ne nous le disent, c'est qu'on trouve dans le Nord de la Sibéria, à plusieurs toises sous terre, des ossemens d'éléphans, qui depuis fort long-temps n'habitent plus ces contrées." *Lett. de l'Impératrice à M. de Voltaire, dans les Oeuvres de Volt.* tom. LXVII. p. 201. Edit. 1785.

to say which appears most abject in the eyes of posterity; Catherine condescending to gratify the scepticism of a man she inwardly despised; or the arch-infidel himself, in his grand climacterick, sometimes by insinuation, and often by direct entreaty,* meanly courting an invitation to Petersburg, which neither his drivelling gallantry, nor fulsome adulation, could obtain.

In a very ancient part of the palace, formerly inhabited by the patriarchs, and adjoining to their chapel, are kept the dresses worn by them; which are also exhibited in glass cases. They requested us particularly to notice the habits of Nicon and St. Nicholas; the tiaras sent to the patriarchs from the emperours of Constanstinople; the crucifixes born in their solemn processions; the patriarchal staves, and relicks. Several of the last were inserted in cavities cut within a wooden crucifix. Among other things which added to its prodigious sanctity and miraculous powers, was pointed out to us a part of one of the bones of Mary Magdalene. The dresses were very ancient, but full as magnificent as those we had seen at the ceremony of the resurrection; gold and silver being the meanest ornaments lavished upon them. Many were entirely covered with pearls, and otherwise adorned with emeralds, rubies, diamonds, sapphires, and precious gems of Siberia. In smaller cabinets we saw onyx-stones wrought in cameo work, exhibiting images of Jesus and of the Virgin, which were not less than three inches and a half in length, and two in breadth. They showed us, moreover, vessels of massive silver, made to contain consecrated oil, which is sent all over Russia from Moscow, for the service of the Greek churches. Sixteen of these vessels, of very considerable magnitude, each capable of containing from three to four gallons, were presented by the emperour Paul.

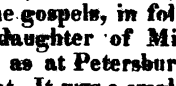
In the chapel adjoining the chambers in which these

* "J'aurai à la vérité soixante et dix-sept ans, et je n'ai pas la vigueur d'un Turc; mais je ne vois pas ce qui pourrait m'empêcher de venir dans les beaux jours saleur l'étoile du Nord et maudire le croissant. Nôtre Madame Geoffrin a bien fait le voyage de Varsovie; pourquoi n'entreprendrais-je pas celui de Pétersbourg au mois d'Avril." *Lett. de Volt. à l'Imperat.* Ibid. p. 49.

To which the empress replied, that she *admired his courage;* but knowing the delicate state of his health, she *could not consent to expose him to the dangers of so long a journey.*" "Moreover," she added, "it may happen, if things continue as they are, that *the prosperity of my affairs may demand my presence in the southern provinces of my empire.*" Ibid. p. 50.

treasures are kept, is a collection of manuscripts in Greek and Sclavonick, and more of the bones of Mary Magdalene. By much the greater number of the manuscripts are in the Sclavonick language. The priest who had the care of them conversed with me in Latin, and affirmed, that among the Sclavonick, or, as he termed them, the Ruthenick manuscripts, there was a copy of the works of Virgil, and one of Livy. He was not, however, able to find either of them, and I imputed the whole story to his ignorance and vanity. I afterwards conversed with archbishop Plato upon the same subject; who assured me nothing of any importance existed among the manuscripts. The priest translated, or pretended to translate, some of their titles, from the Sclavonick language, into Latin. If the account he gave me can be relied on, the collection contains the Travels of Pilgrims to Jerusalem in very remote periods.

In Russian characters, illuminated, on ancient vellum paper, is a copy of the gospels, in folio, most beautifully written, by Anne, the daughter of Michael Feodorovich. We were also shown, as at Petersburgh, some carving in wood by Peter the great. It was a small box, and contained a letter, dated 1697, sent by him, from Sardam in Holland, to the patriarchs at Moscow. The priest permitted me to make a *fac simile* of his hand writing; for which purpose I copied, with great care, the signature to his letter. It was simply his Christian name, and written in this manner:



Having obtained the keys from the secretary's office, we were admitted to see the famous model of the Kremlin, according to the plan for its erection under the auspicies of the late empress. It is one of the most curious things in Moscow. If the work had been completed, it would have been the wonder of the world. The architect who constructed the plan was a Russian; and had studied in Paris.* The model cost fifty thousand roubles. The expense necessary for the accomplishment of the undertaking, as the architect Camporesi, who made the estimate, assured me,

* According to the Voyage de Deux Français, the model was constructed by a German joiner of the name of Andrew Wetman, after a design by the architect Bajanof, pupil of Vail'y. *See tom.* iii. p. 297.

would have been fifty millions of roubles. The calculation laid before the empress stated the amount only at twenty millions. The work was begun; but, it is said, the falling in of a part of the foundation determined the empress against its prosecution. From the state of the roof of the building, in which this model is kept, it may be expected that every trace of so magnificent an undertaking will soon be annihilated. Symptoms of decay already appear; and the architect told us it might soon be expected to fall. When he delivered his report of the dangerous condition of the edifice, the Russians shrugged their shoulders, and said: "*Fall in! And what if it does?*"

The plan was, to unite the whole Kremlin, having a circumference of two miles, into one magnificent palace. Its triangular form, and the number of churches it contains, offered some difficulties; but the model was rendered complete. Its fronts are ornamented with ranges of beautiful pillars, according to different orders of architecture. Every part of it was finished in the most beautiful manner, even to the fresco painting on the ceilings of the rooms, and the colouring of the various marble columns intended to decorate the interiour. It encloses a theatre, and magnificent apartments. Had the work been completed, no edifice could ever have been compared with it. It would have surpassed the temple of Solomon, the propylæum of Amasis, the villa of Adrian, or the forum of Trajan. Camporesi spoke of it in terms of equal praise; but at the same time he confessed to me, that Guarenghi, his countryman, at Petersburgh, an architect well known for his works in that city, entertained different sentiments. Guarenghi allowed it to be grand, as it must necessarily be, from its stupenduous nature; but thought it too much ornamented, and too heavy in many of its parts.

The architecture exhibited in different parts of the Kremlin, in its palaces and churches, is like nothing seen in Europe. It is difficult to say from what country it has been principally derived. The architects were generally Italians; but the style is Tartarian, Indian, Chinese, and Gothic. Here a pagoda, there an arcade! In some parts richness, and even elegance; in others, barbarity and decay. Taken altogether, it is a jumble of magnificence and ruin. Old buildings repaired, and modern structures not completed. Half open vaults, and mouldering walls, and empty caves, amidst whitewashed brick buildings, and towers and

churches, with glittering, gilded, or painted domes. In the midst of it, some devotees are seen entering a little, mean structure, more like a stable than a church. This, they tell you, is the first of Christian worship erected in Moscow. It was originally constructed of the trunks of trees, felled upon the spot, at the foundation of the city; but now it is of brick, built in imitation of the original, wooden church. Its claim to antiquity cannot be great, as, according to accounts published in our own country,* the whole city of Moscow was burned by the Tartars of the Crimea, on the 24th of May, 1571, at which time the old, wooden church was probably destroyed. We entered during a service performed in this building. A priest, with true Stentorian lungs, was reading a selection from the gospels to the people. There is nothing within the structure worth notice.

The view of Moscow, from the terrace in the Kremlin, near the spot where the artillery is preserved, would afford a fine subject for a panorama. The number of magnificent buildings, the domes, the towers, and spires, which fill all the prospect, make it, perhaps, the most novel and interesting sight in Europe. All the wretched hovels, and miserable wooden buildings, which appear in passing through the streets, are lost in the vast assemblage of magnificent edifices; among which the foundling hospital is particularly conspicuous. Below the walls of the Kremlin, the Moscva, already become a river of importance, is seen flowing towards the Volga. The new promenade forming on its banks, immediately beneath the fortress, is a superb work, and promises to rival the famous quay at Petersburgh. It is paved with large flags, and is continued from the stone bridge, to another, peculiarly called the Moscva bridge fenced with a light but strong iron palisade, and stone pillars, executed in very good taste. A flight of stairs leads from this walk to the river, where the ceremony of the benediction of the water takes place at an earlier season of the year. Another flight of wooden steps leads through the walls of the Kremlin to an area within the fortress.

One day, ascending by this staircase, we found all the churches in the Kremlin open, and a prodigious concourse of people assembled at the celebration of the great festival of the ascension. It is difficult to describe the scenes then

* Letter of Richard Uscombe to Henry Lane. Hackluyt, vol. i. p. 402

exhibited within these buildings. I was carried in by the crowd, which rushed forward like a torrent; and, being lifted by it from the ground, beheld, as I entered, a throng of devotees, in which there was danger of being pressed to death; all of whom were in motion, crossing themselves, bowing their heads, and struggling who should first kiss the consecrated pictures. The bodies of their saints were exposed: and we were shown, by the attending priests, some of the wood of "*the true cross.*" Women, with tears streaming from their eyes, were seen lifting their infants, and teaching them to embrace the feet and hands of the images. Observing a crowd particularly eager to kiss the scull of an incorruptible saint, I asked a priest, in Latin, whose body the sepulchre contained. "Whence are you," said he, "that you know not the tomb of St. Demetrius?"

CHAPTER VIII.

MOSCOW.

Order of the Maltese Cross—Minerals of Count Golovkin—Antiquities—Pictures—Shells—Gallery of Galitzin—Library of Botterline—Botanick Garden—Philosophical Apparatus—Other Collections—Stupendous Objects of Natural History—English Horse Dealers—Publick Baths; their Mode of Use, and National Importance—Foundling Hospital.

SINCE the emperour Paul was made grand master of Malta, the order of the cross became one of the most fashionable in Russia. It was not possible to mix in company, without seeing many persons adorned with the badge of the knights. The prince of it, when purchased of the crown, was three hundred peasants.* In the changes to which or-

* As we were informed Mr. HEBER states it at twelve hundred roubles. "At present, indeed, there is a new method of acquiring rank. Persons who have not served either in a civil or military capacity, may, for twelve hundred roubles, purchase a cross of Malta; but this is considered as no very proud distinction." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

ders, as well as governments, have been exposed, that which has happened to this class of society is worthy of admiration. Formerly, the oath taken, upon admission to the fraternity, enjoined and professed poverty, chastity, and obedience. What the nature of the oath now is, I did not learn, but the opposite qualifications in candidates for the holy cross were manifest; riches, profligacy, and sedition. The last of these lurked inwardly in the heart; the two first were ostentatiously displayed. The extravagance of the Russian nobility has no example. They talk of twenty and thirty thousand roubles, as other nations do of their meanest coin; but those sums are rarely paid in cash. The disbursement is made in furniture, horses, carriages, watches, snuff boxes, rings, and wearing apparel.

Visiting the mineralogical cabinet of count Golovkin with a dealer in minerals, he informed me that the arts and sciences obtained true patronage only in Moscow. "In England," said he, "it does not answer to offer fine specimens of natural history for sale; we get more money, even for the minerals of Siberia, in Moscow than in London." I found a very practical illustration of his remark in the contents of one small drawer, which was opened for me, consisting of only forty three specimens, and which had cost the count two thousand pounds sterling. The substances were certainly rare, but by no means adequate to such an enormous price. Some of them had been purchased in London, at the sale of Monsieur Colonne's cabinet. A fine mineral, as well as a fine picture, will often make the tour of Europe; and may be seen in London, Paris, and Petersburgh, in the course of the same year.

Among the rarest of count Golovkin's minerals, were, a specimen of the black silver ore, crystallized in cubes, for which alone he paid fifteen hundred roubles; auriferous native silver; the largest specimen which I believe to exist of the red Siberian tourmaline;* galena, almost malleable, a substance described by Le Sage; beautiful specimen of native gold from Peru; muriat of silver; crystals of tin oxide, as large as walnuts; a singular crystallization of carbonated lime, having assumed the shape of a heart, and therefore called *heart spar;* enormous octahedral crystals,

* Perhaps it is the same now exhibited in the gardens of natural history at Paris. Since this was written, I have seen a specimen much larger, in Mr. Greville's splenid collection. It was a present from the king of Avana to captain Symes, and is as big as a man's head.

exhibiting the primitive form of flour; the Siberian emerald, traversing prisms of rock crystal; Peruvian emerald in its matrix; Chrysoprase; Pallas's native iron; beautiful crystals of chromat and of phosphat of lead; native antimony; a specimen of rock crystal, so filled by water, that, when turned in the hand, drops were seen moving in all directions; the stone called *Venus's hairs*, or titanium in rock crystal; and that beautiful mineral the ruby silver, in fine distinct prisms, lying upon calcareous spar.

The collection of this nobleman contained other objects of curiosity besides cabinets of natural history. It was rich in valuable pictures; in many of the most interesting relicks of antiquity, particularly of Grecian vases; and it contained a library of books of the highest value. Count Golovkin is one of the very few among Russian connoisseurs, who really possesses taste. There is proof of this in every selection he makes, whether it be of books, antiquities, pictures, minerals, or works of modern art; for whatever he had selected, was, in its kind, well chosen. The caprice may be lamented, which induces him to change so frequently what he has once collected, or even suffer it to be destroyed, instead of allowing the acquisition to remain, a monument of his genius, for the use and instruction of posterity. Otherwise, his museum might convince the world, that, in a secluded city, remote from the usual walks of civilized society, there was at least one among the nobility of Russia, who, to a love of literature, joined the talents necessary for its gratification, and the patronage which so much conduces to its advancement.

Among the pictures I noticed a very celebrated work of Van der Werf, which I had formerly purchased from Monsieur de Calonne's collection in London, for an English nobleman. It was that highly-finished piece which represents the daughters of Lot giving wine to their father. Other travellers may, perhaps, at this time find the same picture in Madrid. That unrivalled painting of Gerhard Douw, in which he has represented himself as an artist drawing by candle-light, was also in this collection: it cost the count two thousand four hundred roubles. The rest were the productions of Leonardo da Vinci, Sasso Ferrato, Lanfranc, Teniers, Vandyke, and other eminent masters.

In the cabinet of antiquities was an ancient lyre of bronze, complete in all its parts, and perhaps the only one ever found. It was modelled by Camporesi in wood. A

vase of *lapis lazuli* was shown as having been found in Herculaneum, which is very doubtful. It is common, in collections of this nature, to attribute the antiquities of other cities of Magna Græcia, and even modern alabaster vases, to Herculaneum; although every thing found in the excavations there carried on, is rigidly reserved for the museum of his Sicilian majesty. Greek vases, from sepulchres in Italy, are very often called Herculaneum; yet I believe no such work of antiquity has ever been found there. With those vases, have sometimes, but very rarely, been discovered the glass vessels of the ancients. It is still more rare to find Grecian glass vases of any considerable size. In count Golovkin's collection were some of a spherical form, at least twelve inches in diameter; and one of them, standing near a window, filled with earth, in which had been planted a Dutch tulip, and liable to be broken every instant. Like other possessors of antiquities, which are equally interesting to the historian and the artist, he had abandoned one acquisition in pursuit of another. Vases, on which were represented subjects illustrating the earliest ages of Grecian history, were seen lying on the floor, like neglected toys of children. No person exceeded the liberality of count Golovkin, in making any addition to his collection: no one became sooner wearied by possession. They were thus rather objects of caprice than of science, and have probably, by this time, found their way to other cities of Europe. Enormous sums have been lavished to procure the black porcelain of Japan; but when we arrived, those vases were also filled with earth and flowers. Several fine busts from the celebrated cabinet of Caylus, adorned the apartments: also a marble vase which belonged to the famous Mengs, and had been brought from Rome to Moscow, by the grand chamberlain Suvalof. I do not pretend to the smallest knowledge of concology: it might therefore, astonish me, more than some of my readers, to see a single shell, called the *Great Hammer*, of no external beauty, but shaped like the instrument of that name, for which the late Mr. Forster of London, received of the count one thousand roubles.

> "He furnishes his closet first, and fills
> The crowded shelves with rarities of shells:
> Adds orient pearls which from the conchs he drew,
> And all the sparkling stones of various hue."
>
> DRYDEN.

After a particular description of count Golovkin's collection, it will be unnecessary to mention a thousand others which exist in Moscow. I shall, therefore, pass hastily over the principal. The gallery of pictures of the grand chamberlain Galitzin is the most extensive. The palace itself is magnificent; and a set of stately apartments, terminated by a vast gallery, is entirely filled with paintings. In so great a collection, there are doubtless many indifferent productions; but there are some of unequalled merit, and, among these, one of the finest works of Salvator Rosa. The subject is St. Sebastian; and it has been executed with all his sublimity and energy. The gallery consists chiefly of pictures by the Flemish masters.

The library, botanick garden, and museum of count Botterline, is one of the finest sights in Europe. That nobleman not only collected the rarest copies of the classicks; but of some authors, particularly Virgil he had so many editions, that they formed of themselves a library. His books are not kept in one particular apartment, but occupy a number of different rooms. They are all bound beneath his own roof and afford sufficient employment for several workmen, retained constantly in the house for that purpose. He has almost all the *editiones principes;* and his collection of works printed during the fifteenth century amounts to near six thousand volumes. According to Orlandi* (whose List of Authors, printed between the years 1457 and 1500, I once revised) their number amounts to one thousand three hundred and three. It is, therefore, probable, that nearly all of them are contained in count Botterline's collection. The catalogue of that part of his library fills two folio volumes. He procured from Paris the celebrated work of Theodore de Bry, a collection of voyages, with beautiful wood cuts; and has been at infinite pains to obtain from all countries a complete series of ecclesiastical annals, which already amounted to forty volumes in folio. This immense library is divided into six distinct classes. His pictures are not so numerous; but they are well chosen.

The botanick garden (botany being his favourite pursuit) contains a greenhouse, which certainly had not its equal in

* *Origine e Progressi della Stampa, da Peregrin. Anton. Orlandi.* Bononæ, 1722. I found his hand-writing, and the signature of his name, in a curious edition of *Suetonius*, in the Mostyn Library, North Wales. See the account of it in *Pennant's History of Whiteford and Holywell*, p. 83.

the world. At one end of it was a small library of botanical works, in which he had the advantage of studying with the living specimens before him. But the most extraordinary circumstance was, that we found the plants of the frigid zone, and of the warmest climates, flourishing in greater beauty than I had seen them possess in a state of nature. They were more perfect, because they were preserved from all external injury, and were, at the same time, healthy. I asked him how such a variety of plants, requiring such difficult culture, situation, and temperature, could be thus nourished beneath the same roof. He informed me, that, in his opinion, the principal defect in gardeners, arises from their management in watering; that, for his part, he performed almost all the work with his own hands; and acknowledged, that although botanists were much struck by the appearance of his plants, he was entirely indebted, for all the knowledge he had acquired, to our countryman, Miller, whose works were always near him. In his garden, the plants of Siberia flourished in the open air. Among others, I noticed the *spiræa crenata*, and the *rosa austriaca*, or *pæstum rose*, in full bloom on the twenty fifth of May. Almost all the fruit trees in Moscow had perished during the former winter. The count smiled, when we spoke of the facility with which he might obtain the Siberian plants. "I receive them all," said he, "from England. Nobody here will be at the trouble to collect either seed or plants; and I am compelled to send to your country for things that grow wild in my own."

In addition to the extraordinary collection already noticed, belonging to this nobleman, we were shown another set of apartments by him, which were filled with all sorts of philosophical apparatus. These alone appeared sufficient to have employed the time and fortune of a single individual. They consisted of electrical machinery, telescopes, the whole furniture of a chymical laboratory, models, pieces, of mechanism, the most curious and expensive balances, and almost every instrument of the useful arts.

> "To tell their costly furniture were long;
> The summer's day would end before the song:
> To purchase but the tenth of all their store,
> Would make the mighty Persian monarch poor.
> Yet what I can, I will." DRYDEN.

The collection of minerals, shells, birds, animals, and medals of Paul Gregorovitz Demidof, has been considered

by travellers more worth seeing than any other in Moscow.* We did not obtain admission. His library contained five thousand volumes, chiefly on subjects of natural history. The minerals of prince Urusof, and of prince Paul Galitzin, were of the highest beauty and magnificence. The former of these princes gave five thousand roubles for a single specimen. But of all the surprising articles in natural history I saw in Moscow, the most worthy of admiration were two specimens, the one of malachite, and the other of Siberian emerald, in the audience chamber of prince Alexander Galitzin. They were placed alone, independent of any cabinet, on two pedestals, opposite a canopy, beneath which the prince and princess sat on days of ceremony. His highness condescended to show them to me. They were far beyond all estimation; because the value of such things must depend entirely on the power and wealth which might enable a prince or a sovereign to obtain them. The first, or the mass of green, carbonated copper, commonly called malachite, was not only the largest appearance of that substance ever discovered, but also the most beautiful. It was found in the Siberian mines; and was matchless, in every circumstance of form and colour, which might interest a naturalist, or fulfil the wishes of the lapidary. Its delicate surface, of the most beautiful, silky lustre, exhibited that mammillary undulation, and those conical nodes, which decide the stalactite origin of the mineral. Its interiour, though exquisitely zoned, was entire and compact; and for the mere purpose of cutting into plates, in the hands of jewellers, would have been inestimable. The weight of this enormous mass must have been at least a ton. For this specimen, while I remained in the city, a dealer offered his highness six thousand roubles, which were refused. The companion of this extraordinary product of the mineral kingdom, and of equal size, was not less wonderful. It was a mass of numberless Siberian emeralds, lying in their matrix, which they traversed in all directions, exhibiting the most beautiful crystallization that can be conceived, and every possible diversity of size, shape, and colour.

Prince Viazemskoi's collection of all the current coin of the world, when he can be prevailed upon to show it, which was not often the case, is too remarkable to be passed over without notice. Prince Alexander Scherbatof has also a magnificent cabinet of natural history.

* Voyage de Deux Français, tom. iii. p. 327.

The number of English horse dealers, and English grooms, in Moscow, is very great. They are in high favour among the nobles. The governour of the city was considered particularly skilful in choosing horses. It was usual to hear the nobles recounting the predigree of their favourites, as if on an English race-course. "This," say they, "was the son of Eclipse; dam by such a one; grandam by another;" and so on, through a list of names which their grooms have taught them, but which have no more real reference to their cattle than to the moon. English saddles and bridles also sell at very advanced prices.

Passing the streets of the city, a number of naked men and women are often seen lounging about before the publick baths, and talking together, without the smallest sense of shame, or of the indecency of the exhibition. In most parts of Russia, as in Lapland, except it be in capital towns, the males and females bathe together. It is well known, that a clergyman's daughter, with unsuspecting simplicity, did the honours of the bath for Acerbi, at Kiemi, in the north of the gulph of Bothnia.* As soon as the inhabitants of these northern nations have endured the high temperature of their vapour baths, which is so great, that Englishmen would not conceive it possible to exist an instant in them, they stand naked, covered by profuse perspiration, cooling themselves in the open air. In summer they plunge into cold water, and in winter they roll about in snow, without sustaining injury, or ever catching cold. When the Russians leave a bath of this kind, they, moreover, drink copious draughts of mead, as cold as it can be procured. These practices, which would kill men of other nations, seemed to delight them, and to add strength to their constitution.

Being troubled with rheumatick pain, brought on by a sudden change of weather which took place in Moscow, the thermometer falling, in one day, from 84° of Fahrenheit, nearly to the freezing point, I was persuaded to try a Russian bath. Nothing can be more filthy or disgusting than one of these places. They are usually filled with vermin. I had been recommended to use what they termed the Georgian bath, situated in the Sloboda, or suburbs, and which they describe as the best in Moscow. It required more courage to enter this place than many of my countrymen would have exerted on so trivial an occasion. It was a small, wooden hut, at one end of which there was a place, black

* See Acerbi's Travels.

and fearful as the entrance to Tartarus. Two figures, with long beards, and quite naked, conducted me in; and showing me a plank covered by a single sheet, with a pillow, they told me to deposit my clothes there and to repose, if I thought proper. On the sheet, however, a number of cock-roaches and crickets had usurped the only spot on which I might venture to sit down. As soon as I had taken off my clothes, they led me through a gloomy passage, into the place called the bath; the ceremonies of which I shall be very particular in describing.

On the left hand were cisterns of water; and upon the edges of those cisterns appeared a row of polished brass vessels. On the right was a stove; and, in the middle of the room, a step to a platform elevated above the floor. The hot vapour being collected near the roof, the more a person ascends, the greater is the degree of heat to which he is exposed. A choice of temperature is, therefore, offered. On each side of the platform was a stove, in shape exactly resembling the tomb-stones in our church yards. Their upper surface was covered by reeds; and over the bed of reeds was placed a sheet. I was directed to mount upon one of these stoves, and to place myself at full length on the sheet; having done which I found myself nearly elevated to the roof of the bath, and the heat of ascending vapour threw me immediately into a most profuse perspiration. The sensation was precisely the same which I experienced in the subterraneous cavern, called the Baths of Nero, on the coast of Baia, near Naples. I neglected to take my thermometer with me on this occasion; but the ordinary temperature of the Russian bath is well known. According to Storch,* it varies from 104° to 122° of Fahrenheit; and sometimes, upon the upper stages near the roof, it is twenty degrees above fever heat.† Thus situated, a man began to rub me all over with a woollen cloth, made into a bag, covering one of his hands, till the exteriour surface of the skin peeled off. As soon as he had finished the operation with the woollen cloth, he bade me descend, and poured several vessels of warm water on my head, whence it fell all over my body. He then placed me on the floor, and washed my hair with his hands, scratching

* *Tableau de l'Empire de Russie*, tom. I. p. 380. The degrees of temperature are estimated by Storch according to the scale of Réaumur.

† Equal to 132° of Fahrenheit.

my head in all parts with his nails; a great luxury to the Russians, and for reasons it is not necessary to explain. After this, he again made me ascend the stove, where once more stretching me at length, he prepared a copious lather of soap, with which, and a woollen cloth, he again rubbed my body; when I descended a second time, and was again soused with vessels of water. I was next desired to extend myself on the stove for the third time, and informed that the greatest degree of heat would be given. To prepare for this, they cautioned me to lie on my face and keep my head down. Birch boughs were then brought with their leaves on, and dipped in soap and hot water, with which they began to scrub me afresh; at the same time, some hot water being cast upon red-hot cannon balls, and upon the principal stove, such a vapour passed all over me, that it came like a current of fire upon my skin. If I ventured to raise my head an instant, it seemed as though I was breathing flames. It was impossible to endure this process for any length of time; therefore, finding myself unable to cry out, I forced my way down from the stove, and was conducted to the lower part of the room, where I seated myself on the floor, and, the doors being opened, soon recovered sufficiently to walk out of the bath.

Eminent physicians have endeavoured to draw the attention of the English government to the importance of public baths, and of countenancing their use by every aid of example and encouragement. While we wonder at their prevalence among all the eastern and northern nations, may we not lament that they are so little used in our own country? We might, perhaps, find reason to allow, that erysipelas, surfeit, rheumatism, colds, and a hundred other evils, particularly all sorts of cutaneous and nervous disorders, might be alleviated, if not prevented, by a proper attention to bathing. The inhabitants of countries in which the bath is constantly used, anxiously seek it, in full confidence of getting rid of all such complaints; and they are rarely disappointed. I may add my testimony to their's, having, not only upon the occasion which gave rise to these remarks, but in cases of obstructed perspiration much more alarming, during my travels, experienced their good effect. I hardly know any act of benevolence more essential to the comfort of the community, than that of establishing, by publick benefaction, the use of baths for the poor, in all our cities and manufacturing towns. The lives of many might be saved

by them, In England they are considered only as articles of luxury; yet throughout the vast empire of Russia, through all Finland, Lapland, Sweden, and Norway, there is no cottage so poor, no hut so destitute, but it possesses its vapour bath; in which all its inhabitants, every Saturday at least, and every day in cases of sickness, experience comfort and salubrity. Lady Mary Wortley Montague, in spite of all the prejudices which prevailed in England against inoculation, introduced it from Turkey. If another person of equal influence would endeavour to establish throughout Great Britain the use of warm and vapour baths, the inconveniences of our climate would be done away. Perhaps at some future period they may become general; and statues may perpetuate the memory of the patriot, the statesman, or the sovereign, to whom society will be indebted for their institution. When we are told, that the illustrious Bacon lamented in vain the disuse of baths among the Europeans, we have little reason to indulge in expectation. At the same time, an additional testimony to their salutary effects affording longevity and vigorous health to a people otherwise liable to mortal diseases from a rigorous climate and an unwholesome diet, may contribute to their establishment. Among the ancients, baths were publick edifices, under the immediate inspection of the government. They were considered as institutions which owed their origin to absolute necessity, as well as to decency and cleanliness. Under her emperours, Rome had near a thousand such buildings; which, besides their utility, were regarded as master-pieces of architectural skill and sumptuous decoration. In Russia, they have only vapour baths; and these are, for the most part, in wretched wooden hovels. If wood is wanting, they are formed of mud, or scooped in the banks of rivers and lakes: but in the palaces of the nobles, however they may vary in convenience or splendour of materials, the plan of construction is always the same.

This universal custom of the bath may be mentioned as an example of the resemblance between Muscovites and more oriental people. But there are many others; such, for instance, as the ceremony of howling and tearing the hair at the death of relatives; the practice among the nobles of employing slaves to rub the soles of their feet, in order to induce sleep; and the custom of maintaining buffoons, whose occupation it is to relate strange and extravagant tales for a similar purpose.

As a conclusion to this chapter, a few words may be added concerning the state of the Foundling Hospital; as the institution of that name in Petersburgh excites the interest and attention of all foreigners; although it is but a branch of the more magnificent establishment of the same nature in the east angle of the *Khitai Gorod*, at Moscow. Both one and the other have been sufficiently described by preceding authors.* Of the latter I shall, therefore, only add, that, in the space of twenty years, prior to the year 1786, they had received no less than thirty seven thousand six hundred and seven infants. Of this number, one thousand and twenty had left the asylum; and there remained six thousand and eighty at that time.† In 1792, the number of children in the house amounted to two thousand; and about three thousand belonging to the establishment were at nurse in the country. Every peasant intrusted with the care of an infant, had a monthly allowance of a rouble and a half. Every month, such of the children as have been vaccinated are sent into the country where they remain until the age of five years. Before the introduction of vaccination, the mortality was much greater among them than it is at present, although they inoculated for the small pox.‡

* Since the foundation of these two establishments, similar institutions have taken place in other towns of Russia; such as Tula, Kaluga, Jaroslaf, Casan, &c.

† Storch's *Tableau de Russie, tom.* I. p. 321. Upon the great mortality which this statement allows, the author makes the following judicious remarks: "Si cette note, adoptée d'après un écrivain très véridique sur d'autres points, est exacte, la perte que cet établissement a essuyée par la mortalité des enfans, est sans doute très considérable: mais elle le paraîtrait beaucoup moins, si l'on examinait le nombre de ceux qui sont morts au moment d'y être reçus, aussi bien que de ceux qui y ont porté le germe de leur destruction. Pour déterminer l'état exact de la mortalité de cette maison, il faudrait savoir le nombre d'enfans parfaitement sains qui y sont entrés, car ceux que l'on porte à l'hôpital, aussitôt après qu'ils ont été baptisés: ne peuvent être regardés que comme des victimes dévouées à la mort: il y aurait donc la plus grande injustice à attribuer leur perte à un établissement rempli d'humanité, qui enrichit annuellement l'état d'un nombre toujours plus considérable de citoyens sains, actifs et industrieux."

‡ Heber's MS. Journal.

CHAPTER IX.

MOSCOW.

Visit to the Archbishop of Moscow—his Conversation—Convent of Nicoll na Perrera—Funeral of Prince Galitzin—Stalls for Fruit and Food—Sparrow Hill—Publick Morals—Banquets of the Nobles—Dealers in Virtu—*Adventures and Swindlers—Immense Wealth of the Nobles—Condition of the Peasants.*

A CURIOUS contrast to the splendour in which we had hitherto beheld Plato, archbishop of Moscow, was offered, during a visit we made to him at the convent of Nicoll na Perrera, a seminary for young priests near the city. I had long wished for an opportunity of conversing with this remarkable man. He was preceptor to the emperour Paul; and is known to the world by his correspondence with monsieur Dutens. Upon our arrival at the convent, we were told he was then walking in a small garden, the care of which constituted his principal pleasure; and the employment characterized the simplicity and innocence of his life. As we entered the garden, we found him seated on a turf bank, beneath the windows of the refectory, attended by a bishop, an old man his vicar, the abbé of the monastery, and some others of the monks. I could scarcely believe my eyes, when they told me it was Plato; for though I had often seen him in his archiepiscopal vestments, his rural dress had made such an alteration, that I did not know him. He was habited in a striped silk bedgown, with a night-cap like the silk nets which hang down the back, as commonly seen on the heads of Italian postilions; and a pair of woollen stockings, with feet of coarse linen, fastened on with twine in an uncouth manner. He was without shoes, but a pair of yellow slippers lay at some distance. By his side, on the bank, was placed his broad-brimmed hat, such as is worn by the shepherdesses of the Alps; and in the hatband, to complete the resemblance, was stuck a bunch of withered flowers. His white beard, and that mildness and animation of countenance which distinguished him, gave to his features a most pleasing expression. He desired to know who we

were; and being answered, Englishmen; "What!" said he, "all English? I wonder what your countrymen can find sufficiently interesting in Russia, to bring you so far from home; and in such times as these?" But having made this observation in French, he looked cautiously around him, and began to ask the monks, severally, whether they understood French. Finding them perfectly ignorant of that language, he bade me sit by him; while the rest forming a circle, he entertained us with a conversation, in which there was science, wit, and freedom, sufficient to astonish any traveller, in such a country, and at such a period. Memory has scarcely retained even that part of it which concerned the maners of his countrymen.

"Well," said he, "you thought me, perhaps, a curiosity: and you find me as naturally disposed for observation as you could wish" (pointing to his woollen stockings and his strange dress) "an old man bending with years and infirmities." I replied, that I had the honour to see him in his greatest splendour, on the night of the ceremony of the resurrection, in the cathedral of the Kremlin. "And what did you think of that ceremony?" said he. I answered, that "I considered it as one of the most solemn I had ever witnessed, not excepting even that of the benediction at Rome;"—"and interesting?" added his grace. "Very much so," said I: at which he burst into a fit of laughter, holding his sides, and saying, "I had lost a night's rest to attend the ceremony of a religion I did not profess, and called it *interesting*."

We accompanied him round his garden, admiring the beauty of the situation, and the serenity of the climate. "But do you," said he, "prefer our climate to yours?" I told him, that I had found the Russian climate severe, but the cold weather in winter not attended by so much humidity as in England; that the atmosphere was clear and dry. "Oh yes said he, "very dry indeed! and it has, in consequence, dried up all our fruit trees."

Afterwards, he inquired where we were going? and being told to Kuban Tartary and to Constantinople;—"God preserve me!" he exclaimed, "what a journey! but nothing is difficult to Englishmen; they traverse all the regions of the earth. My brother, "continued he," was a traveller, and educated in your country, at Oxford; but I have never been any where except at Petersburgh and at Moscow. I should have been delighted in travelling, if I had enjoyed

the opportunity; for books of travels are my favorite reading. I have lately read," and the significant smile by which the words were accompanied could not be misunderstood, "the Voyage of lord Macartney."—He laughed, however, at the result of his brother's education. "The English," said he, "taught him to declaim in their way: he used to preach his fine flourishing sermons to us Russians; very fine sermons! but they were all translated from the English. Some of your divines write beautifully; but with inconceivable freedom. It was once discussed in an English sermon, Whether a people had power to dethrone their king." "Your grace may say more," said I; "we had once a prelate, who preaching before his sovereign, felt himself at liberty to discuss his conduct to his face." "I wish," said he, "we had such a fellow here!"—but, aware of the interpretation which might be put upon his words, and perhaps not daring to end with them, he added, after a pause, "we would send him, to enjoy the full liberty of preaching in the free air of Siberia." He was much amused at a reply he once received from an English clergyman, of the factory at Petersburgh, when asked if he intended to marry. "If I am fortunate enough to become a bishop, I shall marry some rich citizen's daughter, and live at my ease."*

He complained much of Dutens, for having published his correspondence, without his permission. He acknowledged having therein endeavoured to prove that the pope was antichrist; of which he was fully convinced: but that he much feared the resentment of the court of Rome. We told him, we thought his fears might now subside, as that court was no longer formidable to any one. "O," said he, "you do not know its intrigues and artifices: it is like the ancient Romans; patient in concealing malice; prompt to execute it, when opportunity offers; and always obtaining its point in the end." He then spoke of Voltaire, and his correspondence with the late empress Catherine. "There was nothing," said he "of which she was so vain, as of that correspondence. I never saw her so gay, and in such high spirits, as when she had to tell me of having received a letter from Voltaire."

He showed us the apartments of the ancient patriarch who founded the convent and built the church, which he endeavoured to preserve in their pristine state. They consist-

* The priests in the Greek church are allowed to marry; but not the bishops.

ed of several small, vaulted, Gothick chambers, which now contain the library. I took this opportunity to ask if any translation of the classicks existed in the Sclavonian language, among the manuscripts dispersed in the different libraries of the Russian monasteries. He answered me in the negative; and said they had nothing worth notice until the time of the patriarch Nicon. As he was well versed in Sclavonick, I questioned him concerning its affinity to the Russian. He assured me the two languages were almost the same; that the difference was only a distinction of dialect; and that neither of them had the smallest resemblance to the language of Finland.

In this convent, one hundred and fifty students are instructed in Greek, Latin, and rhetorick. After a certain time, they are sent to complete their education in other seminaries at Moscow. The church is lofty and spacious; the table for the sacrament, as in all other Russian and Greek churches, is kept in the sanctuary, behind the altar, where women are not permitted to enter. The archbishop, who had visited our English church at Petersburgh, observed that our table was uncovered, except when the sacrament was administered; a degree of economy which he expressed himself unable to comprehend, or to reconcile with the piety and liberality of the English nation. What would he have said, if he had beheld the condition of the communion tables in some of our country churches? In Russia, they are always covered with the richest cloth which can be procured, and generally with embroidered velvet.

On the twenty-eighth of May we again saw him in great splendour, at the burial of prince Galitzin, in Moscow. This ceremony was performed in a small church near the Mareschal bridge. The body was laid in a superb, crimson coffin, richly embossed with silver, and placed beneath the dome of the church. On a throne, raised at the head of the coffin, stood the archbishop, who read the service. On each side were ranged the inferiour clergy, clothed, as usual, in the most costly robes, bearing in their hands wax tapers, and burning incense. The ceremony began at ten in the morning. Having obtained admission to the church, we placed ourselves among the spectators, immediately behind his grace. The chaunting had a solemn and sublime effect. It seemed as if choristers were placed in the upper part of the dome, which, perhaps, was really the case.

The words uttered were only a constant repetition of "*Lord have mercy upon us!*" or, in Russian,* "*Ghospodi pomilui!*" When the archbishop turned to give his benediction to all the people, he observed us, and added, in Latin, "*Pax vobiscum!*" to the astonishment of the Russians; who, not comprehending the new words introduced into the service, muttered among themselves. Incense was then offered to the pictures and to the people; and, that ceremony ended, the archbishop read aloud a declaration, purporting that the deceased died in the true faith; that he had repented of his errours, and that his sins were absolved. Then turning to us, as the paper was placed in the coffin, he said again in Latin: "This is what all you foreigners call *the passport;* and you relate, in books of travels, that we believe no soul can go to heaven without it. Now I wish you to understand what it really is; and to explain to your countrymen, upon my authority, that it is nothing more than a declaration, or certificate, concerning the death of the deceased." Then laughing, he added, "I suppose you commit all this to paper; and one day I shall see an engraving of this ceremony, with an old archbishop giving a passport to St. Peter."†

* These Russian words are written, in books of good authority; "*Ghospodi pomilui!*" See Lord Whitworth's Account of Russia, p. 43. Also, Un. His. vol. 35, p. 134. But they seem generally pronounced *Rospodi pomila!*

† There is a passage in Mr. Heber's Journal, very characteristick of this extraordinary man. Mr. Heber, with his friend Mr. Thornton, paid him a visit in the convent of Befania; and, in his description of the monastery, I find the following account of the archbishop. "The space beneath the rocks is occupied by a small chapel, furnished with a stove for winter devotion; and on the right hand is a little, narrow cell, containing two coffins; one of which is empty, and destined for the present archbishop; the other contains the bones of the founder of the monastery, who is regarded as a saint. The oak coffin was almost bit to pieces by different persons afflicted with the tooth-ache; for which a rub on this board is a specifick. Plato laughed as he told us this; but said, "As they do it *de bon cœur*, I would not undeceive them.' This prelate has been long very famous in Russia, as a man of ability. His piety has been questioned: but from his conversation we drew a very favourable idea of him. Some of his expressions would have rather singed the whiskers of a very orthodox man; but the frankness and openness of his manners, and the liberality of his sentiments, pleased us highly. His frankness on subjects of politicks was remarkable. The clergy throughout Russia are, I believe, inimical to their government; they are more connected with the peasants than most other classes of men, and are strongly interested in their sufferings and oppressions; to many of which they themselves are likewise exposed. They marry very much among the daughters and sisters of their own order, and form almost a cast. I think Buonaparte rather popu-

The lid of the coffin being now removed, the body of the prince was exposed to view; and all the relatives, servants, slaves, and other attendants, began their loud lamentations, as is the custom among the Russians; and each person, walking round the corpse, made prostration before it, and kissed the lips of the deceased. The venerable figure of an old slave presented a most affecting spectacle. He threw himself flat on the pavement, with a degree of violence which might have cost him his life, and quite stunned by the blow, remained a few seconds insensible; afterwards, his loud sobs were heard; and we saw him tearing off and scattering his white hairs. He had, according to the custom of the country, received his liberty upon the death of the prince; but choosing rather to consign himself for the remainder of his days to a convent, he retired for ever from the world, saying: "Since his dear, old master was dead, there was no one living who cared for him."

A plate was handed about, containing boiled rice and raisins; a ceremony I am unable to explain. The face of the deceased was covered by linen, and the archbishop poured consecrated oil, and threw a white powder, probably lime, several times upon it, pronouncing some words in the Russian language; which, supposing us not to understand, he repeated aloud in Latin: "*Dust thou art; and unto dust thou art returned!*" The lid of the coffin was then replaced; and, after a requiem, "sweet as from blest voices," a procession began from the church to a convent in the vicinity of the city, where the body was to be interred. There was nothing solemn in this part of the ceremony. It began by the slaves of the deceased on foot, all of whom were in mourning. Next went the priests, bearing tapers; then came the body on a common droski; the whip of the driver being bound with crape; and afterwards a line of carriages, of the miserable description before observed. But, instead

lar among them. Plato seemed to contemplate his success as an inevitable and not very alarming prospect. He refused to draw up a form of prayer for the success of the Russian arms. 'If,' said he, 'they are really penitent, let them shut up their places of public amusement for a month, and I will then celebrate publick prayers.' His expressions of dislike to the nobles and wealthy classes were strong and singular; as also the manner in which he described the power of an emperour of Russia, the dangers which surround him, and the improbability of any rapid improvement. 'It would be much better,' said he, 'had we a constitution like that of England.' Yet I suspect he does not wish particularly well to us, in our war with France." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

of that slow movement usually characteristick of funeral processions, the priests and the people ran as fast as they could; and the body was jolted along in an uncouth manner. Far behind the last rumbling vehicle were seen persons following, out of breath, unable to keep up with their companions.

The stalls of fruit and food in the streets of Moscow prove very beneficial to the health of the people; especially to the children, who are ill fed at home. At these places, for a few copeeks, which they contrive to collect, they get a wholesome dinner. I saw them served at the stalls with plates of boiled rice, over which was poured a little honey; and for each of these they paid about a penny English. In the spring they sell apples (which they have a remarkable method of preserving through the winter, though I could not gain information how this was contrived) baked pears, sallad, salted cucumbers (which are antiscorbutick, and esteemed delicious by Russians of every rank) wild berries, boiled rice, quass, honey, and mead. As almost every eatable receives a formal benediction from the priests before it is considered fit for use, no Russian will touch any article of food until the ceremony has taken place. A particular church near the Maresehal bridge is set apart for the benediction of apples; and this is not given until the first apple drops from the tree, which is brought in great form to the priests.

It is evident that a practice more judicious can hardly be adopted; as the people are thus saved from many maladies. I have seen a whole French army debilitated through want of caution in this respect. A Mohammedan would sooner eat pork, than a Russian unconsecrated fruit. At Petersburgh, the benediction of water takes place upon the ice of the Neva. In Moscow they have a floating stage upon the river below the Kremlin, on which this ceremony is performed.

Having observed a very rare, Siberian plant, or *Hyoscyamus Physaloides;* or, *Purple-flowered Henbane*, growing wild in the garden of our friend and banker, Mr. Doughty, we thought the season sufficiently advanced to go, on the twenty-ninth of May, upon a botanical excursion to Sparrow Hill, an eminence near the city, much celebrated for the view it affords of Moscow and its environs. The sight is not so pleasing as the scene beheld from the Kremlin; it is too much of a bird's-eye prospect; and, though it comprehends the whole extent of the city, with the river and

all its vast suburbs, the magnificence of the edifices is lost in the distance to which they appear removed. Upon this hill one of the former sovereigns began to build a palace, the foundations of which, with vaults and cellars of brick-work, are now in ruins. From the eminence, we perceived the land round Moscow to be low and swampy, abounding with pools of stagnant water, and of course unhealthy. The climate is also dangerous, from sudden transitions. The rapidity of vegetation was here very striking. The *Ranunculus ficaria*, or English *Pilewort*, was already losing its bloom. Many other later flowers, by their forward state, gave us notice that it was time to bid adieu to cities and "the busy haunts of men," if we wished to behold nature in more southern latitudes, before she became devested of her smiling countenance.*

The manner in which the Russian peasants clothe their legs and feet, throughout the whole empire, from its simplicity and the materials used, indicates great antiquity. It prevails all over Lapland, and the other northern territories of Sweden and Norway. Their shoes are made of the matted bark of trees; their legs being covered by bandages of woollen cloth, bound on with thongs of the same materials as the sandals. These thongs, passing through the loose texture of the sandal, and afterwards entwined about the leg, keep the whole apparatus together.

I have had occasion to mention the filthy establishment called an inn, and dignified by the title of *L'Hotel de Constantinople*, in which we resided. The master of it had not less than five hundred persons, as servants, and in other capacities, employed to assist him. It may serve to convey an idea of the morals of this city, when the fact is stated, that in this list were included a number of hired prostitutes, constantly kept by him, in open stews belonging to the house, for the use of the numerous guests by whom it was inhabited. The reader may be spared what else might be related concerning the publicity of such apartments.

A swarm of slaves, attendants, hirelings, and dependent sycophants, is peculiarly characteristic of domestic economy in Moscow. The nobles consider the honour of their families so materially implicated in maintaining a numer-

* The following are the names of the other plants we observed upon and near this eminence. *Orobus Tuberosus*, *Viola Canina*, *Oxalis Acetosella* (common Wood Sorrel), *Prunus Padus* (Bird's Cherry), *Lonicera Xylosteum* (common Fly Honeysuckle), *Glechoma Hederacea* (Ground Ivy).

ous table, that should any of the satellites which usually surround them forsake his post at dinner, and swell the train of any other person, the offence is rarely forgiven: they will afterwards persecute the deserter by every means of revenge within their power; and, not being burdened by scruples of conscience, they generally find means of indulging their vengeance. I have seen persons who were victims of their own good-nature, in having accepted invitations which decoyed them from the table of their lord. Similar motives gave rise to the prodigious hospitality which has been described by travellers. Before the reign of Paul, a stranger no sooner arrived in Moscow, than the most earnest solicitations were made for his regular attendance at the table of this or that nobleman. If his visits were indiscriminate, jealousy and quarrels were the inevitable consequence. During the reign of Paul, Englishmen were guests which might involve the host in difficulty and danger; yet, notwithstanding the risk incurred, it is but justice to acknowledge, the nobles felt themselves so gratified by the presence of a stranger, that, having requested his attendance, they would close their portals upon his equipage, lest it should be discerned by the officers of police.

The curious spectacle presented at their dinners has no parellel in the rest of Europe. The dishes and the wines correspond in gradation with the rank and condition of the guests. Those who sit near the master of the house are suffered to have no connexion with the fare or the tenants of the lower end of the table; and nothing would so much distress a Russian prince, as sending for a portion of the soup or the viands which are there placed. That which he intends for the gratification of the favoured few around him, is generally carried to them; nor is it usual to ask for any thing. The number of persons in waiting is prodigious. In the house of the young count Orlof were no less than four hundred servants; many of them sumptuously clothed, and others, mingled with them, in rags. It was no uncommon sight to observe, behind a chair, a fellow in plumes and gold, like a Neopolitan running footman; and another by his side, looking like a beggar from the streets.

It is upon such occasions that strangers have an opportunity of learning what becomes of the immense wealth of the Russian nobility. He will see it lavished among foreigners in their service, upon their tables and equipages,

their dresses, toys, trinkets, jewels, watches, snuff boxes, balls, masquerades, private theatres, dancers, singers, trading antiquaries, and travelling picture dealers. This last office is frequently filled by hairdressers and Italian lackeys. There is no place in the world where adventurers reap such harvest as in Moscow. Frizzeurs from Italy or Germany, having bought up any rubbish they are able to procure, get some friend to give them a letter and a name, with which they arrive in the city. The news is soon buzzed abroad; the new comer sought for; and he must be indeed a fool if he does not make his journey answer. I saw a man of this description, a barber of Vienna, as a picture-dealer in Moscow, caressed by the nobles, and invited to all their tables, until his stock of pictures was gone, and then he was no more noticed. He complained with bitterness to me of the dishonourable chicanery of the nobility. Some of them had given him pinchbeck, instead of gold watches and snuff boxes; and paste, instead of diamond rings; in exchange for his pictures. In fact, they had mutually cheated each other; the pictures being of less value than the worst commodities given for them. Of the two parties, however, the seller and the buyers, the barber had ultimately the losing part of the business. Flushed by his newly acquired wealth, he set up for an amateur himself; bought minerals, and gave dinners; and ended by returning to Vienna without a *sous* in his pocket, to practise his old trade of frizzing and shaving.

Moscow is, of all places in Europe, the most advantageous rendezvous of adventurers and swindlers; and, consequently, many are found there. The credulity, the extravagance, and the ignorance of Russian nobles, offer a tempting harvest to such men. The notorious Semple, rose to such a pitch of celebrity in Russia, that he influenced, if he did not govern, Potemkin. He introduced a uniform for the hussars, which is still worn; and made alterations, truly judicious, in their military discipline. Thus the Russian officers derived from the hulks at Woolwich greater advantages than if they had served there in person; an honour, which, though well merited, it is not necessary to assign them, as they experience very wholesome chastisement at home. In the aptitude of such reflections, the reader, it is hoped, will sympathize with the author. They are made from no disposition to sarcasm, but from a strict attention

to that fidelity of delineation, which, while it portrays deformity, represents the truth.

The wealth of the nobles is really enormous. We have not, in England, individuals possessing equal property, whatever their rank or situation may be. Some of them have seventy and even a hundred thousand peasants. Their fortunes are estimated by the number of their peasants, as West India merchants reckon their income by the number of their hogsheads. These peasants pay them, upon the average, ten roubles annually, in specie.* If the peasant has been required by his lord to give him three days of labour during each week, the annual tax is said to be proper-

* Mr. Heber's Journal contains so much interesting information concerning the state of the peasants in Russia, that I shall here subjoin a copious extract. While it accompanies my own text, it may make atonement, by greater accuracy and more favourable statement, for any errour in my representation, whether statistical or moral. I am bound, consistently with the promise I made in the beginning of this work, to give my narrative as near as possible to the state in which it was written upon the spot.

We observed a striking difference between the peasants of the crown and those of individuals. The former are almost all in comparatively easy circumstances. Their abrock, or rent, is fixed at five roubles a year, all charges included; and as they are sure that it will never be raised, they are more industrious. The peasants belonging to the nobles have their *abrock* regulated by their means of getting money; at an average throughout the empire, of eight or ten roubles. It then becomes not a rent for land, but a downright tax on their industry. Each male peasant is obliged, by law, to labour three days in each week for his proprietor. The law takes effect on his arriving at the age of fifteen. If the proprietor chooses to employ him the other days, he may; as, for example, in a manufactory; but he then finds him in food and clothing. Mutual advantage, however, generally relaxes this law; and, excepting such as are selected for domestick servants, or, as above, are employed in manufactures, the slave pays a certain *abrock*, or rent, to be allowed to work all the week on his own account. The master is bound to furnish him with a house and certain portion of land. The allotment of land is generally settled by the *starosta*, [elder of the village] and a meeting of the peasants themselves. In the same manner, when a master wants an increase of rent, he sends to the starosta, who convenes the peasants; and by that assembly it is decided what proportion each individual must pay. If a slave exercises any trade which brings him in more money than agricultural labour, he pays a higher *abrock*. If by journeys to Petersburgh, or other cities, he can still earn more, his master permits his absence, but his *abrock* is raised. The smallest earnings are subject to this oppression. The peasants employed as drivers, at the post-houses, pay an abrock out of the *drink money* they receive, for being permitted to drive; as, otherwise the master might employ them in less profitable labour on his own account. The aged and infirm are provided with food and raiment, and lodging, at their owner's expense. Such as prefer casual charity to the miserable pittance they receive from their master, are frequently furnished with passports, and all small; as when one is found, he is immediately sent back to his owner. In

tionably diminished. But, in despite of all the pretended regulations made in favour of the peasant, the tax he is called upon to pay, or the labour he is compelled to bestow, depends wholly on the caprice or the wants of his tyrant. Labour is not exacted from males only. Women, and children from the age of ten and upwards, are obliged to per-

allowed to seek their fortune; but they sometimes pay an *abrock* even for this permission to beg. The number of beggars in Petersburgh is very small; as when one is found, he is immediately sent back to his owner. In Moscow, and other towns, they are numerous; though I think less so than in London. They beg with great modesty, in a low and humble tone of voice, frequently crossing themselves, and are much less clamorous and importunate than a London beggar.

"The master has the power of correcting his slaves, by blows or confinement; but if he is guilty of any great cruelty, he is amenable to the laws; which are, we are told, executed in this point with impartiality. In one of the towers of the Khitaigorod, at Moscow, there was a countess Soltikof, confined for many years with a most unrelenting severity, which she merited, for cruelty to her slaves. Instances of barbarity are, however, by no means rare. At Kostroma, the sister of Mr. Kotchetof, the governour, gave me an instance of a nobleman who had nailed (if I understood her right) his servant to a cross. The master was sent to a monastery, and the business hushed up. Domestick servants, and those employed in manufactories, as they are more exposed to cruelty, so they sometimes revenge themselves in a terrible manner. A Mr. Hetrof, brother to Mrs. Schepotef, who had a great distillery, disappeared suddenly, and was pretty easily guessed to have been thrown into a boiling copper by his slaves. We heard another instance, though not from equally good authority, of a lady, now in Moscow, who had been poisoned three several times by her servants.

"No slave can quit his village, or his master's family, without a passport. Any person arriving in a town or village, must produce his passport to the starosta; and no one can harbour a stranger without one. If a person is found dead without a passport, his body is sent to the hospital for dissection; of which we saw an instance. The punishment of living runaways is imprisonment, and hard labour in the government works; and a master may send to the publick workhouse any peasant he chooses. The prisons of Moscow and Kostroma were chiefly filled with such runaway slaves, who were for the most part in irons. On the frontier they often escape; but in the interiour it is almost impossible; yet, during the summer, desertions are very common; and they sometimes lurk about for many months, living miserably in the woods. This particularly happens when there is a new levy of soldiers. The soldiers are levied, one from every certain number of peasants, at the same time all over the empire. But if a master is displeased with his slave, he may send him for a soldier at any time he pleases, and take a receipt from government; so that he sends one man less the next levy. He also selects the recruits he sends to government; with this restriction, that they are young men, free from disease, have sound teeth, and are five feet two inches high.

"The starosta, of whom mention has been so frequently made, is an officer resembling the ancient bailiff of an English village. He is chosen, we are told, (at least generally) by the peasants; sometimes annually, and sometimes for life. He is answerable for the *abrocks* to the lord; decides small disputes among the peasants, gives billets for quarters to soldiers, or to government officers on a journey, &c. Sometimes the proprietor claims the right of appointing the starosta.

form their equal share. Tithes are, moreover, demanded of whatever may remain in their hands; of linen, poultry, eggs, butter, pigs, sheep, lambs, and every product of the land, or of domestick, manual labour. Should a peasant, by any misfortune, be deprived of the tribute expected by

"A slave can, on no pretence, be sold out of Russia, nor in Russia, to any but a person born noble, or, if not noble, having the rank of lieuteuant-colonel. This rank is not confined to the military; it may be obtained by them in civil situations. Professor Pallas had the rank of brigadier. This law is, however, eluded, as *yoturiers* [plebeians] frequently purchase slaves for hire, and make use of the name of some privileged person; and all nobles have the privilege of letting out their servants.

"Such is the political situation of the peasant. With regard to his comforts, or means of supporting existence, I do not think they are deficient. Their houses are in tolerable repair; moderately roomy, and well adapted to the habits of the people. They have the air of being sufficiently fed, and their clothing is warm and substantial. Fuel, food, and the materials for building, are very cheap; but clothing is dear. In summer they generally wear nantkin *caftans*, one of which costs thirteen roubles. The *labkas* [linden-bark sandals] cost nothing. They wear a blue, nantkin shirt, trimmed with red, which costs two or three roubles; linen drawers; and linen or hempen rags wrapped round their feet and legs, over which the richer sort draw their boots. The sheep-skin *schaub* costs eight roubles, but it lasts a long time; as does a lamb-skin cap, which costs three roubles. The common red cap costs about the same. For a common cloth *caftan*, such as the peasants sometimes wear, we were asked thirty roubles. To clothe a Russian peasant or a soldier is, I apprehend, three times as chargeable as in England. Their clothing, however, is strong, and being made loose and wide, lasts longer. It is rare to see a Russian quite in rags. With regard to the idleness of the lower classes here, of which we had heard great complaints, it appears, that where they have an interest in exertion they by no means want industry, and have just the same wish for luxuries as other people. Great proprietors, who never raise their *abrocks*, such as count Sheremetof, have very rich and prosperous peasants. The difference we noticed between peasants belonging to the crown and those of the nobility has been already mentioned. The crown peasants, indeed, it is reasonable to suppose, are more happy; living at their ease, paying a moderate quit rent, and choosing their own starosta. They are, however, more exposed to vexation and oppression from the petty officers of the crown.

"This account of the condition of the peasants in Russia is an *abrégé* of the different statements we procured in Moscow, and chiefly from prince Theodore Nikolaiovitz Galitzin. The levies for the army are considered, by the peasants, as times of great terrour. Baron Bode told me, they generally keep the levy as secret as possible, till they have fixed on and secured a proper number of men. They are generally chained till they are sworn in: the fore port of the head is then shaved, and they are thus easily distinguished from other peasants. After this, desertion is very rare, and very difficult. The distress of one of their popular dramas, which we saw acted at Yareslof, in the private theatre of the governour, prince Galitzin, consisted in a young man being pressed for a soldier. In the short reign of Peter II, who, it is well known, transferred the seat of government again to Moscow, no man was pressed for a soldier; the army was recruited by volunteers; and slaves were permitted to enter. *Heber's MS. Journal.*

his lord, he must beg, borrow, or steal, to make up the deficiency. Some of the nobles choose to converse with foreigners upon the condition of their slaves; and, when that is the case, not the smallest reliance can be placed on the statement they afford. It will be seen in a former chapter [p. 60] that I mentioned the observations of one of their princes at his own table, concerning the superiority of Russian to English liberty. The same person deemed it decorous, upon another occasion, before an immense assembly, to contrast the situation of English peasants with what he termed the happiness of the Russian slaves. "There is," said he, addressing himself to me, with an air of triumph, "more of the *reality of slavery* in England than in Russia." When I begged his highness to explain what he implied by the "*reality of slavery*," he expatiated upon the miseries resulting from press-gangs, and pictured the flourishing condition of his own peasants, whom he described as having relief in sickness, refuge in calamity, and, in their old age, a comfortable asylum. "Prince," said I, "is there one, among the happiest of your slaves, who would not rejoice to exchange his *Russian liberty* for what you are pleased to term *English slavery?*"——I had seen the peasants of this man, according to his own pathetick discourse, "in sickness, in calamity, and in old age," and it was well known to every person present, that their "relief and refuge" was in death, and their "asylum" the grave.

Another nobleman assured me that the greatest punishment he inflicted upon his slaves (for he professed to have banished all corporeal chastisement) was to give them their liberty, and then turn them from his door. Upon further inquiry, I discovered that the slaves of this very man fled from their fetters, even if there was a certainty of death before their eyes, rather than remain beneath his tyranny. Great indeed must be the degree of oppression which a Russian will not endure, who, from his cradle, crouches to his oppressor, and receives the rod without a murmur.—Other nations speak of their indolence; which is remarkable, as no people are naturally more lively, or more disposed to employment. We may assign a cause for their inactivity: it is necessity. Can there exist excitement to labour, when it is certain that a tyrant will bereave industry of all its fruits? The only property a Russian nobleman allows his peasant to possess, is the food he cannot, or

will not, eat himself; the bark of trees, chaff, and other refuse; quass, water, and fish oil. If the slave has sufficient ingenuity to gain money without his knowledge, it becomes a dangerous possession; and when once discovered, falls instantly into the hands of his lord.

A peasant in the village of *Celo Molody*, near Moscow, who had been fortunate enough to scrape together a little wealth, wished to marry his daughter to a tradesman of the city; and for that purpose, that she should be free, he offered fifteen thousand roubles for her liberty; a most unusual price of freedom, and a much greater sum than persons of his class, situated as he was, will be found to possess. The tyrant took the ransom; and then told the father, that both the girl and the money belonged to him; and therefore she must still continue among the number of his slaves. What a picture do these facts afford of the state of Russia! It is thus we behold the subjects of a vast empire, stripped of all they possess, and existing in the most abject servitude; victims of tyranny, and torture; of sorrow, and poverty; of sickness, and famine.

Traversing the provinces south of Moscow, the land is as the garden of Eden; a fine soil, covered with corn, and apparently smiling in plenty. Enter the cottage of the poor labourer, surrounded by all these riches, and you find him dying of hunger, or pining from bad food, and in want of the common necessaries of life. Extensive pastures, covered with cattle afford no milk to him. In autumn, the harvest yields no bread for his children. The lord claims all the produce. At the end of summer, every road in the southern provinces is filled with caravans, bearing corn and all sorts of provisions, every produce of labour and the land, to supply the lords of Moscow and Petersburgh, and the markets of these two capitals, which, like whirlpools, swallow all that comes within their vortex, with never-ending voracity.

Can there be a more affecting sight, than a Russian family, having got in an abundant harvest, in want of the common stores to supply and support them, through the rigours of their long and inclement winter? Let us hasten from its contemplation!

CHAPTER X.

JOURNEY FROM MOSCOW TO WORONETZ.

Departure from Moscow—Celo Molody—Serpuchof—Insolence and Extortion—River Oka—Celo Zavody—Ancient Games—Vast Oriental plain—State of Travelling—Tula—its Manufactures—Imperial Fabrick of Arms—Present State of Tula—Economy of Fuel—Iron Mines—Road from Tula to Woronetz—Dedilof—Change of Climate—Boghoroditz—Celo Nikitzkoy—Bolshoy Platy—Effremof—Nikolaijevka—Celo Petrofskia Palnia—Eletz—Ezvoly—Zadonetz—Celo Chlebnoy—Bestuzevka—Celo Staroy Ivotinskoy—Woronetz.

IT is now necessary to take leave of Moscow, where we passed some pleasant hours, and many others of painful anxiety, insult and oppression, from the creatures, spies, and agents of the contemptible tyrant then upon the Russian throne. Our condition, as well as every Englishman's in the empire, was that of prisoners on their parole. We had been allowed to move about; but always under the vigilant eye of a troublesome and capricious police. We were detained a long time before we could learn when we might go, or by what route we should be allowed to pass. An escape by the Livonian frontier was utterly impracticable. At last, without any passport for leaving the country, but encouraged by the advice and exertions of our good ambassadour, who secretly conveyed to us letters from the governour of Petersburgh to the governour of Moscow, and to general Michelson, commander in chief in the Crimea, we determined to set out for that peninsula by a circuitous route, through the country of the Don Cossacks; and, if possible, to visit the more distant regions of Kuban Tartary and Circassia. Having, by means of these letters, purchased the long-wished-for *poderosnoi*, and placed our carriage again upon its wheels, we left the city on the evening of the thirty-first of May, visiting our banker at his country seat near Mos-

cow, and proceeding that night only twenty-seven versts, to a place called Molodtzy, the first station. The next day, June 1st, we arrived at CELO MOLODY.* Its inhabitants were once in good circumstances; but they are now completely ruined by their present master. The tyrant has a fine house near the church, on the left hand side quitting the village. He is the person I before mentioned, who refused a poor girl liberty, after accepting her ransom, when she wished to marry in Moscow. Between Molodtzy and Celo Molody we passed through Podolsk, prettily situated between two hills, on the river Moskra. The late empress conferred on this place the name and distinction of a town; but Paul, in his determination to do every thing she would not have done, and to undo all she did, made it again a village.

From Celo Molody our journey was performed with very great expedition, and over good roads, to Grischinka, and to Surpuchof, which last place perfectly resembles New-Market, in situation, appearance and surrounding scenery; and that nothing might be wanting to awaken the recollection of our beloved country, the *Myosotis Scorpioïdes* [Mouse-ear Scorpion Grass] with other British herbs, appeared among the plants then in flower. Exactly in the spot which, with reference to the town, corresponds with the course at Newmarket, before descending into Serpuchof, is a church yard; where, among the graves and tombs, we

* The want of any settled rule of orthography for Russian words in our language, embarrasses the reader in viewing maps of the country, as well as in perusing its history or books of travels. *Celo*, is said to signify a church, and, being added to the name of a place, implies that it is a village with a church. I will not vouch for the truth of this observation. It is pronounced *Selo*, and on that account I had written it *Tsarskoselo* in the second chapter. The empress Catherine, in her Letters to Voltaire [*Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, tom. lxvii. p. 303, &c.] wrote this last word *Czarskozélo*; but Storch, in his orthography of Russian words, on the authority of Lévesque, disapproves the use of the term *czar*, and says that it ought to be written *tsar*. "Les Russes donnent a leur souverain le titre de *tsar*, et ils l'écrivent par le caractère qu'ils appellent *tsi*, et qui répond a notre *ts*. Les étraugers ont tort d'écrire *czar*." *Tableau de l' Empire de Russie*, par Henri Storch, tom I. p. 19.

One peculiarity in the Russian language is very worthy of remark. They have no *W* in their alphabet. The double *V*, often observed in their compound words, is not the same thing. Thus, for example, the word *introduction* is written *VVédénié*; consisting of the preposition *Vo* or *V*, which signifies *into*, and *Védénié*, *to conduct*. Whenever the *V* so doubled occurs in the middle of a word, a single *V* may be substituted in its place; but if, at the end of a word, an *F*, from the pronunciation then given, is perhaps more proper.

saw several women of the country practising a custom strictly oriental, that of visiting the sepulchres of friends long buried, bowing their heads to the ground, touching the graves with their foreheads, weeping loud, and uttering short prayers. In this road the dress of the peasants changes more frequently than in other parts of Russia; and it is remarkable, that, although the dresses of the women are so various in the different provinces, those of the men are the same throughout the empire.

Serpuchof is a handsome little town, on the river Nara. It contains a citadel enclosed by a strong rampart, and has a Weywoda, with his chancery. In the market we observed shops solely appropriated to the sale of the *Labkas*, Russian sandals, which I before described, constructed of birch or linden bark.* Some authors have asserted that each peasant made his own. Formerly this might have been the case; and perhaps in the interiour it is so now. Such shops, however, prove, that the rudest and most ancient form of sandal in the world, common to man in a state of nature, while roaming his primeval forests, is now an article of commerce.

At every station on the route there is an officer called *Potchetilione*, to superintend the post, and to see that travellers are regularly supplied with horses. Some of these men are great rascals, and will not furnish horses without a bribe, even when the imperial order is produced. We experienced delay at this place from a person of this description. Our order directed, that if horses were not found at the post-house, the officer on duty was to procure others from the peasants. Being told that there were no horses, I went into the office to enforce the order. As I entered, the *Potchetilione* commanded me to take off my hat: and being asked for what reason I was to remain bareheaded in that place: "What, are you blind," he exclaimed in a tone of great insolence, "that you do not see the emperour's portrait† on the wall? it is a face to make Englishmen

* See p. 105. According to Mr Heber, the linden, or lime-tree affords the bark used for these sandals. "This practice of making shoes of linden bark is very destructive to the trees, as a man will wear out twenty or thirty pair of sandals in a year. The lime-tree, of which these shoes are made, is a very valuable plant, owing to the construction of mats from its bark, which form a very considerable article of exportation. The lime-tree is scarce in the western provinces. In the eastern it is very plentiful, and flourishes as high as Archangel." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

† Copies of the emperour's portrait were sent, by order of Paul, to all publick offices of his empire. Some of them, as may be conceived, were

tremble." I endeavoured to answer him in his own way, by saying, "the emperour truly! If he knew how shamefully you belied his countenance by that vile representation, your head would come off sooner than my hat. Finding his gasconade had not succeeded, he caused it to be intimated, that he wanted a rouble. I could hardly credit what I heard; and should have been ashamed to offer it, if he had not afterwards told me so himself. Horses now came quick enough, and half a dozen fine speeches into the bargain.

About a verst from this town we crossed the Oka, by a ferry. This river falls into the Volga at Kolomna. It is a noble piece of water, almost as broad as the Thames, and well stocked with fish. We had been detained so long at Serpuchof, that evening was coming on when we arrived upon its banks. Peasants were seated in groups round different fires, singing, and boiling their fish upon the shore. Innumerable frogs, which are heard to a great distance during the night, and supply the place of nightingales in Russia as in Denmark, joined the loud chorus; while the moon, full and splendid, rose over this fine scene.

On the south side the river stood a small, wooden hut, at which our driver desired to stop for a little *quass*. Having acquired a relish for this Scythian beverage, we followed him into the hut, but were astonished to find instead of *quass*, five or six hogheads which were full of brandy, and which they were retailing and drawing off exactly as our tapsters draw beer. I could not learn where they found customers for so great a consumption, but supposed them supplied by extraordinary traffick upon the river. Yet they assured me, such brandy huts were found in every village, and all of them equally well stocked.

We arrived late the same night at Celo Zavoda and waited there till sunrise. In all the villages and towns, from Moscow to Woronetz, as in other parts of Russia, are seen boys, girls, and sometimes even old men, playing with the small joint-bones of a sheep. This game is called *dibbs* by the English. It is of very remote antiquity; for I have seen it beautifully represented on Grecian vases, particularly on a vase in the collection of the late sir William Hamilton, where a female figure appeared most gracefully delineated,

executed in a most wretched manner. All persons were ordered to stand bareheaded before these pictures, as if in his presence. The peasants fell prostrate, and offered adoration, as to their bogh.

kneeling upon one knee, with her right arm extended, the palm downwards, and the bones ranged along the back of her hand and arm. She seemed in the act of throwing up the bones in order to catch them. In this manner the Russians play the game. But they have another method, which exactly corresponds with our game of marbles, and which probably afforded the origin both of marbles and of nine-pins: it consists of several large bones placed in a row upon the ground, while, with another bone, a contest ensues who shall beat them all down, from a given distance, in the smallest number of throws.

It is a pleasing sight to see the young villagers return in the evening from their labour. They walk with flowers in their hats, moving slowly up the village, and singing a kind of hymn. In these cantations, each person bears his respective part of the harmony, and, by the exactness with which the Russians observe time and tune, the effect is very interesting. Vegetation had been very rapid, even in the interval of our short journey from Moscow; but in the garlands with which the peasants were adorned, and among the plants observed near the road, we found only the earliest flowers; and among these, none worthy of particular notice. The whole territory, whether to the south of Moscow, or in any other direction, is flat. The great, oriental plain extends from that city, even to Tobolski in Siberia, and throughout all the southern provinces, appearing generally destitute of wood, and always without enclosures. Some part of the country of Cambridge affords a striking resemblance of the country.

There is no reason to fear, in the writings of those who travel through Russia, any narrative of their adventures at inns. Except in large towns, such houses are never seen: and even then they are abominable. Better accommodation may be obtained in the farm houses of the Lapland peasants than in Russian inns. In the latter, the rooms consist of bare walls, filthy beyond description; destitute alike of beds and chairs. Sometimes they are kept by foreigners, in which case the evil is not mended; because then, although a little old furniture is introduced, it is always offensive, and affords a receptacle to all kinds of vermin. A person who wishes to traverse Russia, must consider it as ancient Scythia. He must provide every thing for which he may have occasion. If he can endure fatigue with little sleep, dust, a scorching sun, or severe frost, with a couch of snow beneath.

the canopy of heaven, he may travel in a *kibitki*, which is the best of all methods of conveyance. If not, according to the method recommended in the first chapter, he must have a couch in his carriage, with the additional precaution of great strength in the vehicle, which should be made low, and with very wide axle-trees. This circumstance will render his journey not quite so expeditious as in a lighter machine; but he will always be able to proceed at the rate of a hundred versts in a day. If he can smoke, tobacco, used moderately, may preserve him from dangerous infection, and the many unpleasant odours to which he will be exposed. It will, moreover, counteract the consequences of continual travelling and want of rest, repel vermin, and offer a resource in long fasting, upon dusty plains, on lakes, rivers, unwholesome marshes, and beneath chilling dews. It also promotes the digestion of bad food, which he must necessarily often encounter.

The next day, June the third, we passed through Vaszany and Celo Volotia to Tula, the capital of the goverment of the same name, and the Birmingham of Russia. Near the town we collected specimens of a plant which the peasants boil in milk, as a remedy for disorders of the bowels, and a disease which they term "sickness of heart." It is *Lathræa squamaria*, a plant difficult to preserve, on account of its succulent nature.

Some time before we reached Tula, it presented a considerable appearance. A very handsome church with white columns, more like a nobleman's palace than a place of worship, appeared above the town, which occupies a very extensive vale, and is filled with spires and domes. The entrance to it, both on its northern and southern side, is through triumphal arches made of wood, and painted to imitate marble. In former times, Tula was a dangerous place to visit; the inhabitants frequently pillaging travellers in the publick streets. Now, it is the great emporium of hardware for the whole empire; containing a manufactory of arms, all sorts of cutlery, and works in polished steel. As soon as you arrive at the inn, a number of persons crowd the room, each bearing a sack filled with trinkets, knives, inkstands, incense pots, silk-reels, scissors, and corkscrews. Their work is showy, but very bad, and will not bear the smallest comparison with our English wares: it is a sufficient proof of the superiority of English workmanship, that they stamp all their goods with the names of English towns

and English artificers: imitating even the marks of the Sheffield manufacturers, and adopting all their models. The wares hawked about are made during holydays and hours of leisure, and these the workmen are permitted to sell to strangers, as their own perquisites. They are able to fabricate any thing, but they finish nothing. Some of them were purposely sent to England by the late empress, who neglected no measure which might conduce to the advancement of the manufactory. I asked those who had worked in England, why their wares were so badly finished. They replied, they could finish them better, but could not bestow the necessary time; for as every article is the produce of the labour of a single person, the high price such additional labour would require would never be obtained. The best work we saw was in a manufactory of barometers, thermometers, and mathematical instruments; but the artificer was a German, who had been instructed under English masters in Petersburgh. The late empress bought up almost all the work which her English workmen completed. To encourage them, she ordered spectacles by the gross, and afterwards distributed them in presents. In her palaces she had thermometers in every window; and as the servants continually broke them, her workmen had sufficient demands to keep them in constant labour by providing a supply.

Having a letter to one of the principal persons in the imperial manufactory, we were permitted to see the whole of it. They showed us a splendid collection of workmanship in guns, swords, pistols, &c. designed as presents from the inhabitants of Tula to each member of the royal family, upon Paul's accession to the throne. These offerings were refused by the emperour, upon a pretext of dissatisfaction experienced by him from the people of the place. The true cause, however, was known to be his steady determination of oppressing and insulting every individual, or set of individuals, patronized by his mother. Whatever might cast odium upon her memory; whatever might sully the lustre of her fame; by interrupting the progress of her plans for publick improvement; by dismissing her statesmen and officers; by poisoning the sources whence she dispensed happiness among her people; by overthrowing her establishments; blasting the tender, but thriving shoots of science, and of the arts which she had planted; converting good to evil, and joy to grief; was the hope and the occu-

pation of her unnatural son. In the few years of his tyranny (for every one saw that his government would soon end) he proved a greater scourge to Russia than can be counterbalanced by another long and glorious career like that of Catherine's, marked by wisdom, wealth, power, conquest, glory, and beneficence.* Already every trace of her brilliant reign had disappeared. The Russians, on the accession of Paul, fell back into the barbarity which characterized the empire before the age of their first Peter. The polished nations of Europe will be surprised to learn, that immortal as the name of Catherine appears in their annals, it was almost forgoten, in Russia, within four years after her death; it remained among the number of privations enjoined by the long list of publick proscriptions, and was heard only in the howling of the wind that drifted the snows of Siberia; no one dared to mention it. At the same time, her favourites were displaced; her ministers rejected; her officers dismissed; her monuments overthrown: even the verst posts, which bore some marks of her taste, were demolished; and near their ruins stood a series of wooden *Harlequinades*, in the uniform of their mad sovereign.

Tula, in its present situation, is not likely to prove any advantage to the empire; because the inhabitants are unable to raise the water which is wanted to put the whole fabrick in motion. The machinery is ill constructed, and worse preserved. Every thing seemed out of order. Workmen, with long beards, stood staring at each other, wondering what was to be done next; while their intendants and directors were drunk or asleep. Notwithstanding all this, they pretended to issue from the manufactory, in the common course of business, without any particular order from government, thirteen hundred muskets in a week. But the name of musket is almost all that connects the appearance with the reality. It is wonderful any troops

* Such was, at least, the character of her publick administration. Her private vices were those of the people over whom she reigned. The reader will find them tolerably portrayed in the "*Secret Memoirs of the Court of Petersburgh*," a work attributed to *Segur*. Yet, who shall refute the butcheries of the Orlofs, the Passieks, and Baratinskys, of Russia? All that Shakspeare has *fabled* of the cruelties of Richard the third, seem to have been realized under the reign of Catherine, whether with her connivance has not been ascertained. The "*quick conveyance*" of her husband, of the Holstein guards, of prince Ivan, might be the work of her favourites; but can we believe Alexius Orlof alone implicated in the fate of the innocent daughter of the empress Elizabeth?

can use them: besides being clumsy and heavy, they miss fire five times out of six, and are liable to burst whenever discharged.

The streets of Tula are paved, and its shops and publick places present a greater appearance of activity and industry than is usual in Russia. The number of its merchants, including, I suppose, shopkeepers, is estimated at four thousand; of which some are very rich. Its commerce, independent of the hardware manufactory, consists in European merchandise, Greek wines, and other productions, of Turkey. The imperial fabrick of arms employed six thousand workmen; and the number of its inhabitants was stated at thirty thousand. It stands in a smooth valley, on the borders of the river Upa. There are few woods in its neighbourhood, and yet they produce sufficient fuel for the consumption of the town. This may be attributed to the very great economy introduced by the use of stoves; for the heating of which, a few billets, early in the morning, suffice; and they continue afterwards to diffuse an equal warmth during the whole of the day and following night. If they are properly constructed and attended to, there is no method of heating apartments with so little expense and so many conveniences. In England, stoves are generally made of cast iron, which are not merely unwholesome, but, in small rooms, very dangerous. Why the Russian and Swedish stove has not become common in our country, where every article of fuel is so amazingly expensive, must be explained by those who prefer more costly, and perhaps more cheerful hearths. The generality of houses in Tula are of wood; but the number of those built with stone is considerable, and increases daily. Many new buildings afford proof of increasing population. We observed women employed in repairing the pavement of the streets, which is kept in good order. The dress of the young females, when clean, displays their persons to advantage. A white shift covers the arms and the body in front; and is fastened behind with tape. It is drawn tight over the breast, and there held together by a small button.

The iron mines in the neighbourhood of this place are very considerable; they occupy an extent of more than ten miles, in a country somewhat hilly, covered by thick woods. The whole of the soil around them is impregnated with iron; but the richest ore is found towards the west. It lies scarcely concealed by a superincumbent surface, not more

than fourteen inches thick, consisting of sand mixed with mould, and sometimes of sand alone. From these mines the celebrated forges of Demidof, distant thirty-eight miles from Tula, derive their ore.

As soon as we left Tula, we quitted the main road from Moscow to Cherson, and turned off due south, towards Woronetz. After ascending the heights above Tula, we were carried into a wide and desolate plain, covered only by a thin sod, on which herds of cattle were grazing. This deviation was not made on our part without apprehension. We had reason to fear that unknown roads might not suit a carriage ill constructed for adventurous journey; lofty, with narrow axle-trees, and more calculated for cities than deserts. To our great satisfaction, however, and for the comfort and guidance of others who choose to follow our route, the whole distance to Woronetz may be passed over like a bowling-green, and the lightest vehicle would be exposed to no hazard of injury. This vast plain afforded us the finest road in the world, not excepting even those of Sweden, being all the way a firm, hard turf, exactly like that which covers the South Downs in Sussex, and with the additional advantage of being, for the most part, level, extending like an ocean, in which the eye roams without discerning a single object to interrupt the uniformity. Over the first part of the journey from Tula, small copses in patches might be distinguished, and in these we noticed dwarf oaks, the first seen since we entered Russia from the Swedish frontier, except one in a garden at Moscow, shown there as a scarce plant, and cut into a barbarous form, like the Yew-Trees in old-fashioned English shrubberies. Among these copses were found the *Potentilla anserina*, which we had seen at Tula; the *Asperula odorata*, or *Sweet Woodroof*; and a species of *Geum*, which I was not able to ascertain.

The view of Tula from the elevated plain above it, over which the road passes towards Woronetz, is very fine. There is not a more pleasing prospect in Russia. The town itself, with its numerous white buildings, domes, towers, and rising spires, is a fine object. Trees are seen skirting the suburban downs, and spreading here and there in the valley, while cattle graze all around it. At the same time, the ear is greeted by the cheerful noise of industry and manufactures; the ringing of bells; the lowing of the herds; and the loud chorus of peasants singing their national airs, accompanying the voice, either by the clap-

ping of hands, or by the notes of their rude pipes, which they still construct of the same materials as the sandals on their feet. At this time, also, numerous caravans were passing from the Ukraine and from the Don; and the whole constituted so striking a contrast to scenes we had long been accustomed to view in the cold regions of the north, that we seemed suddenly transported to a different zone.

The rapture was not of long duration. It is impossible to imagine a place more miserable than the town or village of Dedilof, the first station, and distant only twenty miles* from Tula. It consists of several timber huts, coarsely thatched with straw. The interstices of the trunks of trees, which, lying horizontally, form the walls of the huts, are filled with mud. It stands in a wide and open district, half on the top and half on the bottom of a hill. At first sight it appears like a number of dunghills, or heaps of straw; and it is only by a very near approach that the traveller can be convinced of its being the residence of human beings; much less that it should figure in a Russian map as a town. It is from seeing such places that we may conceive what sort of cities and towns afford the names which we find in the Russian atlas, so profusely scattered over the eastern provinces of the empire. The wretched state of Dedilof must, however, be attributed to causes which may desolate the fairest cities of the world. It has experienced calamities, both of fire and water; and been so often reduced to ashes, that its inhabitants dread even the sight of a tobacco-pipe. Seeing me light mine, the *starosta* of the place was sent to request I would not use it, especially in the open air, as a casual spark might again involve them in flames. Near the upper part of this place is an immense pool filled with water, which once was level, dry ground, like the rest, and covered by houses. Suddenly subterranean waters, penetrating the soil, rendered it so loose, that the ground, with all the houses gave way in one night, and the place was transformed into a small lake. As the whole district is swampy, rendering the soil naturally loose, and spungy, and water is found immediately below the surface, there is reason to apprehend, sooner or later, that all the land about it will experience the same alteration. This is rendered more probable by an event which occurred a few years ago. At

* Thirty versts.

a small distance from the pool or lake I have mentioned, is another, which owes its origin to a similar catastrophe. The inhabitants of Dedilof are peasants, in the greatest poverty, and their sole occupation is tillage. In our journey thither, we invited some of their fellow-sufferers in bondage to drink our king's health, it being his birth day [June 4, 1800.] We had reserved a bottle for the purpose of its celebration; so with hearts yearning for old England, we drank: "God save great George!" as we fled from despotism through a land of slaves.

We were now traversing the southern latitude of our beloved country, in a direct line towards the south; and, as we approached Woronetz, observed many of our indigenous plants; the large thistle, the kilk-weed, dandelion, white clover, wood strawberry, plantain, and the dockweed. Sudden and loud thunder storms, with hail and rain, majestick rolling clouds, temporary gusts of wind, and transitory sunbeams, often reminded us of an English spring. Such natural resemblance is by no means the necessary accompaniment of similarity in latitude. Naples and Constantinople are, with respect to each other, nearly on the same line of latitude; but the climate of the latter is many degrees colder. The mild aspect of the plain of Woronetz may be attributed to the want of forests, the removal of which, in all countries, increases the temperature of their climate. It is a well known passage in Horace, which describes the mountain Soracte white with snow; but the climate of Italy is now so altered, that such a sight is hardly ever observed.

The next day, June the 6th, we passed through the town of Boghoroditz, on an eminence above which place Bobrinsky, said to have been a son of the late empress, by Orlof, has a magnificent seat, with an estate of the finest corn land in Russia, covering an extent of sixteen square miles, and containing, as it is reported, seventy thousand peasants. Here you travel for miles and miles, and see nothing but corn. It is the richest country in the empire. The roads are so excellent, that the wagons of the peasants, although laden with stones, pass and repass with wooden wheels, without any iron.

The period is uncertain when the little town of Boghoroditz was built. Its inhabitants began to hold their archives under the Tsar Feodore Alexovitz. The shopkeepers, the Streltzi, and the Puschkari, with about one hundred invalid soldiers, have composed, since that time, its inhab-

itants. The culture of land is described as being, at present, their sole resource, and the fertility of the soil has rendered it remarkably productive. They related, that the peasants had even a small superfluity to sell, which they carried to Kaluga and to Tula. This place also affords plenty of honey to these towns.

From Boghoreditz we traversed boundless plains, without a single enclosure, until we came to Celo Nikitzkoy, the country round which has, of late years, been much cultivated. Formerly it was like the rest of those deserts which the Russians call steppes,* and which are so frequent south of Woronetz. The soil here, notwithstanding its recent desolate condition, consists of near two feet of good, black, vegetable earth, lying upon a bed of marl. The plants we observed in flower on this day [June 5th] are all known in England; "the bird's foot trefoil, the purple mountain milk vetch, the germander, the globe flower, and the wood anemone." Nikitzkoy was once in a low and swampy spot, exceedingly unwholsome, in consequence of which, the inhabitants moved it to the more elevated situation it now holds; but being too lazy to use the materials of the houses they had abandoned for their new settlement, it was deemed expedient to set them on fire; when the flames communicating to the peat, of which there is abundance near the place, continued burning for six months with great vehemence, in spite of all the efforts made to extinguish them. The inhabitants now suffer much from a scarcity of fuel; yet they make no endeavour to collect the peat which still remains, and dry it for their hearths as a substitute. We saw here a curious funeral ceremony. The lid of the coffin, being formed of one piece of wood, scooped like a canoe, was not put on till the deceased was laid in his grave. They buried him in all his clothes, even to the sandals before described. Mead was brought to the grave, to be drank there, in a bowl, with a number of small wax bougies stuck round the rim. The women kept up a kind of musical howl, singing their lamentations in strains truly dolorous.† The rest of

* The word *steppe*, does not imply what we generally understand by the word *desert*. A *steppe* is a plain without any visible boundary, perfectly flat, but frequently covered by spontaneous and luxuriant vegetation. It is moreover uninhabited, except by nomade tribes, who pitch their tents there occasionally, and for a short time.

† Of the antiquity of this custom, a single passage from the conclusion of Homer's Iliad, as translated by Cowper, will suffice:

the attendants, instead of joining in the dirge, or the ceremonial rites, were occupied in crossing themselves, and in prostrations towards the east, bowing their heads until they touched with their foreheads the other graves near the place of interment. The lid of the coffin was born first, covered by a linen cloth, after which followed the lower part with the body; so that it seemed as if two coffins were carried to one grave.

We journeyed hence to Bolshoy Platy. Soon after passing this last village, we observed, on our left, the novel and pleasing appearance of a fine wood, in which I found that beautiful plant, the *convallaria multiflora*, in full bloom, near six feet in height, and flourishing in great luxuriance. Afterwards we came to Effremof, written improperly *Ieremow*, in the Berlin edition of the great map of Russia. It is a small, insignificant town, upon a high hill, at the foot of which flows a river which falls into the Don, written *Metscha*, and *Mecza*, but pronounced *Mecha*, or *Méha* [to mark the aspirate more strongly] by the people. In a country so monotonous as that we were now passing, interesting information is neither expected nor obtained. The nature of the soil, its produce, the uniformity of scenery, and the dresses of the people, afford few remarks, and those nowise important. Sterne ludicrously, but wisely, observed that nothing puts a writer of travels to so much difficulty, as sending him over an extensive plain. To journey many leagues, and say nothing, might seem like inattention; but to write observations of no moment is less pardonable than any omission.

We passed a place which would give me some difficulty if I should attempt to express it by any law of orthography that may convey an idea of the Russian mode of pronunciation.* Afterwards, leaving the government of Tula, we entered that of Orlof, as we were informed; but in the Berlin map it is laid down as the government of Orel. The female costume here is very singular. The caps of the women are triangular, having the vertex in front; so that the base ex-

> "And singers placed beside him, who should chaunt
> The strain funereal: they with many a groan
> The dirge began, and still at every close
> The female train with many a groan replied."

* It may be written *Nicolaïevka*; then, if the *ï* be pronounced as our *y*, and the *v* as an *f*, it becomes *Nicolayefka*, which, I believe, is near the mark.

tends behind like two horns, which gives them a very odd appearance; at the same time they wear a frock, hardly reaching to their knees. In their ears they have large hoop rings, not unlike those lately worn by ladies in London and Paris. They had also pendants of pieces of metal attached to a handkerchief, or cap, which covered the back part of their head.

Proceeding towards Celo Petrofskia Palnia, we were much surprised by a spectacle similar to that which Bruce relates having seen in Africa. We observed at a considerable distance vertical columns of sand, reaching, as it appeared, from the earth to the clouds, and passing with amazing rapidity across the horizon. Our servant, a Greek, native of Constantinople, related an instance of a child in the Ukraine, who was taken up by one of such tornados, and, after being whirled round and round, had every limb broken in its fall. He declared he was eye-witness of the catastrophe. Passing the village I have named, we afterwards arrived at Eletz, or Ieletz, a large, paved town of considerable extent, situated between the river, whence its name has been derived, and the Sossna. This place was entirely destroyed by fire in 1745, and since rebuilt. It stands on a lofty and steep hill, and maintains a considerable commerce in cattle and corn. Agriculture here is in a very flourishing state, and the environs abound in wood. Its inhabitants consist of merchants, artisans, Puschari, and Streltzi. Its merchandise is derived from Moscow and the Ukraine; and it carries on a great, internal trade in the sale of honey and leather to the people of the town and neighbourhood. The number of those belonging to the crown, paying tribute, amounts to two thousand three hundred and twenty-three. We observed a number of forges at work, and found that the number of smiths, and other artificers in iron alone, amounted to two hundred. Eletz is renowned for the celebrity of its forges. Part of the iron is derived from a mine near the village of Visnistdenez, the whole district around which place, to some versts in extent, exhibits a feruginous soil. Peasants raise the surface with spades until they reach the ore; but as the superficies which forms the roof of the mine consists of clay and sand, the sides of the apertures they make are very apt to fall in: on this account they make the opening so narrow, that they are worked with difficulty; the operation being carried on entirely in shafts without any level, or even inclined exca-

vation. There are also in the vicinity of Udgino, upon the eastern banks of the Don, in hills of the same name, mines of iron in a state of exploration; but as they have hitherto neglected the analysis of their ores, and, instead of making any selection, mix the whole together without the smallest attention to quality, the metal turns out brittle, defective, and altogether bad. In the forges of Tula, where more caution is used in this respect, the iron is of a very superiour nature.

In the streets of Eletz, I observed large heaps of stone for the purpose of building, the substance of which was porous and perforated, traversed in all directions by a deposit of marine animals. It resembled the kind of limestone found on the banks of the Mosqua, but was more characterised by the impressions of the extraneous bodies. Visiting the high banks of the river near the town, I found large masses of a similar deposit, lying in regular strata.* Hereafter I shall take occasion to show, that such appearances may be observed in all the great, oriental plain, declining from the Aral, the Caspian, and the sea of Azof, towards the Black Sea; authentick monuments of a vast ocean, once covering the whole of Tartary, whose diminished waters are still effecting a further retreat by the channels of Constantinople and the Dardanelles.

A musical instrument, more common in remoter periods, amused us in the streets of Eletz. It consisted of two reeds put together in the mouth. The performer was a blacksmith's boy, who played several tunes. The reeds were each about six inches in length, and not thicker than a quill. Such were the Tibiæ used in processions, of which representations appear upon antique bas-reliefs, and the fresco paintings of Herculaneum and Pompeïa, and upon vases found in Grecian tombs.

From Eletz, we continued our journey through the village of Ezvoly to Zadonetz. In all this route we were continually met by caravans from the Don, the Crimea, and other parts of the south of Russia. These caravans formed a line of wagons, thirty or forty in number, bearing brandy, wool, corn, &c. Sometimes they consisted of cattle only; cows of an ash colour, horses, goats, sheep, and hogs, all moving in the same promiscuous herd, accompa-

* We found here the *Veronica Serpyllifolia*, a *Cineraria*, which I believe to be the *Siborica*; and a new species of *Gypsophila*, growing with *Geum Rivale* [water Avens] and *Ranunculus Auricomus* [Goldilocks.]

nied by Malo Russians, Cossacks, and other inhabitants of Little Russia and the Ukraine.

At a short distance from Zadonetz, we crossed the Don by a ferry. It presented a broad, clear, and rapid current. The town stands upon a hill above the river, and once formed one of a line of forts erected from this place to Zaritzin, to prevent the incursions of the Tartars and Cossacks. It has now a superintendant, or *Gorodnitch;* and appears, like the other towns through which we passed, to be in a thriving state. In all of them new houses were building, and the appearance of activity promised improvement. At Zadonetz I found a plant which is entirely unknown. Professor Pallas told me he had never seen it; and, as I have not yet been able to obtain a name for it from any English botanist, I shall reserve the description of it for the appendix to this volume.

From Zadonetz, our journey led us through the sweetest country imaginable, covered with woods full of flowers, fruit trees, and a number of plants, which plainly indicated an approach to warmer climates. Apple and other fruit trees sprouted wild among young oaks, and vegetables not found nearer the north pole. The name of the river will, perhaps, not meet the reader's attention so readily in the compound word Zadonetz, as if written Zadonsk; in which manner it appears in the best maps. I have imitated the mode of pronunciation as nearly as possible. Donetz and Donsk, are both names of the Don. Farther to the south, and nearer the mouths of the river, the pronunciation is sometimes Danætz, or Danæts, and Tdanæts, hence the transition to Tanais is not very equivocal; nor can much doubt be entertained concerning the origin of the appellation bestowed by the ancients upon the river. In what a variety of languages has this word Don, with its roots and ramifications, been used to signify a river, a lake, or cities on the mouths of rivers! Don, Donets, Dun, Den, Dan, Danau, Tan, Tane, Ain, An, En, &c. &c. Thus we have Jordan; Tanis a name of Saïs, on the Nile; Tan y bwlch, in Wales; Danube; Thames; Ain, and Colerain, in the north of Ireland; Eden, in the same country; Tyne, and many others.

As we advanced through Celo Chlebnoy, we beheld, at a distance on our right hand, the Don rolling in a very majestick and devious course, while the full moon cast her light upon its waters. We halted for the night at a place called

Bestuzevka, almost a solitary hut in the midst of wide plains; and were somewhat struck by the singular manner in which a peasant cautioned us not to sleep there, but proceed another stage. Trifling circumstances of this kind, often excite the suspicions of travellers; and in this lonely situation we were puzzled by conjectures whether an attempt was made to lead us into, or out of a snare; however it ended, like many such adventures, in nothing.

The next morning, June 7th, was passed very expeditiously, through Celo Staroy Ivotinskoy to the town of Woronetz; situated upon a river of the same name, near the spot where it falls into the Don.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM WORONETZ TO THE TERRITORY OF THE DON COSSACKS.

Present state of Woronetz—Climate and Productions—Garden of Peter the Great—Inundation and Product of the Rivers—Increase of Buildings—Arsenal—Commerce, internal and external—Wine of the Don—Change of Manners, and of Features—Neglect of Drowned Persons—Tumuli—Malo Russians—Plains south of Woronetz—Celo Usmani—Podulok Muscovskoy—Mojocks, Ekortzy, and Iestakovo—Ivocova Sloboda—Paulovskoy—Plants—Animals—Trade—Rash Conduct of a young Peasant—Kazinskoy Chutor—Nizney Momon—Dobrinka—Metscha—Kasankaia, first Stanitza of the Don Cossacks.

IN the time of Peter the Great, when that monarch came to Woronetz to build his first ship of war, there were scarce a hundred wooden huts in the place. It is now a very handsome town; and its commerce entitles it to considerable distinction. By means of the Don, it possesses an easy intercourse with the Black Sea. Every year, vessels go laden to Tscherkaskoy* with corn; and they accom-

* The name of this town, the capital of the Don Cossacks, is generally pronounced Tscherchasky; the terminating syllable *koi*, which signifies a

plish their voyage in about two months. In winter they receive merchandise by sledges, from the Crimea and Turkey. Its merchants travel into Siberia for furs, and then carry them even to the fairs of Francfort. How strange are those journeys to an Englishman! The Russian *Isvostchick* is seen at Francfort fair; and the same person may be found in the remotest parts of Siberia. Sometimes they pursue their course even to the coasts opposite England, and buy English hardware, cottons, Japan ware, &c. with which they travel to all parts of Russia.

Woronetz, from its remarkable situation, is particularly qualified to become a great capital. It is placed so as to enjoy the advantages both of warm and cold climates, and holds an intercourse with all parts of the empire. Nature is so bountiful to it in the summer, that plants found in very southern latitudes grow here almost without care. The watermelon, so rarely in perfection any where, is as common at Woronetz as the cucumber in England, and flourishes in the open air, with spicy and aromatick herbs. Yet the inhabitants experience very great extremes of temperature; having sometimes, by the thermometor of Reaumur, thirty degrees of cold in the winter, and twenty-eight degrees of heat* in the summer. They use the precaution of double casements to their windows, as at Moscow and Petersburgh, and have very large stoves in all their apartments. In the "*Journal des savans Voyageurs*," published at Berne in 1792, a commentator attempts to explain the cause of the extraordinary difference observed in the productions of the climate and soil of Woronetz, when compared with those of other countries in the same latitude; by saying that the nature of the soil necessarily supplies that which the climate would not otherwise afford.† The earth is strongly impregnated with nitrat of potass in all the environs of Woronetz; and it is to the presence of this mineral, that extraordinary fertility of the Ukraine has been attributed. The whole country south of Tula abounds with it, insomuch that it sometimes effloresces on the soil; and several fabricks for extracting it have been established. The immediate soil below the town of Woronetz is sand;

town, being often thus abbreviated; as in the instance of *Tobolskoi*, which is called *Tobolsky*. I have substituted the *y* for the *i*, as being more consistent with the usual practice in the English language.

* Equal to ninety-five of Fahrenheit.

† See Note to p. 116, *Voyages chez les Peuples Kalmouks et les Tartares*.

on a steep mound, or bank of which it has been built. It lies in the fifty-fourth degree of north latitude. The vineyards of Europe terminate many degrees nearer to the equator, and yet the vine flourishes at Woronetz. The inhabitants neglect to cultivate it for the purpose of making wine; importing it at great expense from the Don Cossacks, the Greeks, Turks, and people of the Crimea. It frequently happens in France, in the province of Champagne that the grapes do not attain their maturity; on which account sugar is substituted in the preparation of the Champagne wine.* At Woronetz, where every facility of establishing extensive vineyards has been offered by Nature, they have been entirely neglected. Gmelin endeavoured to make them sensible of the importance and advantages which the town might derive from the growth of vines; but hitherto no attention has been paid to them. The delicious wine of the Don Cossacks is found here in great abundance, but it sells at very high prices. They serve it with a plate of ice, a piece of which is put into the glass when the wine is drank. It is light and pleasant, effervescing like Champagne, but having more the flavour of Burgundy.

Peter the Great endeavoured to establish a botanick garden in the neighbourhood of Woronetz, upon a very grand scale. This we visited, and found a complete wilderness of oaks and other forest trees, the underwood growing so thick under the large trees as to render our passage through it impossible. The garden was expressly appropriated to experiments in the cultivation of useful plants, fruit-trees, vegetables, and what ever else might be found likely to answer the purposes of horticulture in such a climate. Notwithstanding all the pains bestowed by that wise monarch upon this institution, it fell into neglect, like many others calculated for the benefit of his people, as soon as his power ceased to enforce the care of it. Gmelin relates,† that in his time, the governour of Woronetz used all possible endeavours to restore this garden to its pristine order. The

* The Champagne wine has been imitated in England with great success, by using gooseberries before they ripen, and supplying the want of the saccharine acid with loaf sugar. If the process be properly attended to, there is often very little difference. Both are artificial compounds. The common Champagne wine drank in this country is made with green grapes and sugar. The imitation of it, with green gooseberries and sugar, is full as salutary, and frequently as palatable.

† *Journal des savans Voyageurs*, p. 114.

consequence was, that all sorts of fruit-trees, particularly the vine, the chestnut, and the filbert, produced the finest crops. Saffron flourished in abundance, and many plants peculiar to warmer climates. The cherry, the apple, and the pear tree grew wild in the forests around the town; but the fruit of them, and their better cultivation, was, and is still, entirely neglected by the people. I found two plants very rare in England, flourishing among the weeds of the place, the *Campanula patula* [Spreading Bell-flower] which grows in South Wales, and near Marlborough; and the *Ajuga pyramidalis* or *Mountain Bugle*. The other plants collected by us in the neighbourhood of Woronetz, are given in a note, to avoid the pedantry of crowding the text with words not familiar to every reader.* Stagnant waters, left by the annual inundation of the river, render the place very unwholesome during certain seasons of the year. The inhabitants, both in spring and autumn, are subject to tertian and quartan fevers, which become epidemick, and attack hundreds at a time. The want of proper remedies for such disorders, and the diet of the people, which is then for the most part of very indigestible food, such as salted fish and salted cucumbers, frequently causes the ague to degenerate into a continual fever, a dropsy, or a consumption. Both the Woronetz and the Don supply the inhabitants of all this country with an astonishing quantity of fishes; in the list of which the carp is the most abundant, but they have also tench, sterbet, bream, bleak, trout, lamprey, perch, and pike. The last absolutely swarm in their rivers, and grow to a prodigious size. The flesh is not on that account coarse, yet it is only the poorer class of people who eat it. When nature is profuse in her offerings, the love of novelty induces us to reject, and even to despise, her bounty.

The change of season, as at Moscow, does not take place at Woronetz with that uncertainty which characterizes our climate. Winter regularly begins in December, and ends in the middle of March. According to Gmelin, the autumn resembles a moderate summer. Vegetation is so rapid during spring, that on the 9th of June, I saw a pear tree which had put forth a strong scion above a yard in length. We found the climate so different from the temperature to which

* *Polygonum Fagopyrum*—*Adonis æstivalis*—*Cucubalus Behen*—A new species of *Euphorbia*—*Salvia nutans*—*Verbascum Phœnicium*—*Chelidonium minus*—*Ranunculus Illyricus*—*Viola tricolor* (Heart's-ease.)

we had been lately accustomed, that we were compelled to alter our clothing altogether. The beams of the sun were intolerable; while a southeast wind, like a sirocco, blew frequently and even tempestuously, causing insufferable heat, during the time we remained here. The only method we had of cooling our apartments was by shutting the windows and drawing curtains over them. Perhaps the sudden transition we had made from colder countries, might render us peculiarly sensible of the oppressive heat of the atmosphere.

New buildings were rising in all parts of the town; and the suburbs appeared so extensive, that it was very difficult to form any correct idea of the probable future extent of the place. The town was evidently joining with its suburbs; and we were informed that it would include a village or two besides. It is placed on the very lofty, steep, and sloping elevation I have mentioned, to which nature has given the appearance of a rampart; so that, when viewed from the river below, it looks like a prodigious, artificial fortification. Doubtless it might be rendered a place of very great strength, as there are no eminences that could command the works on its weakest side. Small lanterns, dispersed about upon posts, serve to light the town. The streets are very wide, without being paved; nor is it probable that so necessary an improvement will speedily take place.

The arsenal, erected by Peter the Great, still remains, although in a ruinous condition. We visited the little, sandy island below the town on which he built his first ship of war, when he projected the conquest of the Black Sea. It is now covered by storehouses, caldrons, and tubs, for the preparation of grease, which is a great article of trade here, and which they send to England and to America in vast quantities. The principal merchant happening to be upon the spot, he asked me what the English could possibly do with all the grease he sent to their country. The stench from the bones and horns of animals, slaughtered for the purpose of obtaining grease, made the spot absolutely intolerable. It formerly presented a more interesting spectacle, when Peter, at once king and carpenter, superintended his works in this place. He here built himself a little wooden hut, and a small church opposite the arsenal, on the side of the river immediately below the town. Then it was that the greatest monarch in the world surrounded by a few hovels, in a land of savage people, accustomed only to their

rafts and canoes, was seen daily squabbling with his workmen on a little mound of sand, and building a ship of war.

Iron is one of the principal articles of trade in the town and occupies the chief business of the shops. They also, manufacture large quantities of cloth for the army; and have a building for the preparation of vitriol. Large balls of chalk or lime are piled up before their doors, as in Moscow, Tula, and other places. The cloth factory was established by Peter the Great, and is the most considerable in Russia. Peter resided here in the year 1705; and at the same time he was also engaged in building Petersburgh. In the magazines for grease they employ the cattle of the country, and, boiling them down, make two sorts of fat. The first sort is exported to England; the second consumed in Russia, in making soap. Ten poud of the best sort, sells sometimes, in Petersburgh as high as sixty three roubles. The carriage from Woronetz to Petersburgh costs about eighty copecks per poud. If they contract with English merchants in Petersburgh to the amount of one hundred thousand roubles, they receive fifty thousand in advance, to enable them to buy cattle. This practice of purchasing cattle to boil into grease has of late years enormously advanced the price of meat. Fourteen years ago, a poud of beef sold in Woronetz for twenty-six copecks; mutton for thirty; and now the poud of beef costs two roubles, and the poud of mutton sixty copecks. In return for the corn carried annually to Tscherkaskoy and Azof, they bring back raisins, figs, Greek wines, and the wines of the Don Cossacks. The salt consumed in Woronetz is supplied from a remarkable salt lake in the neighbourhood of Saratof, so impregnated with it, that fine crystals form on any substance placed in the water. Sugar is very dear, and all of it brought from Petersburgh. The necessaries of life are, generally speaking, cheap. The carriers of Woronetz go every three years to Tobolsky in Siberia, which is a rendezvous for all caravans bound to Kiatka, on the frontier of China. From Tobolsky they form one immense caravan to Kiatka. Afterwards, returning to Tobolsky, they disperse, according to their several routes. From Siberia they bring furs; from Kiatka, Chinese merchandize of all sorts, as tea, raw manufactured silk, porcelain, and precious stones. The Chinese, upon their arrival at Kiatka, also furnish them with the productions of Kamschatka, brought from St. Peter and St. Paul. Thus laden, many of them

set out for Francfort, and bring back muslin, cambrick, silks, the porcelain of Saxony, and the manufactures of England.

Four men, with their captain, offered to take us by water to Tscherkaskoy for two hundred and fifty roubles; including a necessary purchase of boats, anchors, sails, oars, &c. The river is apt to be shallow during summer, and we should have been two months in getting there; the distance is fifteen hundred versts. The best wine of the Don is made upon the river, about three hundred versts before arriving at Tscherkaskoy from Woronetz. Fourteen bottles sell there for one rouble and fifty copeeks. They are apt to make it before the grape ripens; and I find this to be the case with all wine which exhibits effervescence. Their white wine is the best when the fruit is suffered to ripen, which very rarely happens.

Approaching the southern part of the empire, the strong characteristicks of the Russian people are less frequently observed. Happily for the traveller, in proportion as his distance is increased from that which has been erroneously considered the civilized part of the country, he has less to complain of theft, of fraud, and of dissimulation. In the more northern provinces, he is cautioned to beware of the inhabitants of the Ukraine, and the Cossacks, by an unprincipled race of men, with whom the Cossack and the Tartar are degraded in comparison. The chambers of our inn were immediately over the town jail; and it is quite unnecessary to add of what nation its tenants were composed. The Russian finds it dangerous to travel in the Ukraine, and along the Don, because he is conscious the inhabitants of these countries know too well with whom they have to deal. The Cossack, when engaged in war, and remote from his native land, is a robber, because plunder is a part of the military discipline in which he has been educated; but when a stranger enters the district in which he resides with his family and connexions, and confides his property to their care, no people are found more hospitable, or more honourable. Concerning the inhabitants of the country called *Malo-Russia*, a French gentleman, who had long resided among them, assured me he used neither locks to his doors, nor to his coffers; and among the Cossacks, as in Sweden, a trunk may be sent open, for a distance of five hundred miles, without risking the loss of any of its contents. Mr. Rowan, banker of Moscow, was compelled, by the breaking of his

carriage, to abandon it in the midst of the territory of the Don Cossacks: and it was afterwards brought safe to him at Taganrock, with all its appurtenances and contents, by the unsolicited and disinterested labour of that people.* Who would venture to leave a carriage, or even a trunk, although encased, doubly locked, and directed among the Russians?

From the time we left Tula, a remarkable change was visible in the features of the people, which I was unable to explain. The peasants had frequently the straight yellow hair of the inhabitants of Finland, and the same light complexion; neither resembling Russians, Poles nor Cossacks. At Woronetz, the gypsey tribe was very prevalent; and a mixed race, resulting from their intermarriage with Russians.

The horrid practice of burying persons alive often takes place in Russia, from the ignorance of the inhabitants. Suspended animation, occasioned by the vapour of their stoves, or accidents of drowning, are always considered lost cases; and the unhappy sufferer is immediately committed to the grave, without any attempt towards recovery. They send only for a police officer, to note down the circumstances of the disaster; and, without the smallest effort towards restoring respiration, proceed with the ceremony of interment.

A poor woman, in bathing, during our stay at Woronetz, got out of her depth. She struggled some time with the stream, and, being carried by it about three hundred yards, was taken out by some peasants before she had either sunk or lost her power of motion. When laid on the earth, she groaned and moved; but the water which had been swallowed, rendered her face black, and she became apparently lifeless. She was, therefore, immediately pronounced to be really dead. No endeavour on our part, accompanied by persuasion and by offers of money, could induce the spectators to touch the body, or suffer any remedy to be attempted for her recovery. They seemed afraid to approach what they considered as a corpse. In vain we explained to them the process by which persons, so circumstanced, are restored to life in England. They stood at a distance, crossing themselves, and shaking their heads; and in this manner the

* Of this fact I was assured by Mr. Rowan himself, to whom I am indebted for many instances of politeness and attention during the time I resided in Moscow.

poor woman was left upon the shore, until it would have been too late to have made use of any means for her recovery. If she was not afterwards buried alive, her death was certainly owing to a shameful and obstinate neglect of remedies, which, in her case, promised every prospect of success. The police officer gave in his memorial, and her body was committed to the grave.

We left Woronetz on the 12th of June, crossing the river at the bottom of the town, and entering plains as before. The swamps which are below Woronetz at once explain the cause of the annual fevers to which its inhabitants are liable; and must exhale, during warm seasons, as unwholesome vapours as those which rise from the fens of Italy.

There are few finer prospects than that of Woronetz, viewed a few versts from the town, on the road to Paulovsky. Throughout the whole of this country are seen dispersed, over immense plains, mounds of earth covered with a fine turf; the sepulchres of the ancient world, common to almost every habitable country. If there exists any thing of former times, which may afford monuments of antediluvian manners, it is this mode of burial. They seem to mark the progress of population in the first ages after the dispersion; rising wherever the posterity of Noah came. Whether under the form of a mound in Scandinavia and Russia; a barrow in England; a cairn in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland; or of those heaps which the modern Greeks and Turks call *tepe*; or lastly, in the more artificial shape of a pyramid in Egypt; they had, universally, the same origin. They present the simplest and sublimest monument which any generation could raise over the bodies of their progenitors; calculated for almost endless duration, and speaking a language more impressive than the most studied epitaph upon Parian marble. When beheld in a distant evening horizon, skirted by the rays of the setting sun, and, as it were, touching the clouds which hover over them, imagination pictures the spirits of heroes of remoter periods descending to irradiate a warriour's grave. Some of them rose in such regular forms, with so simple and yet so artificial a shape, in a plain otherwise perfectly flat and level, that no doubt whatever could be entertained concerning them. Others, still more ancient, have at last sunk into the earth, and left a hollow place, encircled by a kind of fosse, which still marks their pristine situation. Again, others, by the passage of the plough annually upon their surface, have

been considerably diminished. I know no appearance of antiquity more interesting than these *tumuli*.

We met frequent caravans of the Malo-Russians, who differ altogether from the inhabitants of the rest of Russia. Their features are those of the Polonese, or Cossacks. They are a much more noble race, and stouter and better looking people than the Russians, and superiour to them in every thing that can exalt one set of men above another. They are cleaner, more industrious, more honest, more generous, more polite, more courageous, more hospitable, more truly pious, and, of course, less superstitious. Their language only differs from the Russian, as the dialect of the meridional provinces of France does from the dialect spoken near Paris. They have, in many instances, converted the desolate *steppe** into fields of corn. Their caravans are drawn by oxen, which proceed about thirty versts in a day. Toward evening, they halt in the middle of a plain, near some pool of water; when their little wagons are all drawn up in circle, and their cattle are suffered to graze around; while the drivers, stretched out upon the smooth turf, take their repose, or enjoy their pipe, after the toil and heat of the day. If they meet a carriage, they all take off their caps and bow. The meanest Russians bow to each other, but never to a stranger.

South of Woronetz we found the country perfectly level, and the roads (if a fine turf lawn may be so denominated) the finest, at this season, in the whole world. The turf upon which we travelled was smooth and firm, without a stone or pebble, or even the mark of wheels, and we experienced little or no dust. Nothing could be more delightful than this part of our journey. The whole of these immense plains were enamelled with the greatest variety of flowers imaginable. The list of plants we collected is much too numerous for the text.† The earth seemed covered with the

* *Steppe* is the name given in the south of Russia to those plains which though capable of cultivation, have never been tilled. They are covered with wild plants; and sometimes, perhaps, improperly, called deserts.

† *Andrœace Septentrionalis*—*Centaurea myriocephala*—*Stipa pennata*—*Cerastium*—*Lithrum virgatum*—*Asclepias Vincetoxicum*—*Delphinium Ajacis* [Larkspur]—*Vicia Pannonica*. Also the following, well known in England: *Salvia pratensis* [Meadow Clary]—*Gnaphalium dioicum*—*Geranium sylvaticum* [Wood Crane's bill]—*Geum Urbanum*—*Myosotis Scorpioïdes* [Mouse-ear Scorpion Grass]—*Cucubalus Otites* [grows on Newmarket heath]—*Sisymbrium amphibium* (along the banks of the Cam)—*Erysimum barbaria* (Yellow Rocket—Bitter Winter Cress).

richest and most beautiful blossoms, fragrant, aromatick, and, in many instances entirely new to the eye of a British traveller. Even during the heat of the day, refreshing breezes wafted a thousand odours, and all the air was perfumed. The skylark was in full song; and various insects, with painted wings, either filled the air, or were seen couched in the blossoms. Advancing nearer to the Don, turtle doves, as tame as domestick pigeons, flew about our carriage. The pools were filled with wild-fowl; and dogs, like those of Abruzzo mountains, guarded the numerous herds and flocks which were passing or grazing. Melons of different sorts flourished in the cultivated, though open grounds, near the villages, covering several acres of land.

At Celo Usmani we were employed collecting plants. Some were entirely new to our eyes. Others, I believe, are found in England; particularly the *Echium rubrum*, falsely called *Italicum* by Gmelin; which began to flourish about this place, and was afterwards very common. It grows chiefly among corn. The women of the Don, he says, use it as a colour for their cheeks; as the root, when fresh, yields a beautiful, vermillion tint. The peasants also extract a gum from it. It is engraved in the *Journal des savans Voyageurs*. Gmelin recommended its transplantation, and the application of its colouring properties, to objects of more importance. We observed also the *Spiræa filipendula*, which is found on the hills near Cambridge, and some varieties of the *Centaurea;* also the *Onosma echioïdes*, *Veronica Austriaca*, *Pedicularis tuberosa*, and *Salvia pratensis*. It is from the root of the *Onosma*, as we were informed, that the Tartar women obtain their *rouge*.

Usmani is entirely inhabited by Russians; and whenever that is the case, towards the south of the empire, a village resembles nothing more than a number of stacks of straw or dried weeds. The female peasants were seated on the turf before their huts, spinning. Their machines are not quite so simple as those used in many parts of Italy. They consisted of wooden combs, placed on a stick driven into the ground to contain the flax, and not rising higher than the knee; while the left hand managed the spindle. The person at work was therefore compelled to sit during the employment. This manner of living afforded a striking contrast to the government that oppresses them; for we observed an air of liberty in these wild and wide plains, which ill agreed with the reflections we had before made

on the general condition of the peasants. The severity of the winter here is hardly reconcileable with the appearance of a country abounding in plants which are found in warm climates. Yet the snow annually affords a sledge road the whole way from the Gulph of Finland to the sea of Azof.

From Celo Usmani we travelled over similar fine plains to Podulok Moscovskoy, where we passed the night in a wretched village, whose miserable inhabitants were not even able to strike a light. Nothing could be more revolting than the sight of the hovels in which they lived, open to all the inclemencies of the weather, and destitute of every comfort and common convenience of life. They were said to be settlers from Tver.

The next morning, June 13th, we passed the village of Mojocks, and came to Ekortzy, where we halted to take some refreshments under a penthouse, upon the back of a *kibitki*; the heat of the sun being almost insupportable. The people were kind; and a coarse meal, on that account, became agreeable. We began to perceive, that the farther we advanced from the common hordes of the Russians, the more politeness and hospitality we should experience; exactly the reverse of that which we had been taught to expect by the inhabitants of Moscow. The deserts, as they had described them, instead of proving a bare and sandy waste, presented verdant lawns, covered with herbage, though sometimes dry, and scorched by the rays of a very powerful sun.

Near Ekortzy we added the *Verbascum Phœnicium* to our herbary: and between Ekortzy and Iestakovo, on a high, bleak, chalky soil, we found the rarest plants which occurred during our whole route; *Draba Alpina*, and *Polygala Sibirica*. Professor Pallas could hardly credit the evidence of his senses when he afterwards saw them among our collection in the Crimea. Near the same spot we also observed that beautiful plant, the *Clematis Integrifolia*, exhibiting colours of blue and gold; with others, which being less remarkable, are given in the subjoined note.*

The first regular establishment of Malo-Russians which we saw, occurred after leaving Iestakovo. It was called *Locova Sloboda*. The houses were all whitewashed, like many of the cottages in Wales; and this operation is per-

* Other varieties of *Verbascum*.—*Alyssum incanum*, and *montanum*.—*Sideritis montana*. Varieties of *Genista*, and *Vicia Cassubica*.

formed annually, with great care. Such distinguishing cleanliness appeared within them, that a traveller might fancy himself transported, in the course of a few miles, from Russia to Holland. Their apartments, even the ceilings and the beams in the roof, are regularly washed. Their tables and benches shine with washing and rubbing, and reminded us of the interiour of cottages in Norway. Their court yard, stables, and out-houses, with every thing belonging to them, bespoke industry and neatness. In their little kitchens, instead of the darkness and smoky hue of the Russians, even the mouths of their stoves were white. Their utensils and domestick vessels were all bright and well polished. They kept poultry, and had plenty of cattle. Their little gardens were filled with fruit trees, which gave an English character to their houses. The third nation with whose dwellings I have compared the cottages of Malo-Russia; that is to say, having a Welch exteriour, a Norwegian interiour, and the gardens and out-houses of the English peasantry. They had neat floors; and although the roof was thatched, its interiour was wainscotted. There was no where any appearance of dirt or vermin.

The inhabitants, in their features, resemble Cossacks, and both these people bear a similitude to the Poles; being, doubtless, all derived from one common stock. The dress of unmarried women is much the same among the Malo-Russians and the Don Cossacks. They both wear a *kelt*, or petticoat, of one piece of cloth fastened round the waist. Sometimes, particularly among more aged females, this petticoat consists of two pieces, like two aprons, fastened on before and behind. The necks of the girls are laden with large red beads, falling in several rows over the breast. The fingers, both of men and women, bear rings with glass gems, &c. On the forehead of the females, if they wear any thing, is a simple *bandeau*, or gilded cap; and from behind hang rows of antique coins, or false pieces sold to them for that purpose, which imitate the ancient coin of their own and of other countries. The hair of unmarried women hangs in a long braid down the back, terminated by a ribband with a knot. Their language is pleasing, and full of diminutives. But the resemblance which these people bear, in certain circumstances of drees and manners, to the Scotch Highlanders, is very remarkable. The cloth petticoat before mentioned, is checkered like the Scotch plaid, and answers to the *kelt* worn in certain parts of Scot-

land, even at this day. They have also, among their musical instruments, the bagpipe and the Jew's-harp; the former of which, like those used in North Britain and in Finland, is common to the Cossacks as well as the Malo-Russians. Another point of resemblance may be found in the love of spirituous liquors. The Malo-Russians are truly a merry race, and much given to drinking; but this habit prevails among all barbarous nations.

From hence we proceeded to Paulovskoy, situated upon a high sandy bank, on the eastern side of the Don. It is a small town, and at a distance makes a pleasing appearance; but consists of little more than a church, and a few wooden houses remote from each other; yet, being built in straight rows, their situation gives the appearance of streets to the wide roads which run between them. The river here, broad and rapid, makes a noble appearance; and barges, laden with corn, were seen moving with its current towards the sea of Azof. Close to its waters we found a variety of beautiful plants. The *stipa pennata*, celebrated in Russian songs, waved its feathery locks, as in almost all the *steppes*. In the branches of the *artemisia campestris*, insects had caused excrescences, which the Tartar nations use to light their pipes. The climbing birthwort [*Aristolochia Clematitis*] a rare British plant, though found at Whittlesford in Cambridgeshire, and at Stanton in Suffolk, appeared among southernwood, the woody nightshade, the water crowfoot, and the fleabane. The rest were all strangers.* On the eastern banks are extensive low woods, hardly rising above the head, which are so filled with nightingales, that their songs are heard, even in the town, during the whole night. There is, moreover, a sort of toad, or frog, which the empress Elizabeth caused to be brought to the marshes near Moscow. Its croaking is loud and deep-toned, and may almost be termed musical; filling the air with full, hollow sounds, very like the cry of the old English harrier. They are not known in the north of Europe. Their noise is in general so great, as to be heard for miles, joining with, and sometimes overpowering, the sweeter melody of nightingales. This circumstance gives quite a new character to the evening and the night. Poets in Russia cannot speak of the silence and solemnity of the midnight hour. It is a loud

* *Campanula Sibirica—Dracocephalum Ruyschiana—Onosma simplicissima—Anthemis tinctoria.*

and busy clamour, totally in contradiction to the opening of Gray's Elegy, and the First Night of Young.

Peter the first founded Paulovskoy, and named it in honour of St. Paul. It was designed as a frontier town against the Tartars and Turks. At that time the territory of the former extended to Bachmut, on the southern side of the Donetz; and that of the Turks to the place where now stands the fortress of Dimitri, upon the Don. Its founder had here a botanick garden, as at Woronetz; but not a trace remains. The underwood about the place, which in Gmelin's time was a forest, and which is daily diminishing, contains, as well as the *steppes* around, bears, wolves, foxes, martens, hares, weasels, ermins, and squirrels. Among the birds, not common elsewhere, may be mentioned the pelican, vast flights of which arrive annually from the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof, accompanied by swans, cranes, storks, and geese. They alight at the mouths of the Don, and proceed up the river; and in autumn they return by the same route. The pelicans construct their nests of rushes, and line the interiour with moss, or any soft herb. These nests are found only upon the small iselets of the river, and places where moss may be procured. They lay two white eggs, about the size of those of the swan, and employ the same time in hatching. If disturbed while sitting, they hide their eggs in the water; and take them out afterwards with their bill, when they believe the danger removed. They live altogether upon fish, and consume a prodigious quantity. The Russian naturalists give a curious account of this bird's mode of fishing, with the assistance of the cormorant. The pelican extends its wings, and troubles the water; while the cormorant, diving to the bottom, drives the fish to the surface; and the pelican, continuing the motion of its wings, advances towards the shore, where the fish are taken among the shallows. Afterwards, the cormorant, without further ceremony, helps himself out of the pelican's beak.*

The principal trade here carried on is in grease and fruit; which latter article, particularly the watermelon, is carried to Moscow and Petersburgh. They plant it in the open fields, where it covers whole acres of land. In the *steppes* near the town, I observed about thirty women hoeing a piece of unenclosed ground, for the culture of this deli-

* *Journal des savans Voyageurs*, p. 144.

cious vegetable. That a plant, which is hardly in perfection any where, should thrive upon the rivers in this part of Russia, and in such a latitude, is very remarkable. Perhaps its flavour does not depend upon latitude. At Naples, although so highly extolled, they seldom ripen. In Egypt they are even worse. Indeed, the only place where I have seen the watermelon attain its full colour, size, and maturity, is at Jaffa, on the coast of Syria.

We found ourselves among Russians at Paulovskoy, and narrowly escaped with our lives. Fortunately, the alarm their conduct might have excited, for the safety of our future journey, was unheeded. Sleeping in the carriage, I was awakened by some person gently opening the door; and could perceive, though it was somewhat dark, a man extending his arm in a menacing manner. I believed him to be a Russian, sustaining his national characteristick by a valedictory theft; as our time of remaining among them was now drawing to a close. But I was afterwards informed, and indeed the man's conduct seemed to prove it that his design was to assassinate. Hoping to seize him by the hair, I made a sudden effort; but, eluding my grasp, he escaped; and although the alarm was immediately given, he could not then be discovered. Soon after, putting my head out of the carriage to call the servant, a large stone thrown with great violence, struck the frame of the window, close to my head; sounding so like the report of a pistol, that at first I believed a pistol had been discharged close to me. Upon this a second search was made, and a man in consequence detected, pretending to sleep in one of the *kibitkis* in the court-yard of the inn. The fellow, whether guilty or not, we compelled to mount the barouche box, and to sit there as sentinel, while I made a third attempt to obtain a little repose. Suddenly my companion, who was in the house, came running into the yard, followed by the servants and all the family, to tell me that the front of the inn was assailed by some persons without, who had poured a shower of stones through the windows, and broken every pane of glass. Determined to sell our lives as dearly as possible, we drew our sabres and marched together towards the residence of the governour, a very worthy man, who instantly rose from his bed, and instituted an inquiry, which continued the whole of the night. At the same time, soldiers were stationed with the carriage, and the patrol doubled. Towards morning they brought in a young man, whom

they stated to have detected in the act of making his escape from the out-houses of our inn; and it was during his examination that the cause of all this disorder was made known. He proved to be a lover of one of the girls of the house; and, as she had refused to come out when he sent for her, his jealousy had persuaded him that he was slighted on our account. In a fit of desperate fury, he had, therefore, resolved to wreak his vengeance upon some of the party, if not upon all; in which undertaking he had been aided by some of his comrades. The poor fellow was more an object of pity than resentment, and we began to intercede for his pardon; but the governour insisted upon making an example of him; and they led him away, sulky, and as it seemed, nothing loth, to be flogged. As he went, he still vowed revenge; declaring, that he was not alone in the business; for that fifteen of his confederates had made an oath to be revenged, not only upon the girl, but upon all her family, for her inconstancy to him.

The governour provided us with a powerful escort; and, early in the morning, we continued our journey. The roads have been all changed since Gmelin and other travellers visited this part of Russia. We proceeded from Paulovskoy to Kazinskoy Chutor, a village inhabited by Malo-Russians and Russians mingled together. The distinction between the two people might be made without the smallest inquiry, from the striking contrast between filth and cleanliness. In the stable of the posthouse we found about twenty horses, kept with a degree of order and neatness which would have done credit to any nobleman's stud in Britain. The house of the poor superintendant villager was equally admirable. Every thing appeared clean and decent. There was no litter, nor was any thing out of its place. It was quite a new thing to us, to hesitate whether we should clean our boots before walking into an apartment, on the floor of which I would rather have dined than on the table of any Russian prince.

This village is situated in the most wild and open *steppes*, among the short herbage of which we noticed the land tortoise. Its flesh is esteemed a great delicacy; as it is in the Archipelago and in all Turkish cities. Boat loads of them are carried from the Greek isles to the markets of Constantinople. After leaving Kazinskoy, we passed through several very large villages, scattered over valleys, each of which appeared to consist rather of several hamlets

than of one, and arrived at Nizney Momon. Nothing worth observation occurred, except the plants we collected.* The heat was intense: the country like that before described. We found our vinegar, which had been recommended to us at Moscow, to be a pleasing and salutary ingredient in bad water, and a most delicious solace, when exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, with parched lips, and mouths full of dust. It was impossible to resist the temptation of drinking it without any admixture of water; and to the practice of doing so, may be attributed, perhaps, the weak state of health into which I afterwards fell. We considered it, at this time, the most valuable part of our baggage; and afterwards, in Kuban Tartary, derived from it the only means of sustaining the fatigue and languor caused by the heat of the climate and bad air.

The next place we came to was Dobrinka: and here, for the first time, we found an establishment of Cossacks; although but few appeared, and even these mixed with Malo-Russians. The church was new, a large and handsome, white building, erected by the emperour Paul. Others of the same nature appeared in most of the neighbouring villages. That of Dobrinka makes a conspicuous appearance several miles before the traveller reaches it. If happiness could be found under the Russian government, it might be said to dwell in Dobrinka; a peaceable and pleasant spot, full of neat, little, white cottages, tenanted by a healthy, and apparently contented, society. They live in the greatest tranquility, removed from all the spies, tax-gatherers, police officers, and other despots of the country. We were received into one of the court-yards, which they all have before their houses, with a hearty welcome, and smiling countenances, very different from the lowering brows, and contracted, suspicious eyes, to which we had been so often accustomed. At sun-set, all the cows belonging to the inhabitants came, in one large troop, lowing into the village. No driver was necessary; for, as the herd entered, they separated into parties, and retired of their own accord to their respective owners, in order to be milked. The Malo-Russians, with their numerous families, were seated on the ground, in circles before their neat, little hab-

* Of these, some are known in our country, viz. the *Tragopogon pratense*, or *Goat's-beard*, and *Potentilla argentea*. Those more rare, are, the *Gladiolus imbricatus*, which is not found even in our botanick gardens; *Astragalus Onobrychis*, *Hesperis matronalis*; and *Campanula Sibirica*. We observed also a new species of *Lychnis*.

itations, eating their supper; and, being all happy and merry together, offered a picture of contentment and peace not often found within Russian territories.*

About two in the afternoon of the next day, having been detained for want of horses at Metscha, we arrived at Kasankaia, one of the largest *stanitzas* of the Don Cossacks and the first within their territory. As I am now entering upon the description of a very interesting part of our journey, I shall be particularly careful to note whatever observations may occur. They relate to a country very little visited, and, on that account, very little known; where every thing is interesting, because every thing presents what has not been seen before. The independent mode of life of the people; their indolence at home; their activity in war; their remote situation with regard to the rest of Europe; the rank they hold in the great scale of society; all require consideration.

CHAPTER XII.

TERRITORY OF THE DON COSSACKS.

Appearance of the Cossacks at Kasankaia—House of the Ataman—Ideal Dangers of the Country—Voyage by Water—Amusements and Dances of the People—Departure—Steppes—River Lazovai—Visit to a Camp of Calmucks—Of their Brandy distilled from Mare's Milk—Personal Appearance of Calmucks—Arts, Armour, and Weapons,—Recreations and Condition of Life—Acenovskaia—Of the Suroke, or Marmot, of the Steppes—The Bireke and Suslick—Nature of Villages named in Russian Maps—Stragglers from the Army—Distinction between Cossacks of the Steppes and of the Don—Kamenskaia—Iron Foundries of Lugan—Etymology of the word Tanais—Numerous Camps of Calmucks—Approach to Oxai.

THERE is something extremely martial, and even intimidating, in the first appearance of a Cossack. His dignified and majestick look; his elevated brows, and dark mustaches; his tall helmet of black wool, terminated by a

* We observed here a plant which grows on the hills near Cambridge, the *Hedysarum Onobrychis*.

crimson sack, with its plume, laced festoon, and white cockade; his upright posture; the ease and elegance of his gait; give him an air of great importance. We found them in considerable number at Kasankaia, lounging before their houses, and conversing in such large parties, that it seemed as if we were entering their capital. Their dresses were much richer than any thing we had seen in Russia, although all were uniform. Each person's habit consisted of a blue jacket, edged with gold and lined with silk, fastened by hooks across the chest. Beneath the jacket appeared a silk waistcoat, the lower part of which was concealed by the sash. Large and long trowsers, either of the same material as the jacket, or of white dimity, kept remarkably clean, were fastened high above the waist, and covered their boots. The sabre is not worn, except on horseback, on a journey, or in war. In its place is substituted a switch or cane, with an ivory head, which every Cossack bears in his hand, as an appendage of his dress; being at all times prepared to mount his horse at a moment's notice. Their cap or hemlet is the most beautiful part of the costume; because it is becoming to every set of features. It adds considerably to their height; and gives, with the addition of whiskers, a military air to the most insignificant figure. They wear their hair short round the head, but not thin upon the crown. It is generally dark, thick, and quite straight. The cap is covered by a very soft and shining black wool. Some of them have civil and military distinctions of habit; wearing in time of peace, instead of the jacket, a long frock without buttons. The sash is sometimes yellow, green, or red, though generally black; and they wear large, military gloves. There is no nation in the world more neat with regard to dress; and, whether young or old, it seems to become them all. A quiet life seems quite unsuited to their disposition. They loiter about, having no employment to interest them; and passionately fond of war, seem distressed by the indolence of peace.*

* "The territory of the Don Cossacks, which is almost entirely pasture land, is divided into *stanitzas*, or cantons (for many stanitzas now contain more than a single village.) To each of these, a certain portion of land and fishing is allotted by government, and an annual allowance of corn from Voronetz and the northern provinces, according to the returned number of Cossacks. They are free from all taxes, even those on salt and distilleries. The distribution of land to individuals in each stanitza is settled by the inhabitants and their ataman. From the ataman an appeal may be made to the chancery at Circask. The allotment of land, and the fishery which each Cossack possesses, may be let out by him to farm, and

The ataman, or chief of the *stanitza*, approached us with very great respect and complaisance, as soon as we arrived. Notice at the same time was given to all the inhabitants, not to quit the town without his knowledge, until every thing the travellers might require was ascertained and provided. He begged to conduct us to *quarters*, as he expressed it; and brought us for that purpose to his own house, which he gave up entirely to our use. It was pleasantly situated above the Don, with an open, covered arcade, or wooden gallery, in which we breakfasted and dined while we staid. His cave of provisions was in the court yard; and he made his wife and daughters open it for our use. I had the curiosity to descend into this place. It was floored with ice; upon which I observed sterlet, and other fishes of the Don, with game, and other luxuries. The house was perfectly clean and comfortable; so much so, that we could not resist the pressing invitation made to us of remaining a short time, to study the manners of the Cossacks, in a town nearly as large as their capital.

It was amusing to observe the temporary respect they paid the ataman. If he convened any of the inhabitants on business, however trivial, they made their obeisance before him, standing bareheaded, as in the presence of a sovereign; but the moment the assembly was dissolved, he passed unheeded among them, receiving no other mark of respect than any of the other Cossacks. It is an office to which the election is annual; but if an ataman is particularly popular, he may retain his station, by re-election, during many years. I believe this does not often happen. Our host was in his first year, and his predecessors had been generally changed when the time arrived. We soon perceived that the Cossacks were a people characterized by

often is so: and it is a frequent abuse to insert the names of children in the return of Cossacks, to entitle them to seniority in becoming officers. Formerly, the ataman himself marched at the head of his stanitza; now he merely sends the required contingent, which is put under officers named by the crown. The Cossack, in consequence of his allowance, may be summoned to serve for any term, not exceeding three years, in any part of the world; mounted, armed, and clothed, at his own expense, and supplying any deficiency which may occur. Food, pay, and camp equipage, are furnished by government. Those who have served three years, are not liable, or at least are not usually called upon, to serve abroad, except during particular emergencies. They are employed, however, in the *cordon* along the Caucasus, and in the duties of the post and police. After twenty years' service, they become free from all employment, except the home duties of the police, and assisting the passage of the corn barges over the shallows of the Don. After twenty-five years they are entirely free." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

great liveliness and animation; little disposed to industrious occupation, but fond of amusement, and violent if their passions are roused. In their dances, drinking, songs, and discussions, they betray great vehemence. They have abundance of excellent food, and as much brandy as they may think proper to drink. It is therefore surprising, that order is so well maintained in their stanitzas.

However indisposed a traveller may be to listen to those false alarms which the inhabitants of every country raise in the minds of strangers who wish to explore any remote part of their territory, it is not possible, at all times, to disregard such relations, especially when they come from persons of the highest authority, and who pretend to accurate knowledge of the facts they pretend to substantiate. In Russia, there was not an individual of any respectability with whom we conversed upon the subject of our journey, who did not endeavour to dissuade us from the danger of traversing what they termed "*the deserts of the Don Cossacks!*" It ended, as such accounts generally do, in misrepresentation and absurdity. Among the Russians, indeed, we were constantly exposed to danger; either from imposition which it was hazardous to detect, or from insult it was fearful to resent; and in both cases the consequences affected our security. The very earliest view of the Cossacks showed us a brave, generous, and hospitable people. If we questioned them concerning the dangers of the country, we were referred to districts tenanted by wandering Calmucks; yet we afterwards found no cause of reasonable alarm, even in the very camps of that singular race of men. At Paulovskoy, they told us the emperour's courier had been stopped with the mail. We doubted the fact in the first instance; and then concluded, that if the mail had been really stolen, the theft was committed by the Russians, who raised the clamour, and not by the Cossacks, to whom the robbery had been imputed. In war, the Russians found them a desperate and dangerous enemy; and many a bitter remembrance of chastisement and defeat induces them to vilify a people whom they fear. The Cossacks are justified in acting towards the Russians as they have uniformly done; that is to say, in withdrawing, as much as possible, from all communion with a race of men, whose association might corrupt, but could never advance the interests of their society. After these remarks it must, nevertheless, be confessed, that we were compelled to take an escort with us

throughout the Cossack territory, and to place a guard over our carriage at night; precautions, doubtless, often calculated to excite the ridicule of the people among whom we travelled; yet even the Cossacks themselves urged their necessity, "on account," they said, "of the Calmucks."

One evil consequence, which arises from attention paid to tales of danger, is the habit it occasions of putting false representations even on the most harmless and trivial incidents. The first night of our residence among the Cossacks we were full of idle fancies. The ataman was intoxicated, and, accompanied by his wife, set off into the country, leaving us in possession of his house. As we had heard a violent altercation without doors, and saw the ataman in the corner of the court, frequently whispering to other Cossacks, and pointing to our carriage, the effect of the silly stories we had heard began to operate, and we imagined some preparation was making to rob us; for which purpose it was necessary to get rid of the ataman and his wife, as they might otherwise be made responsible for our safety. The apprehension of our servants did not diminish the suspicion thus excited, and we concluded the plot more probable as we knew they had never before seen an equipage so attended. Since this happened, I have every reason to believe that the good old ataman was only giving directions for our advantage, and, like all intoxicated persons, was making an important concern of the most trifling business, such as cording and repairing our wheels, and a few other commissions we wished to have executed. How easy is it for travellers, so circumstanced, to raise an alarm about nothing; make a great stir to defend themselves against ideal danger; offend those who intended good instead of evil; and finish, by congratulating themselves upon an escape, when there was not the slightest reason for an apprehension!

We received a visit, on the evening of our arrival, from the ataman of one of the neighbouring stanitzas, who chanced to be in the place. He represented the voyage down the Don to Tscherchaskoy as very pleasant, but tedious; and that it would require at least a month for its performance. The musquitos also are very troublesome upon the water; and the voyage is liable to impediments, from the frequent shallows of the river.

Below the town, which stands on the western bank of the Don, we beheld the river, augmented to a most magnificent

piece of water, rolling in a full and copious tide, and marking its progress through a sterile country by clumps of trees and flowers, and an abundant vegetation, which always hangs about its sloping sides; but all beyond is bare and desolate. I bathed frequently, and found the current very rapid. The fine sterlets caught here were often brought to regale us during our stay. I preserved one of them tolerably well; but they have been often engraved; and, were this not the case, a young sturgeon will give a very good idea of their appearance. A fine, large fish is also taken in this river, like the bream in shape, but quite equal to the sterlet in flavour. We had one served up which weighed half a *poud* [eighteen pounds.]

The women of this place are very beautiful. The shops are supplied with several articles of luxury which we did not expect to find; such as leafsugar, ribands, costly silks, and other wares of large towns. But by much the most numerous articles were sabres. The Cossacks call this weapon *sabla*; the Poles and Male-Russians, *sabel*. We found the bagpipe frequently in use. The puppets common in Calabria, and carried by the inhabitants of that part of Italy over all Europe, were much in vogue here. These consist of two small figures suspended by a string, one end of which a piper fastens to his knee, or to one of his fingers; while the other end is held by a gimblet screwed into a table or floor; and, by the motion of the knee, the figures are made to move in time. The Calabrians manage them with great dexterity, and often collect a crowd in the streets of London and Paris. We saw also the Cossack dance, which much resembles the dance of the gypsies in Russia, and our English hornpipe. Like every other national dance, it is licentious. As the female recedes or approaches, the male dancer expresses his desire or his disappointment; yet so adapted is the figure of the dance to the small rooms in which such exercise is chiefly carried on, that the performers hardly stir from one spot. The whole expression is by movements of the body, especially of the arms and head, accompanied by short and sudden shrieks, and by whistling. The method they exhibited of moving the head from one shoulder to the other, while the hands are held up near the ears, is common to the dances of all the Tartars, Chinese, and even the inhabitants of the isles in the Pacifick Ocean.

In the evening of June 16, we left this hospitable stanitza, crossing the Don on a raft. The people of the house, in

which we had been so comfortably lodged, positively refused to accept payment for all the trouble we had given them. No entreaty could prevail upon any one of them to allow us further satisfaction, by any remuneration. "Cossacks," said they, "do not sell their hospitality."*

The view of Kasankaia, from the southern side of the river, is very fine. Its large church, with numerous domes, stands in the center. To the right and left, extend neat and numerous wooden houses. The Don flows below; which forms a fine front, with the busy raft, constantly employed in conveying the caravans across the ferry. In all parts of the river above Kasankaia, it seems to flow over a bed of chalk; and its banks, gently swelling upwards from the water, rise like the South Downs of Sussex; often disclosing the chalk, of which they consist. Farther down, and near the water's edge, low copses of wood almost always accompany its course; but they diminish as it draws nearer to Tscherchaskoy, the inhabitants of which town derive all their wood from the Volga.

As soon as we left Kasankaia, we entered the *steppes* in good earnest, with a view to traverse their whole extent to Tscherchaskoy. These are not cultivated; yet, bleak and desolate as their appearance during winter must be, they have in summer the aspect of a wild, continued meadow. The herbage rises as high as the knee, full of flowers, and exhibiting a most interesting collection of plants. No one collects or cuts this herbage. The soil, though neglected, is very fine. We passed some oaks, in the first part of our journey, which had the largest leaves I ever saw. Our Cossack escort galloped before us with their long lances, and were of great use in clearing the road of caravans, and in tracing the best track over which a carriage might expeditiously pass. We were pleased in surveying our little army, all going full speed; but thought it would avail us little, if the stories we had heard of banditti in the *steppes* had really been true. For ourselves, we were totally unarmed, with the exception of our sabres; and these were under lock and key, in the sword case. We relied, therefore, solely on our Cossacks, who seemed quite delighted with any thing that promised even the hope of a skirmish,

* "L'hospitalité est en usage par toute la Petite Russie; et un étranger qui y voyage n'a jamais besoin de faire de la dépense, pour son logement et sa nourriture." *Scherer. Annales de la Petite Russie*, tom i. p. 103. Paris, 1788.

and, proud of their employment, secured the plains, armed with pistols, sabres, and lances, twelve feet in length.

Thus escorted and accoutred, we proceeded thirty versts before evening, and passed the night in a spot full of swamps, stinking fens, and muddy pools, near whose stagnant waters a number of caravans had also halted. The mosquites were in great number, and very troublesome. Our Cossacks slept the whole night on the damp ground, and in the open air, almost naked, around our carriage. The atmosphere of such a country must, in summer, be pestilential. It resembled the Pontine marshes in Italy; being full of reeds, bulrushes, and tall flags, in which was heard the constant clamour of frogs and toads, whose croaking overpowered every other sound during the night. But in the morning, the chorus of a great variety of birds, with the humming of innumerable insects, and the pleasing appearance of a flowery wilderness, gave a liveliness to the flat and wide prospect, which made the desert very interesting; and we renewed our journey. The name of this place was called *Tichaia;* and thereabouts the river Lazovia has its source. We followed its tardy and almost stagnant waters through the *steppes*, to a place named from it, *Vercynia Lazovaia*. On its banks I collected the *sinapis nigra*, and *convolvulus arvensis*, or common bindweed, well known in England.

We afterwards observed a camp of Calmucks, not far from the track we pursued, lying off in the plain to the right. As we much wished to visit that people, it was thought prudent to send a part of our Cossack escort before, in order to apprise them of our inclination, and to ask their permission. The sight of our carriage, and of the party that was approaching with it, seemed to throw them into great confusion. We observed them running backwards and forwards from one tent to another, and moving several of their goods. As we drew near on foot, about half a dozen gigantick figures came towards us, stark naked, except a cloth bound round the waist, with greasy, shining, and almost black skins, and black hair braided in a long cue behind. They began talking very fast, in so loud a tone, and so uncouth a language, that we were a little intimidated. I shook hands with the foremost, which seemed to pacify them, and we were invited to a large tent. Near its entrance hung a quantity of horse flesh, with the limbs of dogs, cats, marmots, rats, &c. drying in the sun, and quite black.

Within the tent we found some women, though it was difficult to distinguish the sexes, so horrid and inhuman was their appearance. Two of them, covered with grease, were lousing each other; and it surprised us, that they did not discontinue their work, or even look up as we entered. Through a grated lattice, in the side of the tent, we saw some younger women peeping, of more handsome features, but truly Calmuck, with long, black hair hanging in thick braids on each side of the face, and fastened at the end with bits of lead or tin. In their ears they wore shells, and large pearls of a very irregular shape, or some substance much resembling pearl. The old women were eating raw horse-flesh, tearing it off from large bones which they held in their hands. Others, squatted on the ground, in their tents, were smoking, with pipes not two inches in length, much after the manner of Laplanders. In other respects, the two people, although both of eastern origin, and both nomade tribes, bear little resemblance. The manner of living among the Calmucks is much superiour to that of the Laplanders. The tents of the former are better constructed, stronger, more spacious, and contain many of the luxuries of life; such as very warm and very good beds, handsome carpets and mats, domestick utensils, and materials of art and science, painting and writing.* The Calmuck is a giant, the Laplander a dwarf; both are filthy in their persons; but the Calmuck more so than perhaps any other nation. I am not otherwise authorised in comparing together tribes so remote from all connexion with each other, than by asserting, from my own observation, that both are oriental, characterized by some habits and appearances in common; deferring, at the same time, all further illustration of the subject until a more appropriate opportunity. I shall have occasion to speak at large of the Laplanders, in another part of my travels.

Every body has heard of the *koumiss*, and the brandy which Calmucks are said to distil from the milk of mares. The manner of preparing these liquors has been differently related, and, perhaps, is not always the same. They assured us that the brandy was merely distilled from butter-milk. The milk which they collect over night, is churned in the morning into butter; and the butter-milk is distilled over a

* These tents are of a circular form, with a hole at the top; they are constructed of canes, and covered with a thick felt made of camel's hair. In the Calmuck language they are called *Khabitka*.

fire made with the dung of their cattle, particularly the dromedary, which makes a steady and clear fire, like peat. But other accounts have been given both of the *koumiss* and the brandy. It has been usual to confound them, and to consider the *koumiss* as their appellation for the brandy so obtained. By every information I could gain, not only here, but in many other camps which we afterwards visited, they are different modifications of the same thing, although different liquors; the *koumiss* being a kind of sour milk, like that so much used by the Laplanders, called *pina*, and which has undergone in a certain degree, the vinous fermentation; and the brandy, and ardent spirit obtained from *koumiss* by distillation. In making the *koumiss*, they sometimes employ the milk of cows, but never, if mare's milk can be had; as the *koumiss* from the latter yields three times as much brandy as that made from cow's milk. The manner of preparing the *koumiss* is, combining one-sixth part of warm water with any given quantity of warm mare's milk. To this they further add, as a leaven, a little old *koumiss*, and agitate the mass till fermentation ensues. To produce the vinous fermentation, artificial heat and more agitation is sometimes necessary. This affords what is called *koumiss*. A subsequent process of distillation afterwards obtains an ardent spirit from the *koumiss*. They gave us this last beverage in a wooden bowl, calling it *vina*. In their own language it bears the very remarkable appellation of *rack* and *racky*, doubtless nearly allied to the names of our East-India spirit, *rack* and *arrack*. We brought away a quart bottle of it, and considered it very weak, bad brandy, not unlike the common spirit distilled by the Swedes and other northern nations. Some of their women were busy making it in an adjoining tent. The simplicity of the operation, and of their machinery, was very characteristick of the antiquity of this chymical process. Their still was constructed of mud, or very coarse clay; and for the neck of the retort they employed a cane. The receiver of the still was entirely covered by a coating of wet clay. The brandy had already passed over. The woman who had the management of the distillery, wishing to give us a taste of the spirit, thrust a stick, with a small tuft of camel's hair at its end, through the external covering of clay; and thus collecting a small quantity of the brandy, she drew out the stick, dropped a portion upon the retort, and waving the instrument above her head, scattered the remaining

liquor in the air. I asked the meaning of this ceremony, and was answered, that it is a religious custom, to give always the first drop of the brandy which they draw from the receiver to their god. The stick was then plunged into the receiver a second time; when more brandy adhering to the camel's hair, she squeezed it into the palm of her dirty and greasy hand, and, having tasted the liquor, presented it to our lips.

The covering of their tents consists of neat and well made mats, such as we see brought from India; and also felt, or coarse woollen cloths. Whenever a Calmuck marries, he must build one of these tents, and one for every child he has by that marriage. If a husband dies, his widow becomes the property of his brother, if the latter chooses to accept of her. The distinction between married and unmarried women is in their hair. A married woman wears her hair braided, and falling over her shoulders, on each side of her face; but a virgin has only a single braid hanging down the middle of her back. Their tents were all of a circular form; near which we observed a party of their children, from the age of five, to fourteen, playing at the Russian game before mentioned, with knuckle-bones. We delighted them by making a scramble with a few copecks. They were quite naked, and with skins perfectly black. Further off, a herd of their dromedaries were grazing.

Of all the inhabitants of the Russian empire, the Calmucks are the most distinguished by peculiarity of feature, and manners. In their personal appearance, they are athletick, and very forbidding. Their hair is coarse and black; their language harsh and guttural. They inhabit Thibet, Bucharia, and the countries lying to the north of Persia, India, and China; but, from their vagrant habits, they may be found in all the southern parts of Russia, even to the banks of the Dnieper. The Cossacks alone esteem them, and intermarry with them.* This union sometimes

* In opposition to this remark, I find it stated in Mr. Heber's Journal, that "Calmuck servants are greatly esteemed all over Russia, for their intelligence and fidelity;" and I recollect seeing some of them in that capacity among English families in Petersburgh. The most remarkable instance ever known of an expatriated Calmuck, was that of an artist employed by the earl of Elgin, whom I saw (a second Anacharsis, from the plains of Scythia) executing most beautiful designs among the ruins of Athens. Some Russian family had previously sent him to finish his studies in Rome, where he acquired the highest perfection in design. He had the peculiar features, and many of the manners, of the nomade Calmucks.

produces women of very great beauty; although nothing is more hideous than a Calmuck. High, prominent, and broad cheek-bones; very little eyes, widely separated from each other; a flat and broad nose; coarse, greasy, jet black hair; scarcely any eye-brows; and enormous, prominent ears; compose no very inviting portrait.

Their women are uncommonly hardy; and on horseback outstrip their male companions in the race. The stories related of their placing pieces of horse-flesh under the saddle, in order to prepare them for food, are perfectly true. They acknowledged that it was a common practice among them on a journey, and that a steak so dressed became tender and palatable. In their large camps, they have always cutlers, and other artificers in copper, brass, and iron; sometimes goldsmiths, who make trinkets for their women, idols of gold and silver, and vessels for their altars; also persons expert at inlaid work, enamelling, and many arts which we vainly imagine peculiar to nations in a state of refinement. One very remarkable fact, and which I should hesitate in asserting if I had not found it confirmed by the observations of other travellers,* is, that, from time immemorial, the oriental tribes of Calmucks have possessed the art of making gunpowder. They boil the efflorescence of nitrat of potass in a strong lie of poplar and birch ashes, and leave it to crystalize; after which they pound the crystals with two parts of sulphur, and as much charcoal; then, wetting the mixture, they place it in a caldron over a charcoal fire, until the powder begins to granulate. The generality of Calmucks, when equipped for war, protect the head by a helmet of steel, with a gilded crest, to which is fixed a net-work of iron rings, falling over the neck and shoulders, and hanging as low as the eye-brows in front. They wear upon their body, after the eastern manner, a tissue of similar work, formed of iron or steel rings matted together which adapts itself to the shape, and yields readily to all positions of the body; and ought, therefore, rather to be called a shirt, than a coat, of mail. The most beautiful of these are manufactured in Persia, and are valued as equivalent to fifty horses. The cheaper sort are made of scales of tin, and sell only for six or eight horses each; but these are more common among the Chinese, and in the Mogul territory. Their other arms are lances, bows

* *Journal des savans Voyageurs*, p. 434.

and arrows, poignards, and sabres. The richest only bear fire-arms which are, therefore, always regarded as a mark of distinction, and kept with the utmost care, in cases made of badger's skins. Their most valuable bows are made of the wild goat's horn, or whalebone; the ordinary sort, of maple, or thin slips of elm or fir, fastened together, and bound with a covering of linden or birch bark.

Their amusements are, hunting, wrestling, archery, and horseracing. They are not addicted to drunkenness, though they hold drinking parties, which continue for half a day at a time, without interruption. Upon such occasions, every one brings his share of brandy and *koumiss*; and the whole stock is placed upon the ground, in the open air, the guests forming a circle, seated around it. One of them, squatted by the vessels which contain the liquor, performs the office of cup-bearer. The young women place themselves by the men, and begin songs of love or war, of fabulous adventure, or heroick achievement. Thus the *fete* is kept up, the guests passing the cup round, and singing the whole time, until the stock of liquor is expended. During all this ceremony, no one is seen to rise from the party, nor does any one interrupt the harmony of the assembly, by riot or intoxication. In the long nights of winter, the young people of both sexes amuse themselves with musick, dancing, and singing. Their most common musical instrument is the *balalaika*, or two-stringed lute; which is often represented in their paintings. These paintings preserve very interesting memorials of the ancient superstition of eastern nations; inasmuch as they present us with objects of pagan worship common to the earliest mythology of Egypt and of Greece. The arts of painting and musick may be supposed to have continued little liable to alteration among them, from the remotest periods of their history. As for their dances, they consist more in movements of the hands and the arms, than of the feet. In winter they also play at cards, draughts, backgammon, and chess. Their love of gambling is so great, that they will spend entire nights at play; and lose, in a single sitting, the whole of what they possess, even to the clothes on their body. In fact, it may be said of Calmucks, that the greatest part of their life is spent in amusement. Wretched and revolting as their appearance is to more civilized people, they would be indeed miserable, in their own estimation; if compelled to change their mode of living for ours. Both Gmelin and Pallas

relate, that they deem a residence in houses so insupportable, that to be shut up in the confined air of a close apartment, when under the necessity of going into towns, and making visits of embassy or commerce, was considered by them with a degree of horrour. Among the diseases to which they are exposed by their diet and want of cleanliness, may be mentioned the itch, to which they are very subject, and malignant fevers, which are very fatal to them during the heat of summer. The venereal disease causes great ravages; but it is said to prevail chiefly in those camps where their princess reside, and not to be often found among the lower orders. They give to this disorder a name very expressive of the estimation in which they hold their mode of life, signifying "*the house disease.*"* Having occasion hereafter to notice this people again, I shall only add the observations of one of the celebrated travellers before mentioned, who, after considering the privations to which they are exposed, places their situation in a point of view more favourable, perhaps, than I have done. "For the rest," says he, "to whatever degree of wretchedness the poorest of the Calmucks may be reduced, it is very rare to behold them dejected by sorrow, and they are never subdued by despair. The generality, notwithstanding a mode of life which appears so adverse to health, attain to a robust and very advanced old age. Their disorders are neither very frequent, nor very dangerous. Few become gray headed at forty or fifty. Persons from eighty to a hundred years of age are by no means uncommon among them; and at that advanced period of life they still sustain with great ease the fatigue of horsemanship. A simple and uniform diet;† the free air which they uninterruptedly respire; inured, vigorous, and healthy bodies; continual exercise, without care, without laborious employment; such are the natural causes of these felicitous effects."

Leaving this encampment, we continued traversing the *steppes* in a southwesterly direction, and passed a very neat village belonging to a rich Greek, who, to our great surprise, had established a residence in the midst of these desolate plains. As we advanced, we perceived that wherever

* Or rather, "*derived from those who live in houses.*"

† I am at a loss to reconcile this statement with the real diet of the Calmucks. Can that porperly be deemed *simple*, which consists of the grossest animal food of all kinds, without admixture of vegetable diet, without bread, or any of the fruits of the earth?

rivers intersect the *steppes*, there are villages, and plenty of inhabitants. A manuscript map at Tscherchaskoy, confirmed the truth of this observation. No maps have been hitherto published in Europe which give an accurate notion of the country. A stranger crossing the Cossack territory, might suppose himself in a desert, and yet be in the midst of villages. The road, it is true, does not often disclose them; but frequently, when we were crossing a river, and believed ourselves in the midst of the most uninhabited country, which might be compared to a boundless meadow, we beheld villages to the right and left of us, concealed, by the depth of the banks of the river, below the level of the plain; not a single house or church of which would have been otherwise discerned.* We were approaching, in an oblique direction, the Lazovai, now augmented to a considerable river. As we drew near, its opposite banks rose considerably higher than the usual appearance of the country with fine clusters and patches of trees. Before we arrived at Acenovskaia, it was even mountainous. On its western side, we saw a neat village, called Jernvchaia, pleasingly situated beneath the hills, with a new and handsome church. Indeed the churches are every where good, and much superiour to what we find in our country villages in England, both as to architecture and interiour decoration. At the top of the mountainous elevation on the western side of the river, stood one of the largest of those *tumuli* of which I have before spoken, and which abound all over this country. They become more numerous, and increase in size, nearer to the Don and the sea of Azof. Finding the water clear and the current rapid, I took the opportunity of bathing; and recommend the practice to all travellers, as essential to the preservation of health.

From Acenovskaia, we continued our route over *steppes* apparently destitute of any habitation. Dromedaries were feeding, as if sole tenants of these wide pastures. Mr. Cripps got upon the back of one of them, as the animal was kneeling; which immediately rose, and, with a very majestick pace, bore him towards the carriage. Our horses were so

* "Erected, or rather concealed," says Gibbon, accurately describing the dwellings of their forefathers, "in the depth of forests, on the banks of rivers, or the edge of morasses, we may, not perhaps without flattery, compare them to the architecture of the beaver; which they resembled in a double issue, to the land and water, for the escape of the savage inhabitant, an animal less cleanly, less diligent, and less social, than that marvellous quadruped." *History of the Roman Empire*, chap. xlii.

terrified at the sight, that they broke the ropes, and we had great difficulty in tranquilizing them. The dromedary having passed, made off into the plain, with his head erect, prepared, no doubt, to undertake an expedition to very distant regions; when my friend, having satisfied his curiosity, let himself down from his lofty back, as from the roof of a house, and fell with some violence on the ground; leaving the dromedary to prosecute his voluntary journey, which he continued as far as our eyes could follow him.

Innumerable inhabitants of a smaller race people these immense plains. Among the number of them, is an animal which the natives call *suroke;* the marmot of the Alps. I have seen Savoyards at Paris leading them about for show. They grow here to the size of a large badger; and so much resemble the bear in their manner and appearance, that, until we became acquainted with the true history of the suroke, we considered it as a non-descript animal, and called it *ursa minima subterranea.* Such mistakes are not uncommon in zoology. Naturalists frequently add to the nomenclature of animals by superfluous appellations. A beautiful little quadruped, called *jerboa* in Egypt, has been described in other countries as a distinct animal, under the various names of *mus jaculus, subterraneous hare, vaulting rat, leaper,* &c. &c. but it is the same creature every where, and bears to the kangaroo the degree of relationship which a lizard has to the crocodile. I shall describe it more minutely hereafter. Our present business is with the *suroke,* which is seen in all parts of the *steppes,* sitting erect, near its burrow, on the slightest alarm, whistling very loud, and observing all around. It makes such extensive, subterraneous chambers, that the ground is perforated in all directions, and the land destroyed wherever the animal is found. Its colour is a grayish brown. It has five fingers upon each of its paws, which very much resemble human hands, and are used after the same manner. The mouth, teeth, and head, are like those of the squirrel; but the ears are shorter. Its fine eyes are round, full, dark, and bright; the tail is short; the belly generally protuberant and very large. It devours whatever it finds with the greatest voracity; and remains in a state of torpor half the time of its existence. Many of the peasants keep these creatures tame in their houses. We purchased no less than four, which lived and travelled with us in our carriage, and gave us an opportunity to study their natural history. They were

always playing, or sleeping, beneath our feet, to the great annoyance of our little pug dog,* who felt much insulted by the liberties they took with him. The peasants universally gave them the name of *waski*. They assured me they always lost them in the month of September, and that they did not make their re-appearance until the beginning of April. They either descended into a burrow, or concealed themselves in some place where they might remain least liable to observation, and there slept during the whole winter. To awaken them, during that season, materially injures their health, and sometimes kills them. They are most destructive animals; for they will gnaw every thing which falls in their way; as shoes, books, wooden planks, and all kinds of roots, fruit, or vegetables. They made sad havock with the lining of our carriage, which was of leather. As soon as they have done eating, they become so somnolent, as even to fall asleep in your hands, in any posture or situation, or under any circumstances of jolting, noise, or motion. While awake they are very active, and surpass every other animal in the quickness with which they will bury themselves in the earth. They resemble Guineapigs in making a grunting noise; and whenever surprised, or much pleased, or in any degree frightened, they utter loud and short squeaks, which have the tone of a person whistling.

Other animals common in the *steppes*, are wolves and bears; also a quadruped called *biroke*, of a gray colour, something like a wolf, very ferocious, and daring enough to at-

* Having mentioned this little animal, it may be well to say something of the importance of its presence with us, for the advantage of other travellers. The precaution was first recommended to us by a Polish traveller in Denmark. Any small dog (the more diminutive the better, because the more portable, and generally the more petulent) will prove a valuable guardian, in countries where the traveller is liable to attacks from midnight robbers, and especially from pirates by water, as in the Archipelago. They generally sleep during the day, and sound their shrill alarum, upon the most distant approach of danger, during the night. I recollect an instance of one, who enabled a party of mariners to steer clear of some shallows, by barking at a buoy which, in the darkness of the night, they had not perceived. The instances in which our little dog was useful, it is needless to relate. But it may gratify curiosity to be informed, that, naturally afraid of water, and always averse from entering it, he crossed all the rivers and lakes of Lapland, Sweden, and Norway, after his masters; accompanied them, during three years, in different climates, yet detesting bodily exercise; and ultimately performed a journey on foot, keeping up with horses, from Athens, through all Greece, Macedonia, and Thrace: making the tour of the Archipelago, to Constantinople; and thence, in the same manner, through Bulgaria, and Wallachia, to Bucharest.

tack a man. The Cossack peasants, armed with their lances, sally forth, on horseback, to the chace of this animal. It has a long, full tail, which it drags on the ground. From the accounts given of it by the peasants, I suspected it to be the same animal described by professor Pallas, as found in the environs of Astrachan, under the appellation of *chakal*, and which is said to be between a wolf and a dog; but whether it answers to the jackal of Egypt or not, I did not learn.

The most numerous of all the quadrupeds of the *steppes*, the whole way from Woronetz to Tscherchaskoy, are the *suslicks*; by which name they are called throughout the country. As you draw near the Don, they absolutely swarm, and may be taken in any number. This interesting little animal is supposed to be the *mus citillus* of Buffon; but the description of it will prove whether this be really the case or not. We procured several, one of which we stuffed; but it has not been properly preserved; and therefore I prefer making reference to the notes taken on the spot, rather than to any thing connected with its present appearance. It makes a whistling noise, like the *suroke*; but is much smaller, not being larger than a small weazel. It constructs its habitation under ground with incredible quickness; excavating, first of all, a small, cylindrical hole or well, perpendicularly, to the depth of three feet: thence, like a correct miner, it shoots out a level, although rather in an ascending direction, to prevent being incommoded by water. At the extremity of this little gallery, it forms a very spacious chamber, to which, as to a granery, it brings, every morning and evening, all it can collect of favourite herbage, of corn, if it can be found, of roots, and other food. Nothing is more amusing than to observe its habits. If any one approaches, it is seen sitting at the entrance to its little dwelling, erect, upon its hind feet, like the *suroke*, carefully noticing whatever is going on around it. In the beginning of winter, previous to retiring for the season, it carefully closes up the entrance to its subterraneous abode with sand, in order to keep out the snow; as nothing annoys it so much as water, which is all the Calmucks and Cossacks make use of in taking them; for the instant that water is poured into their burrows, they run out, and are easily caught. The Calmucks are very fond of them; but I believe they are rarely eaten by the Cos-

sacks. Their greatest enemy is the falcon, who makes a constant breakfast and supper of *suslicks*. They have from two to ten young ones at a time; and it is supposed, from the horde prepared, that the *suslick* does not sleep, like the *suroke*, during winter. All the upper part of its body is of a deep yellow, spotted with white. Its neck is beautifully white; the breast yellowish, and the belly a mixed colour of yellow and gray. It has, moreover, a black forehead, reddish white temples, and a white chin. The rest of its head is of an ash-coloured yellow; and the ears are remarkably small. Among the feathered tribe in the *steppes*, we noticed, particularly in this part of our journey, birds called *staritchi*, or *the elders;* which are seen in flocks, and held by the people in superstitious veneration. They are about the size of a snipe, with a very elegant form, a brown colour, and white breast.

Such are the observations we made during the second day of our journey across the *steppes*. We halted at a place called *Suchovskaia*, and proceeded afterwards to *Rossochinskaia*, a single hut in the middle of the waste. Yet such are often the villages, not to say towns and cities, which figure in Russian maps. This place consisted of a single dwelling, built of a few pieces of wood, and thatched by weeds and sedge, carelessly heaped upon it. The surrounding hovels are out-houses for the post-horses. During summer, its Cossack inhabitants sleep upon the roof, among the thatch.

As it grew dark, a tremendous thunder-storm came on, and a very interesting spectacle was disclosed by the vivid flashes of lightning which accompanied it. The Cossack guard, as well as the people of the place, had collected themselves upon different parts of the thatched covering of the huts and hovels about it, to pass the night. Every flash of lightning served to exhibit their martial figures, standing upright in groups upon the roof of the buildings, bowing their heads, and crossing themselves, beneath the awful canopy which the sky then presented. All around was desolate and silent. Perhaps no association could serve to render a scene of devotion more striking. It is customary among Cossacks, before they consign themselves to sleep, to make the sign of the cross, facing, respectively, the four quarters of the globe. A similar superstition, respecting four cardinal points of worship, exists among ignorant peo-

ple, even in our own country. I remember, when a child, being taught by an old woman to offer the following singular prayer:

> "Four corners to my bed,
> Four angels over head:
> Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
> Bless the bed which I lay on."

A party of Cossacks arrived as pilgrims, returning homewards from the war in Italy. We afterwards met numbers, who had traversed on foot the whole of the immense territory from the Alps to the Don, and who arrived with scarcely a rag to their backs. They were loud in complaints against their unprincipled commanders. Some of them had learned a little Italian. They said that the Russian officers stripped them of every thing they had, turned them adrift upon the frontier of Italy, and told them to find their way home on foot. One of them assured me he had begged during the whole journey; and that before he had set out from the army, they had taken away his watch, and even his clothes. We gave them a little brandy; and the poor people of the hut, brought them a little broth, made with fish and wild herbs. They sat round in a circle, eating all out of one bowl, and, having ended their supper, began to sing.—So relative is human happiness!

We left Rossochinskaia on the eighteenth of June. All the Cossack inhabitants of the *steppes*, from Kasankia to Tscherchaskoy, have light brown hair, and are a different race from the genuine Cossacks of the capital, and those dwelling in stanitzas along the *Don*. Lieutenant-colonel Papof, a Cossack officer of the highest merit and talent, of whom I shall hereafter speak, told me that the people of the *steppes* were emigrants, of recent date, from Poland.

It would be tedious to notice upon every occasion, the extraordinary number of *tumuli*, which appear during the whole route. I wish the reader only to keep in mind the curious fact of their being every where in view. Close to the post-house at *Pichovskaia* the first place at which we halted this day, were two of a very remarkable size; one on each side of the road. The horses here were without shoes, and the road as excellent as it is possible to imagine. It seemed as though we were driving over a continued lawn. Yet stories of danger were renewed; the lances of our Cossack escort were twelve feet in length; and an unusual de-

gree of caution prevailed among them, as to their means of defence. They provided themselves with fire-arms, which they said it was now necessary to have, in due order; and a very sharp look out was made, the Calmucks increasing in number as we advanced more into the interiour.

We arrived at *Kamenskaia*, a stanitza upon the *Danaetz*, generally written *Donetz;* which river we passed on a floating bridge as the post-house was on the opposite side. This town made a great figure, as we descended the valley in which it was situated; owing to its fine church, and the numerous gardens with which it abounded. The river itself, also, with a broad stream winding among the trees, had a noble appearance. We saw in the streets the same sort of gingerbread for sale which is common to our English fairs, and made in the same forms. The ataman was at his country-seat; and we were told, that all the principal Cossacks had their houses of summer residence in the country. Just before entering the town, a young Calmuck woman passed us astride, on horseback, laden with raw horse-flesh, which hung like carrion before her on each side. She was grinning for joy at the treasure she had obtained, which we afterwards found to be really carrion. A dead horse lying in the ditch which surrounds the town, on the land side, had attracted about thirteen dogs, whom we found greedily devouring what remained; the Calmuck having contested the prize with them just before, and helped herself to as much of the mangled carcase as she could carry away. The post-master kept a tame *suroke*, as large as a common terrier, perfectly domesticated. This animal, he told us, only remained with him one half of the year; that it constantly retired for the other, to a hole in the ground, near the house, and there buried itself. Upon the approach of spring, it regularly returned to its patron, resumed its former habits, sitting upright and begging for bread and herbs as before. It would always come to him, during the summer, when called by the name of *waski;* but all the bawling he could use at the mouth of its burrow, never drew it forth in the winter season.

Higher up the Danaetz, where it receives the Lugan, are the Lugan iron works and cannon foundry, belonging to the crown; which, at the time we travelled in the Cossack territory, were under the direction of a Mr. Gascoign, a British outlaw, formerly superintendant of the Carron works in Scotland, whose improvements he betrayed to the Russian

government, and was, accordingly, rewarded. From thence the emperour's artillery passes by water to the Black Sea. Mr. Gascoign found very excellent coal at Lugan; in consequence of which discovery, as well as its convenient situation for water carriage, the foundry was there established.

The remarkable appellation of the river at Kamenskaia has, perhaps, already excited the reader's notice. In our maps it is written *Donnez;* and in those of Germany *Donetz.* I paid the greatest attention to the pronunciation of the people living on different parts of the river, and particularly of those Cossack officers throughout the country, who, by their education, were at all capable of determining, with accuracy, the mode of orthography which would best express the manner in which the word is spoken, and always found it to be *Danaetz,* although frequently pronounced as if a T was before the D, *Tdanaetz,* or *Tanaets.* But this is the name, or nearly so, given by the ancient Greeks to the Don, *Tanaïs;* the reason of which I shall now proceed to explain, and show, that, in the first instance, when the word Tanaïs was introduced into their language, it had reference to another river, and not to the Don. The subject is very curious; but it will require a better knowledge of the geography of the country, and better documents concerning the course of the rivers, than any map yet published can afford. I shall, therefore, accompany my observations by a map faithfully copied for that purpose, from the latest surveys deposited in the chancery at Tscherchaskoy. Had it not been for the jealousy of the Russian police, I should have laid before the publick another and more extensive view of the whole territory of the Don Cossacks, calculated to show the ignorance which prevails, concerning the courses of the rivers, and the general geography of all the country bordering on the sea of Azof. It was finished for me, in consequence of an order of the governour of the district, by a party of officers belonging to the Cossack army; but some agents of the police, being apprised of the circumstance, endeavoured to excite suspicion that we were spies, and I was not permitted to profit by the intended liberality.

In the first place, then, I must request the reader, before he examines that map, to suppose himself entering the mouth of the Don, and proceeding up the river, to the distance of about ninety nine miles * from its *embouchure,* and rather more than forty six† above the town of Tscher-

* One hundred and forty versts. † Seventy versts.

chaskoy. Here he would find the *Danaetz*, falling into the Don by two mouths, separated from each other by a distance of ten or twelve miles. But the people have, for time immemorial, entertained a notion that it leaves the Don again, before it reaches the sea, and, taking a north-westerly direction, falls into the Palus Mæotis, to the north of all the other mouths of the Don, of which it is, in fact, one. This northernmost mouth of the Don, [which he will find represented in the annexed map*] on account of the river, whose waters its channel is supposed peculiarly to contain, is called *Danaetz*, and to express either its sluggish current or its exit into the sea, *Dead Danaetz*. The Greeks, steering from the Crimea towards the mouths of the Don, and, as their custom was, keeping close to the shore,† entered first this northernmost mouth of the river. It bore then, as it does now, the name of *Danaetz*, *Tdanaetz*, *Tanaets*;‡ it matters not which; for it requires neither ingenuity to prove, nor credulity to admit, that from either of these appellations the word *Tanaïs* would be derived.§ Even at the present day, the analogy between the words is so striking, that, in hearing Tartars and Cossacks name this branch of the Don, particularly if uttered with quickness and volubility, it seemed as often pronounced *Tanaïs* as *Tanaetz*. To distinguish this branch of the Don from the Danaetz, properly so called, they add to each an epithet; the latter being called the *Northern*; and the former the *Dead Danaetz*.

We traversed continued *steppes*, from Kamenskaia. Camps of Calmucks were often stationed near the road. We paid visits to several of them; but obtained little information worth adding to what I have before stated of this people. In one of them, containing not more than four tents, we found only women, who were busy in distilling brandy from milk. The men were all absent, and, perhaps,

* See Fig. 23. in the map of the Mouths of the Don.

† It is still a mode of navigation in the Black Sea and the sea of Azof.

‡ Observations of a similar nature may have been suggested to the compilers of the account of Moscovy, published in Holland, at the Elzevir press in 1630, as appears by the following passage: "*Est et alter* Tanaïs Minor, *qui in siberiensi Ducatu oriens* (*unde* Duneez Severski *vocatur*) *supra Azoph in* Tanaim Magnum *descendit.*" Descrit. Muscoviæ, p. 8. L. Bat. ex. Off. Elzev. 1630.

§ The change from *D* into *T*, and *vice versâ*, is one of the most common modifications to which language is exposed.

upon some predatory excursion. The women confirmed what we had been before told concerning the material used for distilling; and said, that, having made butter, they were distilling the buttermilk for brandy. We could not credit that brandy might be so obtained; but to prove it, they tapped the still, as upon a former occasion, offering us a tuft of camel's hair, soaked in brandy, that we might taste and be convinced. During the latter part of this day's journey, we observed great numbers of dromedaries grazing. We halted for horses at *Dubovskaia*. Immense caravans were passing towards the Ukraine. The very sight of their burden is sufficient to prove of what prodigious importance it would be to increase the cultivation of the *steppes*, where nature only asks to be invited, in order to pour forth her choicest treasures. We observed trains of from sixty to a hundred wagons, laden entirely with dried fish, to feed the inhabitants of the south of Russia, who might be supplied with better food from the land than from the rivers of the Cossacks.

We went on to *Grivinskaia*, and there passed the night; having travelled sixty eight miles* this day, notwithstanding the delays which curiosity had occasioned. On the morning of June the nineteenth, we came to *Tschestibaloshnia*, meeting frequent parties of Calmucks; and through *Tuslovskaia*, to the town of *Oxai*, upon the Don; a settlement belonging to the Cossacks of *Tscherchaskay*. As we drew nearer to the river, the *steppes* were entirely alive with swarms of the beautiful little quadruped before described under the name of *suslick*, some of which were entirely white. Approaching Oxai, numerous camps of Calmucks appeared in every direction, over all the country round the town. Some of their tents were pitched close to the place. Others, more distant, covered the lofty eminences above the Don.

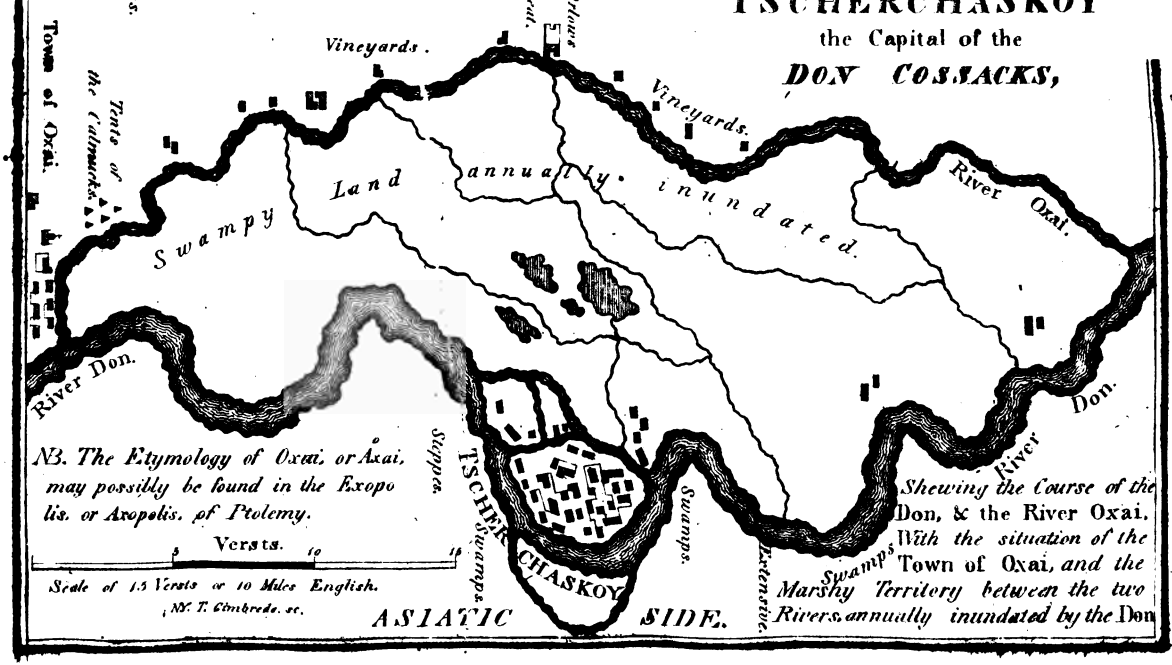
* One hundred and two verste.

CHAPTER XIII.

CAPITAL OF THE DON COSSACKS.

Arrival at Oxai—Publick Entry—Reception by the Don Cossacks—Population of their territory—View of the Don—Celebration of a Court Festival—Mode of Fasting—Analogy between the Don and the Nile—Natural Curiosities and Antiquities—Fishes—Extraordinary appearance of Tscherchaskoy—Inhabitants and Publick Buildings—Origin of the Cossacks—Causes of their Increase—Emigrations—Foundation of their Capital—Circassians—Commerce of Tscherchaskoy—Polished Manners of the People—Remarkable Wager—Survey of the Town—Houses moved entire—Diseases of the People—Greek Impostor—Departure from Tscherchaskoy.

THE postmaster of *Tuslovskaia* met us as we drew near to *Oxai*. He had, without our knowledge, passed us upon the road, and given very absurd notice to the inhabitants, that a great general from England was upon the road to the town. A party of Cossack cavalry, armed with very long lances, came out to meet us, and, joining our escort, took their station in the van. The postmaster, with his drawn sabre, rode bare-headed by the carriage side, and in this conspicuous manner we made our entry. As the annual inundation of the Don had laid the streets of Tscherchaskoy under water, its chancery had been removed to this place, and almost all the principal families were in Oxai. We found the inhabitants waiting our arrival, and the Cossack officers drawn out to witness it. The ataman of Oxai came to us immediately; and we took care to undeceive him with regard to our supposed generalship. It seemed to make no alteration, either in the respect paid to us, or the welcome they were disposed to give. Every possible attention and politeness were manifested. We expressed an inclination to proceed as far as Tscherchaskoy that evening. The ataman observed the day was far advanced; that the current of the Don, swoln by the inundation, was extremely rapid and turbulent; and that he could


TSCHERCHASKOY
the Capital of the
DON COSSACKS,
Vineyards.
Vineyards.
Vineyards.
Town of Oxai.
Tents of the Calmucks.
Swampy Land annually inundated.
River Oxai.
River Don.
River Don.
NB. The Etymology of Oxai, or Axai, may possibly be found in the Exopolis. or Axopolis. of Ptolemy.
Steppes.
TSCHERCHASKOY
Swamps.
Swamps
Extensive
Swamps
Versts.
5
10
15
Scale of 15 Versts or 10 Miles English.
M. T. Cimbrede. sc.
ASIATIC SIDE.
Shewing the Course of the Don, & the River Oxai. With the situation of the Town of Oxai, and the Marshy Territory between the two Rivers annually inundated by the Don

not undertake to be responsible for our safety, if we persisted in our determination. He had already provided excellent quarters, in a spacious and clean apartment, with numerous windows, a balcony commanding a view of the Don, and every protection that a host of saints, virgins, and bishops, whose pictures covered the walls, could afford us. Their general was at his country seat, ten miles from the town.* An express was, therefore, sent to him, for his instructions concerning our future reception. In the mean time, sentinels were stationed at our carriage, and an officer, with Cossack soldiers, paraded constantly before our door. During the whole time we remained in their country, the same honours were paid to us; and though we frequently remonstrated against the confinement thus occasioned to the young officers, we never went out without finding the sentinels in waiting, and the officer at his post. The ataman came frequently to offer his services, and the constant endeavour of the people seemed to be, who could show us the greatest degree of kindness. Hearing me complain of the inaccuracy of the Russian maps, they brought from their chancery, without any of those degrading suspicions which had so often insulted us, their own accurate surveys of the country, and allowed me free access at all times to their most authentick documents. The secretaries of the chancery were ultimately ordered by their general to copy for me a survey of the whole territory bordering on the Don and the sea of Azof. That I was instigated to accept it by any other motive than a desire of adding to the publick stock of geographical science, there is no necessity to prove. The procurator† employed by the Russian government,

* "Most of the richer Cossacks have houses in Circask [Tscherchaskoy] which they make their metropolis, but pass the greater part of their time in their farms, on the northern bank of the river. Platof, the ataman, said he kept there two hundred brood mares. He had, however, no land in tillage, though he possessed a vineyard a little to the east of Axy [Oxai.] Of the wine produced from these vineyards, they vaunted greatly. The best always struck me as mixed with Greek wine, or raisins. The ordinary wines are very poor, and tasteless. Spirits are very cheap, and much drank. Platof himself took a glass of brandy, with a spoonful of salt in it, as if the brandy was hardly strong enough." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

† "The *procureur* [procurator] is a kind of controller, or visiter, appointed to watch over the execution of the laws; to examine the decision of courts of justice; visit the prisons; attend executions, &c. He is generally a native of a different province from that wherein he is stationed. At Circask, *he is always a Russian*, at least not a Cossack." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

however, thought otherwise; it being a maxim in the policy of that country, that "to enlighten, is to betray." This liberal intention of the hospitable Cossacks was, therefore, thwarted; although no menace of the Russian police now prevents me from making an acknowledgment, which would equally have been offered if I had been enabled to communicate such interesting and valuable information to the geographers of Europe. It is some consolation that I was allowed to delineate even the different channels of the Don, at its *embouchure*; which I believe, will be found a faithful representation. For the rest it may be said, the course of the Don itself is not accurately given in our best maps; and of the other rivers which fall into it, not even the names are mentioned. Those *steppes* described so desolate, which appear like a vast, geographical blank in every atlas, are filled with inhabitants. Stanitzas are stationed everywhere along the numerous rivers which traverse them; although the common route, by not following the course of any of these rivers, affords no knowledge of the number of the people. They contain one hundred stanitzas, or settlements, and two hundred thousand Cossack inhabitants.* Of this number, thirty five thousand are in arms. There are also, in the territory of the Don Cossacks, thirty thousand Calmucks; and of these, five thousand bear arms, as persons who are ready at all times for actual service. These last are not permitted to leave the country, although it is extraordinary how persons of their vagrant inclination and habits can be restrained. I have said before, that the Cossacks are attached to the Calmucks, and even intermarry with them; but a Calmuck can never be taught to endure domestick life. If compelled to live within walls, he would die of the spleen, and betrays evident alarm if there is any prospect of his being shut up in a house.

I had never beheld an acre of Asiatick territory. The flat and dreary marshes on the opposite side of the Don, afforded for once, therefore, a very interesting prospect. From our balcony we had a noble view of the Don, which appeared broad and rapid, extending to these marshes; and at a distance, towards the east, we beheld Tscherchaskoy, with its numerous spires, rising, as it were, out of the water. On the European side we observed a neighbouring

* For a further account of their population, see the note, extracted from Mr. Heber's MS. Journal, in a subsequent page, which contains much valuable information.

stanitza of considerable magnitude, stationed, like *Oxai*, upon a lofty eminence above the river. The name *Oxai* is a corruption of the Tartar word *Axai*, which signifies *white water*.* The Don, in this part of its course, exhibits two colours. On the side of Oxai it is white, because of the shallows. A similar and very curious appearance may be observed from the castle at Coblentz in Germany, where the Moselle falls into the Rhine; and, for some distance after the junction of the two rivers, they are seen flowing parallel to each other, with a distinct and different colour peculiar to the water of each. In the shallows of the Don, a sort of flag, the *typha palustris*, flourishes most luxuriantly. We found the inhabitants of Oxai, and afterwards of Tscherchaskoy, devouring this plant raw, with a degree of avidity as though it had been a religious observance. It was to be seen in all the streets, and in every house, bound into faggots, about three feet in length, as we tie up asparagus, which were hawked about, or sold in the shops. The season for eating it had just commenced. They peel off the outer rind, and find near the root a tender white part of the stem, which, for about the length of eighteen inches, affords a crisp, cooling, and very pleasant article of food. I have not noticed this sort of vegetable diet in any other country. We eat of it heartily, and were as fond of it as the Cossacks, with whom, young or old, rich or poor, it is a most favourite repast. The taste is somewhat insipid; but in hot climates, so cool and pleasant a vegetable would be every where esteemed. The Cossack officers, however, who had been in other countries, assured us that they found this plant fit for food only in the marshes of the Don.

The morning after our arrival, the general, who is commander in chief over all the district, including the town of Tscherchaskoy, the metropolis, came to Oxai. The day was celebrated as a festival, in honour of the recovery of one of the emperour's children from the small-pox inoculation. He sent us an invitation to dinner; and in the forenoon we accompanied him, with all the officers of his staff, to a publick ceremony in the church. On entering this building, we were much surprised by its internal magnificence. The screen of the altar was of green and gold;

* The initial of this word is properly a dipthong common in Sweden, consisting of A, with O placed above it. Mr. Heber, therefore, writes it with the A simply. [See former Note] Its etymology may be found in the *Exopolis*, or *Axopolis*, of Ptolemy.

and before it was suspended a very large chandelier, filled with tapers of green wax. The screen, like the rest of the church, was covered with pictures, some of which were tolerably well executed, and all of them very curious, from their singularity, and the extraordinary figures they served to represent. Here were no seats, as in other Russian churches. The general placed himself against a wall on the right hand facing the sacristy, standing on a step covered with a carpet, and raised about four inches from the level of the floor. We were directed to place ourselves on his right hand. The rest of the Cossacks, whether in their military uniform or national domestick habits, stood promiscuously in the body of the church. The priest, in very rich robes, with his back to the people, was elevated on a kind of throne, placed beneath the chandelier, and raised three steps from the platform, facing the great doors of the sacristy, which were shut. Over these doors was a picture of the virgin; and before it hung, suspended by a string, two wooden angels, joined back to back, like the figures of Janus, with candles in their hands. Whenever the doors of the sacristy were thrown open, the wooden angels were lowered down into the middle of the entrance, where they swung round and round, in a most ludricrous manner.

As the ceremony began, the priest, standing on the throne, loosened a girdle, bound across his breast and shoulders, on which was an embroidered representation of the cross. This he held between his fore-finger and thumb, repeating the service aloud, and touching his forehead with it, while the people sang responses, and were busy crossing themselves. The vocal part of the ceremony was very solemn; and the clear, shrill notes of children placed among the choristers, which, rising to the dome of the church, seemed to swell and ultimately die away in the air, had a most pleasant and sublime effect. It is the same in almost all the Russian churches; and I know not any thing to which I can more justly compare it, than the sounds produced by an Æolian harp. The words they use are Russian, and every where the same: "*Lord have mercy upon us!*" We did not find them altered even among the Cossacks; it was still "*Ghospodi pomilui:*" but trilled

> "In notes with many a winding bout
> Of linked sweetness long drawn out."

At last there was an interval of silence: after which, other voices, uttering solemn airs, were heard within the sacristy. The doors were then thrown open, and a priest, bearing on his head a silver chalice, containing the consecrated bread, covered with a white napkin, made his appearance. He was preceded by others, who advanced with censors, scattering incense over the doors of the sacristy, the pictures, the priests, the general, the officers, and the people. After some other ceremonies, the bread was distributed among the congregation; and those who came out of the sacristy having retired, its doors were again closed, and prayers were read for all the royal family; their names being enumerated in a tone of voice and manner exactly like that of a corporal or serjeant at a roll-call. Passages were also read from the Psalms; but the method of reading, in all the Russian churches, is ridiculous beyond description. The young priests who officiate, pique themselves upon a talent of mouthing it over with all possible celerity, so as to be altogether unintelligible, even to the Russians; striving to give a whole lesson the appearance of a single word of numberless syllables. Some notion may be formed of their delivery, by hearing the criers in our courts of justice administer the oath to a jury.

The dinner given by the general, after this ceremony, served to show, that among Cossacks, as elsewhere, religious abstinence by no means implies any privation as to eating and drinking. We were told to expect meagre diet, and found the table covered with all sorts of fish, with tureens of sterlet soup, with the rich wines of the Don, and copious goblets of delicious hydromel or mead, flavoured by juices of different fruit. I took this opportunity to request the general's permission to open one of the *tumuli* in the neighbourhood. It was granted, and an order was given for thirty of the Cossack soldiers to assist me in the labour: but afterwards, when I had assembled my workmen, an alarm was spread, and speedily increased by the observations of an ignorant physician, that by this means the plague might be communicated to the people; in consequence of which I was forced to abandon the undertaking. Several of the Cossacks, nevertheless, assured me that they had formerly opened several; and they affirmed that they had found in them the bones of men and horses. Sometimes, they said, (which, if true, would be indeed remarkable) gun-barrels are found in these tombs, exhibiting very

ancient workmanship. A Cossack officer showed me a very extraordinary weapon of this nature, which he declared had been discovered in one of the mounds in the *steppes*. Notwithstanding all that may be urged concerning the knowledge which the Chinese and oriental *hordes* had of gunpowder prior to its use in Europe, I rather suspect such weapons were derived from the inhabitants of Poland, who used them with matchlocks; yet the officer I allude to, had no motive for deviating from the truth. Other things, such as vessels of earthernware, and instruments of war, common to ancient nations, said to have been dug out of these heaps, are more consistent with probability.

In the evening of this day we embarked upon the Don for Tscherchaskoy, accompanied by lieutenant-colonel Alexi Gregoriwitch Papof, to whom we were indebted for instances of hospitality and polite attention, which strangers might vainly expect in more enlightened cities of Europe. His education had been liberal, though received in the marshes of the Don; and his accomplishments might have graced the most refined society, although derived from the natives of Tscherchaskoy.*

In almost all its characteristicks, the Don bears resemblance to the Nile. It has the same regular, annual inundation, covering a great extent of territory, over which we now passed by water to Tscherchaskoy; although the land is dry by the month of July or August. The same aquatick plants are found in both rivers; and, in particular, the same tall flags, reeds, and bulrushes, sometimes rising to the height of twenty feet. The manner in which they disembogue themselves into the sea, by a plurality of *embouchures*, is again the same, forming several small islands, as in the Delta, filled with swamps and morasses. Both

* Mr. Heber, in his observations on Oxei, has afforded a most genuine tribute to the enlightened minds of the Cossacks of the Don. "There is here a very decent *kabak*, with a billiard-table, and a room adorned with many German engravings; and one English print, that of the death of chevalier Bayard. The Cossacks, having never heard of the *chevalier sans reproche*, called it the death of Darius. On my asking if Bourbon was *Alexandro Macedonsky*, they answered, to my surprise, that he was not present at the death of Darius, and showed themselves well skilled in his history, which one would hardly expect." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

"Education among the Cossacks is not so low as is generally thought, and it improves daily. All the children of officers are sent to the academy of Circask, and learn French, German, &c. It was holyday time when we was there; but their progress was well spoken of." *Ib.*

one and the other serve as boundaries to two principal quarters of the globe. When the waters retire, the astonishing variety of insects there engendned might induce a zealous entomologist to visit the Don, for that express purpose. Even at the period of inundation, when the waters were at the highest, we observed above thirty different kinds of flies, at the same instant, upon the tables of our apartment. Many of these, which we collected, were too much injured on our return home, to be well represented. The whole course of the Don, is about six hundred and sixty-six miles.* It rises near Tula, in a lake called the *Ivan Ozero*, or *St. John's Sea*. Below Woronetz, it is from three hundred to six hundred fathoms broad; and of sufficient depth, from the middle of April to the end of June, for ships of burthen; but during the rest of the year, the water is so low, that on several of the shallows it is not above a foot and a half deep.† In the spring floods it rises from sixteen to eighteen feet perpendicular, and the current is very rapid. The principal rivers generally stated to fall into it, are the Danaetz, the Woronetz, the Choper, the Medvéditz, and the Ilavla;‡ but there are others, unnoticed hitherto by geographers, not, perhaps, of equal importance, although entitled to a place in maps of the country, on account of the population found upon their shores.

About twenty miles below Woronetz, close to the river, near a town called *Kastinskoy*, Gmelin observed one of those deposits of elephants' bones, of which there exist such wonderful remains in Siberia, at the mouths of rivers which fall into the Icy Sea. These bones are described as lying in the greatest disorder; teeth, jaw bones, ribs, vertebræ, not mineralized, nor, as it is commonly expressed, petrified, but in their natural state, except having suffered a partial decomposition.§ Neither is the Don without antiquities, worthy of a more particular description than can now be afforded. A tradition exists in the country, which pretends that Alexander the great passed the Don, and built a city, or citadel, upon the river, at a place called *Zimlaskaia*, two hundred miles above the town of Tscherchaskoy, where

* One thousand versts.

† Lord Whitworth's account of Russia, p. 120. *Strawb. Hill. edit.* 1758.

‡ *Tableau abrégé de l' Empire de la Russie, par Pleschtjeief*, p. 23. Moscou, 1796.

§ *Journal des savans Voyageurs*, p. 84.

the best Don wine is now made. Some insignificant traces of such a work are still said to exist. At general Orlof's house were two plain pillars of marble, actually brought from thence. The Cossacks are too little interested in such matters to invent tales of this kind; and they would do so the less where no inquiry was made to instigate them. The information, such as it is, was given spontaneously: and, indeed, the circumstances of their tradition are somewhat corroborated by reference to ancient history. The ΣΤΗΛΑΙ or Pillars* of Alexander, were, according to Ptolemy, in Asiatick Sarmatia, and in the vicinity of the Tanais.† The altars or ΒΩΜΟΙ of Alexander were on the European side of the river,‡ of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. We heard, moreover, of coins of Alexander; but none were to be seen. Perhaps, among the numerous Greeks, who reside in Tscherchaskoy, both spurious and genuine coins of Alexander may have been found, and thus have given foundation to the report. Of the marble pillars, however, the history is unequivocal; because general Orlof himself, who possessed them, and who gave orders for their removal from *Zamlinskaia*, gave me the intelligence. The boats upon the Don present the most ancient form of vessel used for navigation; that of a canoe, scooped out from a single tree, and consisting of one piece of timber, in which they move about with a single paddle. Sometimes, as in the South Seas, they join two of these canoes by transverse planks laid across, and so form a kind of deck, capable of conveying considerable burthens. If I could form any exact admeasurement by my eye, I should state the breadth of the river at Oxai, at this season of the year, to be at least half a mile. The current is rapid, and even turbulent. The fishes caught in it are much too numerous to be mentioned; as perhaps there is no river in the world which presents a greater variety, or in greater perfection. Among the principal are, the *beluga*, the common sturgeon, the sterlet, sudak, trout, Prussian carp, tench, pike, perch, water tortoises, and crawfish of an

* The reader will pardon my referring him to an account of the *Cambridge marbles*, for a more particular description of the monumental pillar called *Stèlè*, which, having been almost always improperly translated, has given rise to much errour in our notions of ancient history.

† Ἐπέχουσι δὲ ἠπὶ αἱ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου ΣΤΗΛΑΙ. Ptolemæi Geogr. lib. v. p. 364. Edit. Par. 1546.

‡ Ibid. p. 141.

enormous size, some of which are as large as lobsters. The last are caught in great abundance, by sinking small nets, about six inches in diameter, baited with pieces of salted fish. They sold at the rate of two-pence [English] per hundred; and in some seasons of the year the same number may be had for half that sum. The *beluga* is the largest eatable fish known. In the kidneys of very old ones are sometimes found *calculi*, as large as a man's fist. Professor Pallas gave me one, which doctor Tennant analyzed; and it was found to consist almost wholly of phosphat of lime. The lower sort of people keep these *calculi* as talismans, for the cure of certain disorders. Strahlenberg relates, that he saw a *beluga* fifty-six feet long, and near eighteen feet thick. In the Don they seldom exceed twelve feet in length. In shape, this fish very much resembles the sturgeon. One of the oldest fishermen upon the Don possessed a secret, by which he was enabled to ensnare the largest *belugas*; but he would communicate to no one his valuable discovery. We saw him fishing at a considerable distance from our boat, and could distinctly perceive that he plunged continually a hollow cylinder into the river, which made a noise under water, like the bursting of an air bubble, and could be heard from the shore, on each side.

The appearance of Tscherchaskoy, as the traveller approaches it on the river, affords a most novel spectacle. Although not so grand as Venice, it somewhat resembles that city. The entrance is by broad canals, which intersect it in all parts. On either side, wooden houses built on piles, appear to float on the water, to which the inhabitants pass in boats, or by narrow bridges only two planks wide with posts and rails, forming a causeway to every quarter of the place. As we sailed into the town, we beheld the younger part of its inhabitants upon the house tops, sitting on the ridges of the sloping roofs, with their dogs, which were actually running about and barking in that extraordinary situation. On our approach, children leaped from the windows and doors, like so many frogs, into the water and in an instant, were seen swimming about our boat. Every thing seemed to announce an amphibious race: not an inch of dry land was to be seen; and, in the midst of a very populous metropolis, at least one half of its citizens were in the water, and the other in the air. Colonel Papof conducted us to the house of a general, the principal officer and ata-

man of Tscherchaskoy.* He was a merchant and very rich. His house, like all those we saw afterwards, was characterized by extreme cleanliness, and very elegantly furnished. On its walls were French and English prints; among others, one very fine engraving of a subject which I have always regarded with more than common interest. It represented Rousseau in his last moments, desiring his housekeeper to open the window, that he might once more behold the face of nature. The general having requested that we would accept of his services while we staid, apointed an officer to attend us, to provide us with sentinels, and whatever else we might want.

The town of Tscherchaskoy is divided into eleven stanitzas, and contains fifteen thousand inhabitants. The number of houses amounts to three thousand; allowing, upon the average, five persons to each. This, from all we could learn, is the true state of the population. Here are seven churches; four of stone, and three of wood. One of the latter description is for Tartar worship, the Tartars having a stanitza in Tscherchaskoy peculiar to their own people. Their religion is Mohammedan, and their church is perfectly plain, exhibiting the utmost simplicity, and entirely destitute of pictures or images, having a little recess, a pulpit for the priest, and a gallery for boys and young men. The elders only enter the lower part, which is covered with carpets; and, as in Turkey, no one is permitted to enter with boots or shoes. Nevertheless, upon this sacred floor, they transact their business; for we found a Tartar casting up his accounts, and writing, squatted with all his commercial papers about him.

The first church erected in Tscherchaskoy was founded by Peter the great, as an inscription placed in the wall implies; but it has suffered frequently from fire, as indeed have all the other churches. It is now of stone, and contains a handsome screen, painted of a bright green colour, and richly gilded, as at Oxai. They burn, moreover, green wax-candles. In this church are kept what they call their *regalia*; applying the term to republican, rather than to regal, ensigns of distinction. These were exhibited for our inspection, and

* "The internal government of Circask is exercised, under the ataman by a master of police, and a chancery of four persons. The police master, and, on solemn occasions, the ataman is distinguished by a large staff, with a silver filigree head, resembling that of a drum major." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

consisted chiefly of presents from different sovereigns, standards, and embroidered flags bearing the imperial arms; politick donations, serving as memorials, lest the Cossacks might forget to what empire they belonged. We here saw lances, fashioned after the Asiatick manner, with tufts of fine camel's hair hanging from the point. Perhaps the origin of such an appendage may be referred to the barbarous periods when oriental nations drank the blood of their enemies. It may be recollected that I have already described an instrument of the same form, in use for drinking what is deemed precious among the Calmucks at this day, who thrust a small lance with a tuft of camel's hair into the stills which contain the spirit they procure from mare's milk, and squeeze the tuft into the palm of their hand, in order to drink what it contains.* With these lances were preserved also, silver-headed staves for their atamans; rich and beautiful manuscripts, chiefly certificates of the brave conduct of their people in war, sent as testimonials by the sovereigns whom they had served; and a map of their territory, by the hand of the late empress Catherine. The standards she presented to them are exceedingly costly. Great part of their *regalia* was burned in one of the terrible conflagrations to which their town has been exposed; and among the things then lost, were some presents from Peter the great. There still remained one of his gifts, very characteristick of that extraordinary man. Among the rich staves of ebony, silver-headed and magnificently adorned, which different sovereigns have sent to them, to be born by their ataman, appeared one without any other ornament than what nature had bestowed upon it. Of this they were more proud than of all the rest. It was like the club we see usually represented with the figure of Hercules, of plain, unadorned wood, though covered with sturdy knots, and calculated for the hands of a giant. In the same church was also suspended the singular picture of "*The Virgin with the Bleeding Cheek*;" but with a remarkable addition to the usual representation. Below the figure of the virgin, a hand appeared painted of the natural size, as if cut off and fastened to the picture: a knife also was placed by the hand: and they related, that a priest struck at a picture of the virgin, and wounded her in the cheek, which ever continued to bleed; but immediately as the blow

* See p. 158 of this work.

was made, the hand of the priest came off, and, with the knife, remained afterwards adhering to the picture.

There is another stone church in Tscherchaskoy, which suffered more recently from fire. About four years ago, the inhabitants undertook its reparation, and erected a screen of great magnificence, which, if not equal to any thing of the kind in Russia, is certainly an astonishing piece of workmanship for this part of the world. It is built in the Grecian taste, and consists of fourteen Corinthian columns, covered entirely with burnished gold. There are besides, similar pilasters, with paintings in a more modern style, and more pleasing than the stiff appearance usually exhibited by the pictures in Russian churches.

Almost all the other publick edifices in Tscherchaskoy are of wood. They are as follow:

1. The Chancery, in which the administration of justice, and all other publick business is carried on. This building contains their papers, records, and other documents. One room in it is appropriated to their assembly for publick debates, which much resembles our house of commons. It contained the emperour's portrait, which was more like him than any we had seen. When a general assembly is convened, it consists of a president, with all the generals, colonels, and staff officers; who hold councils, not merely of war, but of all affairs relating to the publick welfare.

2. Another court of justice, called Sclavesnesut, which signifies "*Justice by word.*"—The assemblies here answer to our quarter sessions. Parties who have any disagreement meet, with their witnesses, and state their grievances. Each receives a hearing, and afterwards justice is decided.

3. Their publick Academy, in which their youth receive instruction in geometry, mechanicks, physicks, geography, history, arithmetick, &c. &c.

4. The Apothecaries' Hall.

5. The Town Hall of the eleven stanitzas into which the town is divided.

6. Six Prisons, four of which are for males and two for females.—The prisoners are suffered to go about in their chains, for the purpose of begging.

The shops here are very numerous, and kept chiefly by Greeks. These contain the produce of Turkey and Greece; as pearls, cloth, shawls, tobacco, fruit, &c. There are also two publick baths; and each stanitza has its respective tavern for liquors, brandy, wine, &c. and its *traiteur*, or

cook's shop for victuals. Every Saturday evening a ceremony takes place in all the churches, which is called "*The benediction of bread.*" Upon such occasions, five white loaves are placed in the middle of the church, as symbols of those with which Christ fed the multitude; and the people pray, that, as with five loaves he fed five thousand, he would condescend to grant a sufficiency of corn in the country for the bread of its inhabitants, and bless it for their use.

I do not know whence the notion was derived, that the Cossacks are of Polish origin; but it has become prevalent, and a seasonable opportunity now offers to show that it is founded in errour. The Cossacks have been known as a distinct people, near nine hundred years. According to Constantine Porphyrogenetes, their name has continued unaltered since the time in which he wrote. It is found in the appellation of a tribe near Mount Caucasus. "And beyond the Papagian country," says he,* "is the country called *Casachia*; but beyond the *Casachs*, are the summits of Caucasus." It is impossible to obtain more striking information. Our countryman, Jonas Hanway, calls the Don Cossacks "a species of Tartars."† Storch, who has written fully and learnedly on the subject, although he admits the resemblance which they bear to Tartars, in their mode of life, constitution, and features, insists that they are of Russian origin.‡ Scherer, who has appropriated a work entirely to the investigation of their history, and continually inculcates the notion of their Polish origin, nevertheless, opens his work with an extract of a different nature; but it has all the air of a fable.§ It is taken from Nestor's Russian Annals. A Russian prince, and a Cossack chief, at the head of their respective armies, agree to determine their differences by a wrestling match, which ends in the assassination of the Cossack by the Russian. This event

* Καὶ ἀναθεν τῆς Παπαγίας χώρας στιν ἐστὶν ἡ χωρα ἡ λεγομένη ΚΑΣΑΧΙΑ, ἄνωθεν δὲ πρὸς ΚΑΣΑΧΙΑΣ ὄρη τὰ Χαυμάστα ἐστίν. Constantinus de Administrad. Imper. in fin. Cap. 42. 133. *Lugd. Bat.* 1611.

† Hanway's Travels, vol. I. p. 97.

‡ Tableau Historique et Statistique de l'Empire de Russie; par Storch. Edit. Française, tom. I. p. 55. See particularly p. 24 of the Notes of that volume.

§ They are often described as a branch of Poles, who migrated in modern times to the marshes of the Don. The observations of Scherer concerning their language also, strengthens the notion of their Polish origin. "*La langue des Cosaques est un dialecte de la Polonaise, comme celle-ci l'est de l'Esclavon.*" Annales de la Petite Russie, par Scherer, tom. I. p. 17. Paris, 1788.

is followed by the subjugation of the Cossack territory.* To have seen them, and to have lived with them, is sufficient to establish a conviction that they have nothing in common with the Russians, except the language they now speak, and which, probably, was introduced when they became converted to the Russian church. Let us pay some attention, at least, to what they say of themselves. Those of the Don relate, that a party of Cossacks being engaged in their usual occupation of hunting, near the range of Mount Caucasus, met a number of people, with whom they were strangers, going towards the east; and having enquired who they were, the strangers answered, that they were emigrants from Poland, who had fled the oppressions of their nobles, and were proceeding to Persia, to join the troops of that country against the Turks. The Cossacks told them they might spare themselves the trouble of so long a march in order to commit hostilities upon the Turks, and persuaded them to return with them to the town of Tscherchaskoy, where they would find an asylum, and whence, in concert with them, they might attack the fortress of Azof. Assisted by this reenforcement, and with only four pieces of cannon, which was all the artillery they possessed at that time, they made the attack upon Azof, which fell into the hands of the combined forces. From the circumstances of this association, which first enabled the Cossacks to make a figure among the nations at war with Turkey, might have been derived the erroneous notion of their having migrated from Poland. The Cossacks of the Don, according to the account which the best instructed among them give of their own people (and they are much better qualified to write a history than any of the Russian academicians) are a mixture of various nations, principally of Circassians, Malo-Russians, and Russians, but also of Tartars, Poles, Greeks, Turks, Calmucks, and Armenians. In the town of Tscherchaskoy alone, and in the same street, may be seen all these different people at once, and each in the habit peculiar to his nation. A considerable proportion of the inhabitants have ever been refugees, escaped from Turkey, Greece, or other countries, to this place. Concerning the first establishment of their town, they relate, that it was founded by refugees from Greece, to whom the people of Azof denied admission, and who, in consequence, proceeding farther up

* Scherer. Tableau de la Petite Russie, tom. I. p. 9.

the river, came to this island, on which they made their settlement; giving to it a name derived from the people upon whose frontier it was situated, and with whom they afterwards intermixed. The name of the town, although pronounced Tscherchasky, is written Tscherchaskoy, which implies "*The small village of the Tscherchas,*" pronounced generally *Tscherchess*, or, as we write it, *Circassians*. *Koi*, or *Koy*, in the Tartar language, signifies *a small village*; and is, therefore, often the terminating syllable in the names of places in that country; as *Kuzinskoy*, *Moscovskoy*, and *Nikitskoy*. Thus, from a small settlement of rovers, augmented principally by intercourse with the neighbouring Circassians, has since accumulated, like a vast *avalange*, the immense horde of the Cossacks. Before the middle of the tenth century, they had already reached the frontier of Poland, and began an intercourse with the people of that country, which was often attended with an augmentation of their horde by the settlement of Polish emigrants among them. Their first notable armament is said to have been in the year 948,* when the Greek emperour employed them as mercenaries in his war against the Turks. From their address in archery, their neighbours had given them the name of *Chozars* and *Chazars*, under which latter appellation they are frequently mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenetes, and their country called *Chazaria*.† The Greek emperour, for the services they rendered, sent them, with assurances of protection, and recommendatory letters, to the Polish sovereign, requesting that, in future, their appellation might be *Cossacks*, and not *Chozars*.‡ As to the origin of that name, some will have it to be derived from a Tartar word, signifying *an armed man*;§ others, from the sort of sabre they use; others, from a word which signifies *a Rover*; others again pretend, that the Poles called them *Cossacks*, from a word in their language which implies *a goat*, because they formerly wore the skins of that animal. Scherer objecting to this last deviation, substitutes another still more frivolous, and maintains it to have been taken from *Kossa*, a small promontory.¶ In this

* Scherer. Tableau de la Petite Russie, tom I. p. 67.

† See Const. Porpherogenetes, Cap. 10, 12, 13, 39, &c.

‡ Scherer. Tableau de la Petite Russie, tom. I. p. 71.

§ Storch. Tableau de la Russie, tom. I. p. 55.

¶ Scherer. Ibid. p. 67.

wild pursuit of etymology, I might also affirm, that *Cosaca*, in Spanish, signifies precisely the sort of coat they wear, answering to the English word *Cassock*,* did not Peyssonnel much more rationally, and, as it appears to me, incontestably, ascertain the origin of the appellation.† "The land of the *Chazaks*," says he, "formed part of that country which is now denominated *Circassia*, properly so called. In this district of *Chazakia*, according to my opinion, we ought to seek the origin of the Cossacks of the present day." The observation is actually confirmed by the facts I have already related, and by the note from Constantine given in p. 185: although so general became the migrations of this people, that their tribes are now found from the banks of the Dneiper to the remotest confines of Siberia. According to their different emigrations and settlements, they are at present distinguished by the various names of Malo-Russian Cossacks, Don Cossacks, Cossacks of the Black Sea, of the Volga, of Grebenskoy, of Orenbourg, of the Ural Alps, and of Siberia; where they have received yet other appellations, and extend even to the mountains of China, and the eastern Ocean. It is necessary to confine our attention to the principal hive, whence, with little exception, all these swarms proceeded.

Nothing has contributed more to augment the colony of Don Cossacks, than the freedom they enjoy. Surrounded by systems of slavery, they offer the singular spectacle of an increasing republick; like a nucleus, putting forth its roots and ramifications to all parts of an immense, despotick empire, which considers it a wise policy to promote their increase, and to guaranty their privileges. As they detest the Russians, a day may arrive, when, conscious of their own importance, they will make their masters more fully sensible of their power.‡ A sage regulation in their military constitution, from a very early period, induced them to grant all the privilleges they enjoy to such of their pris-

* Letters concerning the Spanish Nation, by the Rev. E. Clarke, my father. p. 338.

† Observations Historiques, &c. sur les Peuples Barbares, par Peyssonnel p. 125. Paris, 1765.

‡ After slightly noticing their most important revolts under Razin and Boulavin, towards the end of the seventeenth, and in the beginning of the eighteenth century, Storch observes, "*L'histoire de ces rebellions est assez intéressante pour occuper un de nos historiens modernes.*" See page 26 of the Notes to Storch's *Tableau de la Russie*, tom. I.

oners of war as chose to settle among them. Thus, from the success which has attended their incursions, their numbers have rapidly increased. In the year 1579, they made their appearance, for the first time in the Russian armies.* In 1734, their first colonies were established upon the Volga. About the same time, another colony marched towards the Terek, and settled there. Towards the middle of the last century, a detachment fixed their residence along the banks of the Samara, the Ui, and the Ural, as far as the Kirgisian frontier. But by much the most powerful colony, which has migrated from the original hive, is that established upon the shores of the Caspian, at the mouth of the Ural river, which left the Don in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and has since been augmented by subsequent emigrations from the parent stock. This branch of the Don Cossacks joined in the rebellion under Pugatchef. In order to annihilate the memory of their revolt, the Russian government changed their name (which had hitherto been Cossacks of the *Jaik*) as well as the name of their capital, and of the river upon which they resided.†

The most remarkable branch of the Don Cossacks is that which has been established in Siberia. They began to march towards the east in the sixteenth century. A troop of between six and seven thousand of them, under the conduct of their ataman, Jermak, penetrated into Permia, and made the discovery of the country to which we commonly apply the appellation of Siberia. Their adventures, and those of their chief, might lay the foundation of a very interesting Romance; but we may despair of seeing it constitute a portion of history. They had gained the heights of the Ural Alps, when the appearace of vast deserts, tenanted by an unknown and savage people, somewhat intimidated the enterprising clan. Jermak, full of zeal, harangues his little army. They descend the mountains; defeat and drive before them a host of Tartars; pursue their conquests even to the Tobol, the Irtysch, and the Ob; and terminate their surprising march by the subjugation of all the tribes dwelling between the Ural and Altaick chain. Unable, from the losses they had sustained, and the obstacles they had yet to surmount, to maintain possession of such extensive territory, they were compelled to humble themselves before the Russians. In 1581 Jermak made the cession of his conquests, by formal capitulation, to the tsar Joan, who, in con-

* Storch, tom. I. p. 68. 8 † Ibid. p. 7.

sideration of the important services he had rendered to the empire, not only pardoned him, but even recompensed his extraordinary talents and courage.* Thus was Siberia added to the extensive possessions of Russia, by a Cossack of the Don, whose achievements were only less glorious than the boasted victories of Alexander, because they have wanted historians to relate them.

I have carried the history of the Don Cossacks back to the period in which they first formed an establishment upon the Don. The foundation of Tscherchaskoy, from their own account, is attributed to the settling of some ravens, probably exiles from Greece. The shores of the sea of Azof, and of the Black sea, were, in very early ages, what America, and more recently New Holland, has been to us. The Greeks sent thither many of their exiles, and the custom was continued among the Romans, as appears by the banishment of Ovid. The opinion, therefore, of the Cossacks, concerning the foundation of Tscherchaskoy, is not without support, even in ancient history. With regard to their own origin, as a nation, there is every reason to consider it, for the most part, Circassian; and as such, the analogy with Poles or Russians, instead of leading us to deduce their origin from them, should rather guide us to the common stock, whence the Sclavonian, the Polish, the Prussians, the Muscovitish, Bohemian, and Transylvanian people and language were severally derived. All the ancient historians and geographers confirm the truth of their march from Media, through the Straits of Mount Caucasus, towards the Tanais, and round the Euxine. Their first colonies were called *Sarmatians*; and the earliest account of that people is given in Herodotus, who places them between Mount Caucasus and the Tanais.† The defile of Caucasus has been celebrated in all ages, offering the only passage through that otherwise impenetrable barrier. It bore the appellation of the PYLAE SARMATICAE, from the SARMATAE, who first passed through it: SAR being only the eastern mark of descent; as SARMADIA, SARMATAE; that is to say, "*Progeny of the Medes.*‡"

* Storch, tom. 1. p. 76. † Herodot. lib. iv. c. 117.

‡ ΣΑΡΜΑΤΑΙ, ΣΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΑΙ, ΜΑΙΩΤΑΙ, were the same people. See Bochart, and the observations of my parental ancestor, in his valuable Dissertation on the "*Connexion of the Roman, Saxon, and English coins*," p. 47. It is very grateful to make this tribute to the acknowledged learning of my ancestor; to whose work I must refer the reader, not only

"Diodorus Siculus," observes the reverend author cited in the margin, "who knew nothing of the etymology, asserts the fact: speaking of the several clans of the Scythians, he says, that one came out of Media, settled upon the banks of the Tanais, and were called *Sauromatæ*."*

The Circassians of the present day, of whom I shall soon speak, are a horde of banditti, who inhabit precisely the region whence the Cossacks originally descended. Continually repelled from their ancient boundary, the Tanais and lake Mæotis, and ultimately driven beyond the Kuban and the Terek, they hang, as it were, upon the northern sides of Caucasus, or carry on their predatory incursions from the swampy plains at its feet, above two hundred miles from Tscherchaskoy. They, as well as the Tartars of Kuban, are ever at war with the Cossacks. They pretended to make peace with them at the end of the last Turkish war; but, whenever occasion offers, they seize the persons of the Cossacks, or any strangers who may be found among them, and sell them for slaves to the Persians. Their manner of fighting, as described to me by the Don Cossacks, is, to hide themselves in the long reeds, or grass, of marshes; lying even in the water, until they reconnoitre the strength of their adversary. If five or six armed Cossacks appear, they remain in ambush; if only two or three, they attack them by surprise; but even then they will run away if the Cossacks have time to fire. If discovered in their concealment, and interrogated who they are, they declare themselves friends. Some of them were with the general prisoners at Orsk, when we were there. The Cossacks, and all the inhabitants of the Asiatick coasts of the Black Sea, call the Circassians *Tscherchess*, and *Tscherchessi*, a further proof of what I have before said of the etymology of the word Tscherchaskoy, which might, perhaps, be more accurately written *Tscherchasskoy*, but I have adopted the orthography recommended by its best informed inhabitants.† If it were

for some of the authorities here noticed, but also for the most important information collected by any author, respecting the original inhabitants of the countries bordering on the Black Sea, and of their intercourse with the people of Ancient Greece.

* Diod. Sic. lib. 155. Ed. Wetstein.

† I believe I have generally observed a rule of expressing the terminating diphthong *oi* by *oy*, thereby assimilating the pronunciation. In words terminating in *ai*, the same rule has not been strictly adhered to; as in the example of *Arzai*, where the diphthong is pronounced as in the Greek αι, and, therefore, cannot be expressed by *y*, or by *ay*.

necessary to make any addition to what I have already written, concerning the relation they bear to the Cossacks and ther inhabitants of the Ukraine, many curious circumstances might be alleged; such, for example, as the mode of accounting money, which is the same among the Malo-Russians and Circassians. There are now Malo-Russians living in the Caucasian mountains. The Circassians, moreover, left their name, in the appellation of a town built upon the Dnieper.

The commerce of the Cossacks, and other inhabitants of Tscherchaskoy, is very various. The principal articles of their exports are fish, iron, caviare, and a little wine; although, generally, they consume all their wine. It resembles Burgundy, and is between Burgundy and Champagne, effervescing violently; and when it has acquired a certain age, it sells in Tscherchaskoy at a price equivalent to three shillings and sixpence the bottle. They have both red and white. If they would suffer their grapes to ripen, and knew the best art of preparing, it would certainly surpass all the wines of the world; so rich and generous are the grapes from which it is expressed.* The Cossacks use little or no tobacco, and live to a very advanced age. The merchants of the place, when it is their turn, go to war like the rest, and have their rank in the army.† In fact, there are few generals

* "The Don wine is sometimes very pleasant, but it is, I suspect, a fabrication. I tasted some that was warranted genuine, which I could easily believe to be so; it was, indeed,

'As wicked dew as Syocrax could brush
With raven's feather from unwholesome fen.'"

Heber's MS. Journal.

† "The government of the armies of the Don differs, in many respects, from the ancient Malo-Russians, and has lately suffered repeated encroachments. Their territory, which is almost entirely pasture land, is divided into stanitzas, or cantons; for many stanitzas now contain more than a single village. To each of these, a certain portion of land and fishery is allotted by government, and an annual allowance of corn from Voronetz, and northwards, according to the returned number of Cossacks. They are free from all taxes; even from those of salt and distilleries. The distribution of the land to the individuals in each stanitza is settled by the inhabitants and their ataman. This ataman was chosen by the people, and was both civil and military commander of the place. Paul had laid some restrictions on this right, which I could not understand. He had also ennobled the children of all who had the military rank of colonel, which was complained of as introducing an unconstitutional aristocracy. From these atamans, an appeal lies to the chancery at Circask. They used to elect their ataman there, and to appeal to him only; assembling, occasionally, as a check on his conduct; but *he is now appointed by the crown*, and *greatly diminished in power*. The allotment of land and fishery, which each Cossack possesses, may be let out by him to farm, and often is so; and it is a frequent-

or colonels, in the army of the Don Cossacks, who are not merchants. In Tscherchaskoy they live an amicable and pleasant life. Sometimes they have publick amusements, such as balls, and parties of pleasure. Once they had a theatre, but it was prohibited. In some of their apartments we observed mahogany book-cases, with glass doors, containing a small library. They are, in every respect,

abuse to insert the names of children in the return of Cossacks, to entitle them to their seniority in becoming officers. I met with a child thus favoured. This has taken place since the Cossacks, when called out, have been formed into regular regiments, which has depressed entirely the power of the village ataman by the introduction of colonels, captains, &c. Formerly, the ataman himself marched at the head of his stanitza. Now he merely sends the required contingent, which is put under officers named by the crown.

"The Cossack, in consequence of his allowance, may be called on to serve for any term not exceeding three years, in any part of the world, mounted, armed, and clothed, at his own expense, and making good any deficiencies which may occur. Food, pay, and camp equipage, are furnished by government. Those who have served three years are not liable or at least not usually called upon, to serve abroad, except on particular emergencies. They serve, however, in the cordon along the Caucasus, and in the duties of the post and police. After twenty years, they become free from all service, except the home duties of police, and assisting in the passage of the corn barks over the shallows in the Don. After twenty-five years' service, they are free entirely.

"The procurator declared the whole number of Cossacks, liable to be called on for one or other of these services, amounted to 200,000. He acknowledged, that as they would allow of no examination into their numbers, he spoke only from conjecture, and from the different allowances of corn, &c. occasionally made. The whole number of male population he reckoned at half a million. The situation of a Cossack is considered as comfortable; and their obligations to service are deemed well repaid by their privileges and their freedom. '*Free as a Cossack*' is a proverb we often heard in Russia. The number of Cossack guards, who are all *Donsky*, amounts to three regiments of 1000 each. The number employed in Persia and Caucasus I could not learn. In the year 1805, a corps of seventy-two regiments, of 550 men each, marched under Platof, the ataman of Circask; but he received counter orders, as it did not arrive in time for the battle of Austerlitz. At *Austerlitz, only six hundred Cossacks were present.* The peasants near Austerlitz spoke of them as objects of considerable apprehension to the French cavalry; particularly the cuirassiers, whose horses were more unwieldy. These Cossacks, Platof said, had suffered dreadfully, as they were for some time the only cavalry with the Russian army, and, before the emperour joined Kutusof, had lost almost all their horses with fatigue. During the quarrel of Paul with England, he assembled 45,000 Cossacks, as it was believed, at Circask, *to march to India.* I saw the plan was not at all unpopular with Platof and his officers. Platof's predecessor was the last ataman who was in possession of all his ancient privileges. He had often, by his own authority, bound men hand and foot, and thrown them into the Don. He was unexpectedly seized and carried off by the orders of the empress (Catherine) and succeeded, as general of the armies of the Don, by Maffei Ivanovitch Platof, a fine, civil old soldier, with the great cordon of St. Anne."—*Heber's MS. Journal.*

entitled to praise for their cleanliness, whether of their persons or their houses. There is no nation (I will not even except my own) more cleanly in their apparel than the Cossacks. The dress of their women is singular. It differs from all the costume of Russia; and its magnificence is vested in the ornaments of a cap, somewhat resembling the mitré of a Greek bishop. The hair of married women is tucked under this cap, which is covered with pearls and gold, or adorned with flowers. The dress of a Cossack girl is elegant; a silk tunick, with trowsers fastened by a girdle of solid silver, yellow boots, and an Indian handkerchief round the head. A proof of their riches was afforded in the instance of the mistress of the house where we lodged. This woman walked about the apartments without shoes or stockings; and being asked for some needles to secure the insects we had collected, opened a box, in which she showed us pearls to the value of ten thousand roubles. Her cupboard, at the same time, was filled with plate and costly porcelain. The common dress of the men in Tscherchaskoy was a blue jacket, with a waistcoat and trowsers of white dimity; the latter so white and spotless, that they seemed always new. The tattered state of a traveller's wardrobe but ill fitted us to do credit to our country in this respect. I never saw a Cossack in a dirty suit of clothes. Their hands, moreover, are always clean; their hair free from vermin; their teeth white; and their skin has a healthy and cleanly appearance. Polished in their manners, instructed in their minds, hospitable, generous, disinterested in their hearts, humane and tender to the poor, good husbands, good fathers, good wives, good mothers, virtuous daughters, valiant and dutiful sons; such are the natives of Tscherchascoy. In conversation, the Cossack is a gentleman; for he is well informed, free from prejudice, open, sincere, and upright. Place him by the side of a Russian,—what a constrast!* The one is lite-

* "The manners of the people struck us, from their superiority to the Russians, in honesty and dignity. A lieutenant at Petersburgh, who once begged alms from us, bowed himself to the ground, and knocked his head on the floor. A lieutenant here [Tscherchaskoy] who was imprisoned, and also begged, made the request in a manly and dignified manner, and thanked us as if we had been his comrades.

"Both men and women are handsome, and taller than the Muscovites. This name they hold in great contempt, as we had several opportunities of observing. The procurator, the physician, the apothecary, the master of the academy, being distinguished by their dress and nation from the Cossacks, and seemed to have formed a *coterie* of their own, and to dislike,

rally a two-legged pig, having all the brutality, but more knavery, than that animal:* the other, a rational, accomplished, and valuable member of society. I would not be understood to have made this observation as without exception on either side. The Russian women are entirely excepted; and it is very remarkable, that little of the lamentable characteristicks of the Russian people can be applied to them. It is only in proportion as they recede from their natural effeminacy, that any traits have appeared to assimilate them to the males of their country; and an instance or two of this kind may have been mentioned: but, speaking generally of them, they have this only fault, if it be not rather a misfortune, that of servility to the worst of slaves.

Perhaps an anecdote which I shall now relate may render the preceding contrast between the Cossacks and Russians

and to be disliked by, the whole town. The postmaster said they were much improved since he came there; that then they would have pelted any stranger. We saw nothing of this kind, except that, when we first landed, *mistaking us for Russians*, some boys cried out '*Moskoffsky Canaille!*'—Canaille has become a naturalized word in Russia." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

* At the time of making this extract from my Journal, our English papers are filled with the atrocities committed, not merely by their common soldiers, but by their general officers in Finland. An account of them is published by the lord-lieutenant of the county of Wasa, to which his respectable name is affixed. Posterity may there be informed what Russians were in the beginning of the present century, when a major-general Demidof gave up the town of Wasa, during five days, to plunder, merely because he could not retain its possession; and, assisted by another monster in a human form, the governour Emine, galloped through the streets, to give vigour and activity to a scene of murder, horrible cruelty, and devastation; crying out to his troops, *Dobra! Dobra!* (Bravo! Bravo!) as they were bayonetting the weeping and kneeling inhabitants, mothers with their infants aged and venerable men, ladies of distinction, children, and persons of whatever sex, age, or situation. 'It instructs the world,' observes the lord-lieutenant, 'to describe their conduct; inasmuch as it determines the national character; and determines, with historick truth, that with barbarian slaves the character remains unchanged, notwithstanding the varnish put on by a sort of external humanising, produced by intercourse with civilized nations.' In the parish of Nerpis, major-general Orlof Denesof, caused three of the peasants to be bound together; and this being done, to prolong the pain and agony of the poor sufferers, the Russians piereed their thighs, arms, belly, and other parts, with bayonets, before they killed them.

Injured inhabitants of Swedish Finland! One who has experienced the bounties of your hospitality; one who arrived among you weary, sick, and destitute, and to whom, consistently with YOUR NATIONAL CHARACTER, you administered the most disinterested aid; the stranger, to whose honour you confided, unsolicited, the means of accomplishing his pilgrimage, he sympathizes with you in your sufferings. He, too, has been exposed to barbarian rapacity; he, too, has been plundered by the Russians.

more striking. The truth of it, on account of its notoriety, will not be disputed by either party. Whenever a quarrel among the Cossacks causes them to combat each other, they fight, as in England, with their fists, and never with knives, daggers, or any sharp instrument. This practice is so established a characteristick of their people, that it gave rise to a very remarkable wager. Teplof and Gelagin two of the late empress Catherine's privy-counsellors, happened to be in her presence, when it was told her that a Cossack priest, then a monk in the convent of St. Alexander Nevski, had been arrested for cutting the throat of a young woman, whom he had made pregnant, and with whom he had quarrelled; upon which Teplof offered to wager with Gelagin that the monk was not a Cossack. The bet was made, and won by Teplof; the monk proving to be Russian. Being questioned how he could possibly divine the probable success of his wager: "because," said he, "no Cossack would strike a woman: if he did, he would use his hand, and not his knife."

It was on a Sunday evening, that lieutenant-colonel Papof conducted me over the whole of Tscherchaskoy. We walked a distance equal to four miles without once being off a bridge. The people were all in their best attire, and the sight, on that account, more interesting. From the high and narrow bridges, single planks frequently lead off, as the only mode of approaching the houses of the inhabitants, which have covered galleries around them. In these galleries, where the deal, of which they were constructed, was as white as water and the sun could make it, sat the old and respectable Cossacks, almost all of whom, as we passed, pressed us to walk into their houses and regale ourselves. The water flows beneath many of the buildings; and all of them are upon piles, in the midst of the flood.* The prodi-

* "Circask stands on some marshy islands in the river. The houses are all raised on wooden pillars, and connected by foot bridges. The foot-paths run like galleries before the houses. When we saw it, every part was flooded, except the principal street, the great church, and the market place. The antique wooden cabins, mixed with the domes of churches, tops of trees, and Calmuck tents, had an interesting effect, just rising from the water. The *sudak* still continue to poison the air; but the houses, notwithstanding the people are all fishers, are neat. The Cossacks are much cleaner than the Russians. There is a spacious and ancient cathedral, nearly on the same plan, as the Casan church in Mosco. Detached from the rest of the building, is a large tower, which, at a distance, gives a faint recollection of St. Mary's spire at Oxford. There are many other churches, full of very costly ornaments. I never saw so many pearls at

gious quantity of timber consumed in the town, for houses, causeways, and bridges, is brought from the Volga, the Don being inadequate to such a supply. Formerly they had walls to their aquatick settlement; but the inundations of the river have swept them entirely away. The principal part of the inhabitants are exceedingly desirous to remove their capital to Oxai, which would increase its commerce, and add to its importance: the rest, who, from attachment to the place of their nativity, are still anxious to preserve it in its original situation, propose to surround it again with walls, and to form channels, after a plan which would make its resemblance to Venice greater than it is at present; but the level of the water not remaining constant, as in the Adriatick, and sometimes varying full fifteen feet, prevents the adoption of that plan. They neglect, however, no opportunity to improve the town, forming it as much as possible into streets, when fires have taken place and destroyed the old buildings, and insulating the houses where they were too closely situated. If any attempt should be made to remove the town, little difficulty would occur in transplanting the houses almost entire. They are chiefly of wood, and, being placed on rafts, might float down to the place of their destination.

They speak of moving a house in this part of the world as a very trifling undertaking. When the late Mr. Gascoigne went from Petersburgh, to preside over the foundry at Lugan, he paid a visit to a gentleman about twenty seven miles distant from the establishment. Finding him excellently lodged, in a well furnished, handsome, and very convenient house; "I wish," said he, "I could have such a building erected for me at Lugan." His host replied: "If you admire my house, it is at your service, exactly as you see it; and I engage to place it for you at Lugan in the course of the week." A bargain was concluded between them, the house was moved; and Mr. Gascoigne, who informed me of the fact, resided in it when we were in that country.

The inhabitants of Tscherchaskoy complain much of want of room. Not a single house has a court-yard; they are all huddled together, as if they had dropped from the clouds, during a shower, into the river, and only waited the

once, as on the head of a Madonna in the cathedral. These treasures are the spoils of Turkey and Poland." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

retiring of the waters to make their mistake. They are much troubled with mosquitoes, which abound in all the neighbourhood of the Don. When bit by these insects, they observe great caution in not scratching the wound; but are careful to bathe it, as soon as possible with spirits of wine. I have always found Goulard's lotion to be the best remedy; and, wanting that, salt mixed with an equal portion of vinegar. There is not, I believe, a single spot in the whole town which is not annually inundated. We found one dry place near the principal church; but it was traversed by wooden causeways, which proved that the usual precaution had been required there also, although the spot was not actually covered by water at the time. The street in which most of the shops are situated is floored with planks; and it must necessarily be very unwholesome, as all the dirt, falling through these floors, remains when the waters retire. They are often troubled with fevers; although, when we inquired into the list of their diseases, they said they seldom had any. The greatest ravage is made by the small-pox. Inoculation for the disorder had not yet been introduced among them. The complaint they seem to dread, more than any other, is called *the disorder of the hairs*. Gmelin mentions this complaint.* Hair is said to be generated in wounds of the bodies of those whom it afflicts. We expressed our incredulity to the wife of lieutenant-colonel Papaf; but she persisted in asserting, that she had taken them from her own finger, in the presence of many witnesses. To cure it, they bind the leaves of a plant somewhat like plantain, which, they say, draws out the hairs. We saw these leaves dried, suspended expressly as a remedy for this complaint; but, in their desiccated state, could not exactly pronounce what they were. Biliary obstruction is a common disorder among them. As a cure for the jaundice, they drink an infusion of the yellow flowers of a *Gnaphalium*, which is found in all the steppes. Stationed as they are, either in mud, yielding insalutary exhalations, or in water, full of frogs, filth, and substances which putrify as the flood retires, nothing could preserve them from pestilence, were it not for the great attention shown to cleanliness in their persons and their houses. The water of the Don is in

* He says it is known in Russia and the Ukraine, under the name *Volosez*; and he attended a case of abscess, in Paulovsky, which afforded him ocular demonstration of the truth of such a disorder. See *Journal des savans Voyageurs*, p. 144.

itself unwholesome, and particularly disagrees with strangers. It causes a flatulent disorder of the stomach and bowels, with violent pain and dysentary. Many of the Russian rivers have the same quality, particularly the Neva at Petersburgh.

A Greek brought me some coins of the emperour Constantine, which he had procured in Turkey. He kept them, he said, for the cure of diseases of all kinds; and, in proof of their miraculous power, swore, by all his saints, that if any one of them was placed in a sieve not a drop of water would pass through it. As we laughed at his folly, he was very desirous to make the experiment; but we thought it too ridiculous to merit so much attention. He seemed to be the very prince of impostors, and probably sold his trash at high prices. He showed us a piece of the *true* cross, which he said he had brought from Jerusalem, and which, worn upon his breast, had saved his life in battle; as a bullet striking the pretended relick had fallen harmless on the ground.

Having now satisfied our curiosity in the survey of this extraordinary place, we took leave of its inhabitants, and again embarked, accompanied by the officer who had so politely attended us, and whose hospitality we had often experienced during the visit we paid to his capital. We left Tscherchaskoy on Monday the twenty-third day of June, in the afternoon, and sailed down the Don to Oxai. About four miles* from Tscherchaskoy is an island called Nunnery Isle, or The Island of the Convent; whence, as they relate, the Turks used frequently, in former times, to derive women for the seraglio of the grand signior.

* Seven versts.

CHAPTER XIV.

VOYAGE DOWN THE DON TO AZOF AND TAGANROCK.

Visit to the General in Chief of the Cossack Army—Embarkation for the Sea of Azof—General View of the South of Russia—De Rubruquis—Tartars—Armenian Colony of Nakcheshivan—Fortress of St. Demetri Rastof—Division of the Don—Tumuli—Fortress and Village of Azof—City of Tanaïs—Its probable Situation—Condition of the Garrison of Azof—Opinion entertained of the Cossacks—Departure from Azof—Mœotis—Remarkable Phenomenon—Arrival at Taganrock.

THE morning after our return to Oxai, we received a message from general Vasili Petrovich Orlof, commander in chief of the Cossack army, stating that he expected us to dine with him at his country seat upon the Don. We set out, accompanied by our friend colonel Papof, and a Greek officer in the Cossack service, whose name was Mamonof. The general had sent his carriage, with six fine Cossack horses, and several Cossacks mounted with lances, to escort us. We passed along the *steppes*, and occasionally through vineyards, planted with cucumbers, cabbages, Indian wheat, apple, pear, peach, and plum trees, and melons, for about ten miles, till we arrived at his house, which stood upon the European side of the river, opposite the town of Tscherchaskoy, and distant from it about five miles. Here we found elegant and accomplished women assembled round a piano forte; and afterwards sat down to as magnificent a dinner as any English gentleman might afford. The whole of which was served upon plate. The company consisted of about twenty persons. The general presented us with mead thirty years old, which tasted like fine Madeira. He wished very much for English beer, having often drank it in Poland. A number of very expensive wines were brought round, many of them foreign; but the best wine of the Don seemed superiour to any of them. As we sat banquetting in this sumptuous manner, I called to mind the erroneous notions we had once entertained of the inhabitants of this

country, and which the Russians still continue to propagate concerning the Cossack territory. Perhaps few in England, casting their eyes upon a map of this remote corner of Europe, have pictured in their imagination a wealthy and polished people, enjoying not only the refinements, but even the luxuries of the most civilized nations. The conversation had that enlightened and agreeable cast which characterizes well educated military men. Some peculiarities, which distinguished the manners of our ancestors, and are still retained in the ceremonial feasts of ancient corporate bodies, might be observed. The practice of drinking toasts, and rising to pledge the security of the cupbearer, was a remarkable instance. Another very ancient custom, still more prevalent, is that of bowing and congratulating any one who happens to sneeze. The Cossacks of the Don always did this. When we took leave of the general, he said, if we preferred returning by water, for the sake of variety, we might use his barge, which was prepared, and waiting to convey us. Being conducted to it, we found it manned by ten rowers, and decorated in a most costly manner. It was covered with fine scarlet cloth, and Persian carpets were spread beneath a canopy of silk. The current being in our favour, we embarked, and were speedily reconducted to our quarters in Oxai.

The next morning we took our leave of the Don Cossacks, and, having placed our carriage on board a barge, sailed delightfully down the river (often looking back at the fine view of the town of Oxai and Tschrechaskoy) to Nakhtshivan, an Armenian colony established about twenty years before our arrival, and which had attained a very flourishing state, even in that short period.* Its inhabitants were

* "A verst (by land) from the fort of Rostof, is a large Armenian town, called *Nakitchivan*, after the ancient town of that name. We spent the evening in looking over it. They affirmed that it contains 1500 families. It has four churches, and two very large bazars, which are very much crowded, and have great appearance of industry. We had a letter to one of the principal inhabitants, who had the rank of colonel, and whose son was one of Mr. André's pupils (of Rostof) and our interpreter. His name was Abraamof. I found that Armenians usually expressed their names in this manner, from the Christian names of their parents, yet with the termination in *of*, which is a mark of gentility. This man had two sons in the Russian navy, and possessed the reputation of great wealth. He knew Lazarof, who sold Orlof the great diamond; and described, in strong terms, the misery and anxiety the Armenian had felt while it remained in his possession. His house was well furnished, and had a billiard-table, and many other European luxuries: all, however, sat cross-legged, except the

derived from the Crimea. They had about four hundred shops, which were all placed in one great covered building, after the manner of those in Moscow. The towns near the mouths of the Don present the traveller with a most novel and interesting picture of society. He encounters half a dozen different nations and languages in the same number of minutes; and each nation in its peculiar dress. As we walked up to the Armenian settlement, we beheld Tartars, Turks, Greeks, Cossacks, Russians, Italians, Calmucks, and Armenians, which, together with our English party, formed a representation of the costume of nine different nations within the compass of a quarter of an English mile. The Tartars were fishing in the river, or driving cattle towards the town; the Turks were smoking in their coffee-houses; the Greeks, a bustling race, were walking about, telling lies, and bartering merchandise; the Cossacks were scampering in all directions on horseback; the Russians, as police officers, were scratching their heads; the Italians

master, whose dress also, was something after the European mode. He had several curious sabres and poignards richly ornamented, which he exhibited with much pride. He said, himself and the greater part of his fellow townsmen, had emigrated from the Crimea during the disturbances there; that they had this situation given them, and a charter, by which they had the same privileges as their countrymen at Astrachan. The principal trade of the town is in leather. The women are almost all veiled, but those we caught a glimpse of were very beautiful. Their veils were very carelessly disposed, and they betrayed no timidity. The men are also handsome; but they have a Jewish expression in their countenance. The Russians declare they have all a natural, unpleasant odour, like that we attribute to the Jews. They dislike them greatly, and have a proverb: 'Two Jews equal one Armenian; two Armenians one Greek; two Greeks one Devil.' The Armenians, it is well known, are a very favoured sect by the Russian government; and many of the noblest families have a mixture of their blood. Of these are Dolgorucky and Bagrathion. Joan the first gave the title of *Knes* to great numbers of Armenians, and permitted to all a free trade and settlement, with full liberty of worship, and even of making their processions openly. They have a magnificent church in Petersburgh, and many in Astrachan and Casan. Their enterprize and activity are well known. Mr. Anderson of Petersburgh told me, he knew one who had been twice to Bassora, and once to Samarcand and Tibet. I asked Abramof if such journeys were common: and if they could take a European with them as their servant, or in any other disguise. He answered both these questions in the affirmative. He himself had been in Georgia, and many parts of Turkey, but never further. We observed several Mahammedans, at least persons in green turbans, which no Armenian would wear." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

As the green turban is a mark of high distinction in Turkey, and the Armenians of Nakhtshivan are under no fear of offending Mahammedans, I suspect (for I noticed the same costume in the place) that they are worn merely on account of the freedom they enjoy. *E. D. C.*

were Venetian and Neapolitan sailors; the Calmucks jabbering with each other; the Armenians, both men and women, airing in *droskis*; and the English staring at them all. As the traveller approaches the Don, especially towards its embouchure, Tartars make their appearance in great numbers; and that race of men are seen from thence, westward, the whole way to the Dnieper, in all the towns by the sea of Azof, in the Crimea, and throughout the dreary plains which lie to the north of the peninsula.

All the south of Russia, from the Dnieper to the Volga, and even to the territories of the Kirgissian and Thibet Tartars, with all the north of the Crimea, is one flat, uncultivated, desolate waste, forming, as it were, a series of these deserts which go by the name of steppes. The very earliest adventurers from the civilized parts of Europe to these remote and barbarous regions, found the country exactly as it now appears. A very faithful description of its features occurs in the narrative of W. de Rubruqui employed as a missionary about the middle of the thirteenth century.* "We journeyed," says he, "towards the east, with no other objects in view than earth and sky, and occasionally the sea upon our right (which is called the sea of Tanais) and moreover the sepulchres of the Comani, which seemed about two leagues distant, constructed according to the mode of burial which characterized their ancestors."

What the land of the Comani was, is clearly ascertained by the voyage of the ambassadour from pope Innocent the fourth to Tartary, in the year 1246, as taken out of the thirty second book of the *Speculum Historiale* of *Vincentius Belnacensis*.† "We journeyed through the country of the Comani, which is all flat and has four great rivers. The first is called Neper [Borysthenes] the second is called Don [Tanais] the third is named Volga [Rha] the fourth is denominated Jaec [Rhymus]." Thus it appears that the Comani, the ancestors of the Cossacks, had established themselves as far to the westward as the Dnieper, before

* "Ibamus ergo versus orientem, nihil videntes nisi coelum et terram, et aliquando mare ad dextram, quod dicitur Mare Tanais, et etiam sepulturas Comanorum, quæ apparebant nobis a duabus leucis, secundum quod asserebant parentelae eorum sepeliri simul. *Itinerarium W. de Rubruquis*, anno 1253. See *Hakluyt*, vol. I. p. 80.

† "Ibamus autem per terram Comanorum, quae tota est plana, et flumina quatuor habet magna. Primum appellatur Neper [Borysthenes] secundum appellatur Don [Tanais] tertium dicitur Volga [Rha] quartum nominatur Jaec [Rhymnus]." Ib. p. 47.

the middle of the thirteenth century; and considerable light is thrown upon a very obscure part of ancient geography by the documents thus afforded. W. de Ruhruquis himself, in another passage of his Itinerary, fixes their limits as reaching westward even to the Danube; and says, that the whole country, from that river to the Tanaïs, was inhabited by them. The western part was called *Casaria*, the country of the Czars, Cassars, or Cossacks, as they are now called. Nothing can be more accurate than the account he has left of these vast solitudes, in which he says there is neither wood, nor mountain, nor stone.*

The Tartars on the Sea of Azof are a small race of men not so ugly as we have heard them described; but they disfigure themselves by pressing their ears forward with the lower rim of their caps, from their tenderest infancy; in consequence of which practice, their ears protrude from the sides of their heads, and front the spectator. Some of those who passed us at Nakhtshivan looked most frightfully wild, appearing in the rude, and, perhaps, primeval dress of the first shepherds of the earth. Their bodies were almost naked; over their shoulders were loosely suspended the undressed hides of their sheep, each being fastened with a single loop in front. Upon their heads, and around their waists, they wore a covering of the same materials; and upon their feet, those sandals of linden bark, of which a description has been already given in the tenth chapter of this volume. I have seen exactly such figures represented upon Greek vases, and in the sculpture of ancient Greece.†

Nakhtshivan offers an example of that enterprising spirit so characteristick of the Armenian merchants, when stimulated by the hope of gain. They are not naturally a lively race of men. They have almost the gravity of Turks, with the boorishness of the Dutch; insomuch, that it is a very

* "Tendebamus rectè in orientem ex quo eximus praedictam provinciam *Casariæ*, habentes mare ad meridiem, et *vastam solitudinem* ad aquilonem: quae durat per viginti dietas alicubi in latitudine: in qua *nulla est sylva, nullus mons, nullus lapis.* Herba est optima. In hac solebant pascere *Comani*, qui dicuntur *Capchat*. A Teutonicis verò dicuntur *Valani*, et provincia *Valania*. Ab Isidoro vero dicitur a flumine Tanai usque ad paludes Meotidis et Danubium *Alania*. Et durat ista terra in longitudine a Danubio usque Tanaim—quae tota inhabitabatur a *Comanis*." *Hakluyt*, vol. I. p. 80.

† Among the earthen vessels described and published at Naples, there is a costume of this kind upon the person of a male figure, who is delineated checking two furious horses.

common saying with European merchants in Constantinople, that "an Armenian expresses mirth as a bear dances." Yet, when instigated by commercial speculations, they penetrate all countries, and overcome all obstacles; frequently making journeys over land to India, and the most distant regions of the globe. Who but they, relying upon the promises of Russia, could have entertained the hope, and realized the expectation, that in a poor village on the Don, surrounded by immense deserts, they should establish a source of commerce and of wealth? Their commodites and manufactures, as far as we were enabled to judge of them, appeared to be Turkish, and of a nature to find a ready sale in Oxai and Tscherchaskoy. They supply all the fairs of the neighbouring provinces, which are the most extraordinary spectacles in Europe, because attended by persons from almost every nation upon earth. There is scarce a people, refined or barbarous, who have not their representatives at the fairs held along the sea of Azof, and upon the Don; but particularly at the great fair of Nakhtshivan. The *Hamaxobii* of Herodotus then make their appearance, exactly as they lived in the days of the historians; travelling in vehicles, the covering of which are tents by night, and tilts for their cars by day. Such moveable dwellings may be noticed in all the territoreis of the Tartars.

We entered the quarter in which the shops are stationed. It is a very lofty, covered street, or cloister, surrounding a square, after the manner of the palais royal at Paris. Every trade had its peculiar place assigned, as in the Turkish *bazars* of Constantinople; and, according to the rule observed in oriental *bazars*, the floor of each shop was made level with the counter; the dealers sitting at work as in Turkey, with their legs crossed under their bodies. The shops were all well stored, and a rapid sale was going on. Their owners, in many instances, were really Mohammedans, who manufactured slippers, sandals, and boots, in coloured leather. Of other trades, we observed tobacconists, pipemakers, clothiers, linendrapers, grocers, butchers, bakers, blacksmiths, silkmercers, dealers in Indian shawls, &c. They make bread of a very superiour quality; and, according to the Asiatick custom, it is publikly kneaded and publickly baked; so that the whole process of preparing the most important article of their food is open to every one. The crowd passing before their shops resembled a masquerade, in

which the costly embroidered vestments of rich Armenian merchants* were contrasted with the hides which covered the wild Tartars, the long pelisses of the Turks the military, but simple garb of the Cossacks, the uncouth uniform of the Russian police, and the greasy trappings of the Calmucks.

We visited a Turkish coffee house, the scene of the most favourite recreation of the oriental nations. On the right hand as we entered, upon a raised floor, like the counters used by taylors, were squatted a number of the merchants of the establishment, leaning upon cushings, with long pipes smoking, and drinking coffee. As we joined the party, we were presented, according to the usual custom, with lighted pipes (having tubes made of the wood of cherry-tree, tipped with amber) a small cup of coffee, and a bit of wood of aloes; which they put into the bowl of each pipe, and which exhales a most refreshing and pleasant fragrance. In a corner of the apartment stood a vase, containing blossoms of an *Iris*, called in England *Flower de luce*. It served as a kind of sign to the box on which it was placed, in the lid of which was a small hole, to receive the contributions of those who were expected to leave a trifle for the pipe and coffee they had used. Some Turks who were present, seemed absolutely breathing the fumes of tobacco. They inhaled large quantities of smoke upon their lungs; and, after retaining it there till their features became distended with suppressed respiration, yielded back large curling volumes, as from a chimney, by their nostrils, their mouth, and their ears.†

According to Pallas,‡ the origin of the Armenian establishment at Nakhtshivan was the emigration of the inhabitants of the Crimea, when Suwarof withdrew with the Rus-

* The costume of the Armenian women of Astrachan is the richest in Russia. It is surprising that they sustain the weight of their dress. The first, or inner robe, is of silk and gold; the second, of black velvet, heavily laden with gold and pearls. The third, or outer vest, is almost of massive gold, in ponderous embroidery, with large gold knobs, gold buttons, gold tassels, gold fringe, &c. &c. The turban is white, hangs over the left shoulder, and conceals the face, except the nose and eyes. The only hair disclosed is often false; two thick locks, one on each side, being brought in front of the ears.

† The Chinese, and other oriental nations, perforate the drum of their ears for this purpose. It is not, however, common for Turks to undergo that operation.

‡ Travels through the Southern Provinces, &c. Vol. I. p. 476.

sian troops, and peace was concluded with the Tartars. At that time, the most opulent Armenian mechanicks and merchants, together with the major part of the Christian inhabitants, upon whom the whole of the productive industry and commerce of the peninsula depended, left the Crimea late in the autumnal season. The empress ordered proper buildings and accommodations to be prepared for their reception upon the Don; but the Russian commissaries took special care to convey into their own pockets the money allowed to complete the work according to the intentions of their sovereign. When the Armenian colony arrived, they found nothing but a parcel of miserable huts, constructed in the most expeditious and wretched manner. These they have since converted into neat and comfortable houses, many of which are of limestone, and covered with tiles; in the manufacture of which, as well as of pottery in general, the inhabitants are very skilful. Other Armenian settlements belonging to the same district of Rastof, are in the neighbourhood, and all of them in a flourishing state. The Armenians were much respected in the country; and their industry, sobriety, and good moral conduct, render them a most important acquisition to the empire. Their whole population, however, including persons of both sexes, and all the Armenian settlements in the district, did not amount to eight thousand.*

Again embarking upon the Don, we proceeded from Nakhtshivan to the fortress of St. Demetri Rastof, hardly a mile lower down the river.† It was a place of great im-

* Pallas estimates it at 7000. vol. I. p. 480.

† Mr. Heber performed a journey from Taganrock to Rastof by land. His observations concerning the latter place are therefore peculiarly appropriate, and serve to supply the deficiency of my own. "Here it is that the barks from Voronets are broken up, and the goods embarked from Taganrock. We saw about sixty lighters lying in the river, many large enough to perform the voyage to Arabat Some of these which we pointed out, they told us had made voyages all the way to Caffa. There is a large brewery, producing very detestable beer and porter. The distilleries are numerous, and, if we understood right, pay no duties, unless sent inland. The banks of the Don are covered above by vineyards, and below by stinking sudak, a large, white fish, drying in the sun. Fish are caught in great abundance and variety. The principal kinds are beluga, sturgeon, sterlet, and sudak. There are also myriads of Prussian carp, which, with all the refuse fish, are heaped up in great dunghills among the black, circular tents of the Calmucks. The Cossacks pay no duty on salt, if it be for their own consumption. The fortress is just above the town; it is extentive, but ill situated. In it is a small garrison, and a school kept by an old Frenchman of the name of André. He had about twenty pupils, who were taught French,

portance when the Turkish frontier was nearer. The Don is here much broader and deeper; in consequence of which, the vessels from Worenetz, unfit to encounter the sea, are broken up, and their cargoes, the product of Russia, shipped on board lighters and small vessels, and sent to Taganrock, to load the vessels lying in the roads, off that place. The governour both of Azof and Taganrock, resides at Rastof; although those places have each their superiour resident officer, who is called *commandant*. Rastof is garrisoned by Russian troops. We found it in a deplorable state of neglect. The Cossacks of the Don claim the territory of the small tract upon which the fort is built, as well as of that on which have been founded the Armenian settlements in its vicinity. I could learn no other reason for this, than that they had the care of conducting the mail. Indeed, the generality of them seemed to consider their land as limited by a boundary between Oxai and Nakhtshivan. In an empire so little settled as that of Russia, whose southern frontier is continually advancing, by the encroachments daily made upon the territories of other nations, the limits of any particular province are not likely to continue long the same. Other travellers may possibly arrive, and find the whole race of Don Cossacks moved, and planted upon the sides of Mount Caucasus: and those of the Black Sea, the Tchernomorski, so lately carried from the Dnieper to the banks of the Kuban, and of whom we shall soon speak more diffusely, may then be found repelling the incursions of the Persians and Afghans upon the southern shores of the Caspian.

Continuing our delightful voyage with very favourable weather, we advanced towards Azof; and the consciousness of sailing with all Europe on our right hand, and all Asia on our left, did not fail to excite reflections very interesting at the moment. The refinement, the science, the commerce, the power, and the influence of the one; the sloth, the superstition, the effeminacy, the barbarism, and the ignorance of the other. One fact, at least, has been taught me in traversing Europe, almost the whole of which I have explored, that there exists no where a savage people, as fixed inhabitants. Every part of Europe is civilized. If the Nagaick

German, writing, and geography. They were all very little boys. We had a letter to the master, and found an old man in a sheepskin, which would have turned the stomach of a *Mluchick*, sitting down to dinner with his flock." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

Tartar, the wandering Calmuck, and the nomade Laplander, be deemed savage, all of whom are a humane people, it should be observed, that they are peculiar to no particular territory, but lead, like the more savage gipsy, a vagrant life. It is a very common absurdity to hear nations remote from observation branded with the imputation of barbarism; yet the peasant of Ireland, the smuggler of England, or the *poissarde* of France, is altogether as unenlightened, more inhuman, and possesses more of savage ferocity, than either the Laplander, the Tartar, or the Calmuck. As for the agricultural Laplander, the mountaineer of Norway, and the inhabitants of the north of Sweden, there does not exist a better disposed, or a more benevolent people.

One of our boatmen, a Cossack, speaking of a stanitza that was situated in a creek, or turning of the river, made use of an expression which may, perhaps, afford the etymology of the name of a town in the very north of Britain. He said it was *In verness*, "*In the turning.*" It is certainly worthy of remark, that Inverness, pronounced exactly in the same manner, is also similarly situated, with regard to the coast.

Several villages are scattered along the banks of this river; but they consist chiefly of wretched hovels, constructed of the reeds and flags which grow in the shallows of the Don; and with these objects only in view, the traveller is presented with scenery very accurately corresponding with the description given of the wigwams and waters of America. Soon after we passed the fortress of Rastof, we were gratified by a retrospective view, which at once embraced the whole of the settlements on the northern side of the river, including Rastof, Nakhtshivan, and Oxai. Here the Don is divided by the channel which bears the name of *The Dead Donaetz*; and the high lands, on which these towns are stationed, continue to form the northern bank of that branch. We sailed along the current which preserves the proper name of the river, and which, after this separation, flows through very flat and marshy territory. The only objects which interrupted the uniformity of the landscape were those ancient sepulchres alluded to in the passage from Rubruquis, cited in the 203d page, and to which I have so often had reference. I endeavoured to delineate a very remarkable group of them, consisting of five tombs, much larger than the usual appearance of others near the river, and which, from time imme-

morial, have borne the appellation of *The Five Brothers*. They are upon the European side. If Ptolemy's position of the *flexion of the Tanaïs* could be reconciled with the site of that remarkable deviation of the river from its course which forms the Dead Danaetz, I should not hesitate in describing those tombs as the actual monuments to which he alludes under the name of the Altars of Alexander. The ΒΩΜΟΙ, or Altars of the Greeks, were called *altaria* by the Romans, *ab altitudine*, from their being raised high above the ground. In low flat countries, where there were no mountains or hills, they raised artificial ascents for their altars. But sacrifices were offered upon the sepulchres of the dead, as upon altars; and, consistently with this practice, Alexander *paid his vows*, and performed rites, upon the tombs of Achilles and Ajax;* when he invaded Asia, and landed upon the plain of Troy; anointing with perfumes the ΣΤΗΛΑΙ placed upon them, according to the custom of the age in which he lived. The same geographer places the Altars of Cesar still nearer to the position of these tombs. To one or other of them, they will, probably, hereafter be referred. In the mean time, until we have better knowledge of the country and its antiquities, we must leave their real history undecided.

Among the various race of men which dwell near the mouths of the Don, and in the neighbourhood of Rastof, the Tartars are the most numerous. Many absurd reports were in circulation concerning the danger of venturing among them. At Rastof, in particular, we heard some fearful tales of robbers, and the banditti of the *steppes*, but had every reason to believe that they were, for the most part, if not wholly, without foundation.

The long expected sight of Azof at last presented itself before our eyes, making a very conspicuous and considerable appearance, and somewhat corresponding with the false ideas we had entertained of its importance. Its imaginary consequence, however, as a fortress, vanished the moment we arrived; for nothing can be more wretched and insignificant than the real character of the place itself. The figure it has made in the wars between Russia and Turkey has given it a place in our maps and gazetteers: although the meanest hamlet of Kamschatka might dispute its title to notice. A handful of troops, aided only by their bayonets,

* Diodor. Sic. lib. xvii. See also, Chandler's Ilium, p. 70.

might take possession of it at any time. The garrison consists of a few worn out Russian invalids. The works, if such they may be called, are abandoned to decay, and situated below the village; so that, in the event of an attack, there are several heights which would command them. The village itself stands upon a high ridge, upon whose lower extremity the fortress is situated. From these heights we had a view of the entrance of the Don into the sea of Azof, and of Taganrock, which we could plainly discern across the water. The mines of the fortress were described as very extensive, and considerable excavations might be observed under the whole of the ramparts; but they make no use of them, and, indeed, were ignorant for what purpose many of them were originally designed. All that remains of the Turkish fortification is a part of a wall, now a mere ruin. They showed us an old rampart raised by Peter the Great, on the opposite side of the river, and used by him when he besieged the place.

As it has been always supposed that the ancient city of Tanais existed either on the site of Azof, or in its immediate vicinity, I was very particular in my inquiries concerning it, both among the officers and other inhabitants of the place. I also made such observations as the time allowed me would permit; but not a trace of any such city could be discovered, neither had there ever been observed, as a vestige of it, any of those remains which infallibly indicate the cities of the Greeks. Of these, broken pottery is the most usual, on account of its incorruptible nature, and which almost always serves to point out the locality of Grecian cities, even when medals and other marks of their topography have not been found. It is natural to conclude, that if the Greeks ever built a city on this branch of the Don, it stood upon its banks, and not at any distance from the water. But the site of Azof is the only spot near the river on which it was possible to build. The rest is all a swamp, even the reeds of which are annually inundated. To the east, south, and south-east, the interiour of the country offers a parched and barren desert: the rest is all one vast morass, consisting of deep bogs and water. If then, on the elevated soil which has afforded a foundation to the fortress and present village of Azof, it be presumed that such a city as Tanais once stood, is it possible that, in the immense excavations which the moderns have carried on from time to time, in the formation, the reparation, and the destruction of Azof, some

relick of antiquity, either of medals, weapons, vases, or sepulchres, would not have been discovered? Yet, in no instance of such works, or at any other period, has there ever been observed a single trace of the existence of any former settlement, except that which was made there by the Turks. Some of the senior officers, who were well informed of every thing that had occurred there since the time of Peter the Great, and among others, the commandant, declared, that nothing had ever been found of such a description; and that, in all the country about the place, there was no sign of the existence of any former city. About fifteen years ago, some coins were found upon the shore of the sea of Azof, further to the westward; but the characters upon these coins were described to us as Indian, or Chinese: probably they were Tartarian, or Turkish. If there ever did exist such a city as Tanais, I should expect to find the traces of it at the extremity of that northern embouchure of the Don which I have before mentioned as bearing the very name the Greeks gave to the city, with the slightest variation of orthography, in the appellation *Tdanaets* or *Danaetz*. It is a channel of the river which I had not an opportunity of exploring. Perhaps some future traveller will meet with more success in this particular inquiry; and to forward it, I have afforded him a clue in the map of which has been engraved of the mouths of the river. The place to which I would particularly direct his attention, is now called *Sinovka*; but he will in vain look for it, or even for the branch of the river I have mentioned, in any of the maps which have heretofore been published.

The inhabitants of Azof amount to a small number, including the garrison. There are not more than fifty houses in the whole settlement. The officers quartered there complained, as well they might, of their solitary and secluded state of life. Exiled from all commerce with mankind, because detested, even by the nations around them, and without a single comfort to render human existence supportable, the joy our arrival diffused may be easily imagined. "*None*," said the old commandant, as he approached the shore to welcome our arrival, "*none but Englishmen would come to Azof, if they could avoid it.*" I had reason to entertain the same sentiments afterwards; but from very different motives. Nothing could be more insupportable than their curiosity, and the mode of showing what they intended as hospitality. No other employment was thought

of than that of drinking, shouting and dancing. Some symptoms, at the same time, were manifested, which considerably alarmed us, of using compulsory measures, in order to prevent our departure. Half a century might pass, during all which time its inhabitants would see no faces except those of their own garrison; consequently, the slightest variation of such monotony was hailed with transport, and the coming of a stranger considered as an event of more than usual importance. We found them lost in indolence and wretchedness, badly supplied with provisions, and destitute even of wholesome water. The suspicious inquiries, and insidious artifices, commonly practised by Russians in their reception of foreigners, were, for once laid aside; and, in their place, were substituted boisterous greetings, and the most troublesome importunities. Our appearance at this time was certainly rather calculated to excite curiosity. We had not less than four large marmots living constantly in the carriage, whose ravages were visibly displayed in all parts of its lining; for there is hardly any thing which these animals will not endeavour to devour. Our interpreter, a Greek, the sallowest of his race, wore a strange dress, in which the various habits of Russians, Cossacks, Tartars, and tribes of his own nation, were singularly blended; while our wardrobe, scarcely less remarkable, betrayed evident marks of the casualties and disasters of a long journey. In addition to these, were books filled with plants for our herbary, minerals, stuffed birds, and quadrupeds, boxes of insects, thermometers, pots, kettles, half a cheese, and a vinegar cask. The soldiers of the garrison seemed more astonished and amused by the appearance of the marmots than by any thing else; and the marmots, participating equal surprise on seeing them, set up their loud and shrill whistle whenever they approached. A concert and supper were prepared for us in the evening; and a veteran officer, general Pekin, seventy-three years of age, was brought in a chair to see the two Englishmen. He had been celebrated both in the Prussian and Russian service, and lived upon a pension at Azof. This venerable soldier expressed himself so much rejoiced at seeing us, that, in spite of his years and infirmities, making one of the officers stand up with him, he insisted upon exhibiting the Russian national dance.

The contrast which has been before made* between a Cossack and a Russian appeared very striking in this voyage down the river from Oxai to Azof. In the course of a single day, we breakfasted with one people, and were compelled to sup with another. I say compelled, because the consequences of refusing such invitations are very serious in this country, especially if they come from petty officers of the Russian army, who have it always in their power, and generally in their inclination, to embarrass and impede a traveller. The distance between the two places does not exceed forty five versts. We left the Cossacks with sorrow, and full of gratitude for the politeness and liberal hospitality we had experienced; and the very sight of a Russian, under such impressions, was doubly revolting. It may be conceived, then, what our feelings were, when, as we landed at Azof, an impertinent young officer, belonging to the garrison, inquired what could have been our inducement for venturing among so ferocious a people as the Cossacks. I endeavoured to get rid of the question, by asking another. "Do you," said I, "never visit them?" "Never!" said he: "we consider them as so many wild beasts. It is true, they are rich; but God alone knows what they do with their money, or how they obtain it: we never see any of it." My companion could not refrain from replying; and said, with some indignation to the young officer who had addressed us in French: "You shall hear how they obtain it; and what they do with it; and why you never see any of it. They are industrious merchants, and derive wealth by commerce: they are good husbands and fathers, providing for their families, and educating their children: and you never see all this, because, as you confess, you never visit them."

We succeeded, with great difficulty, in obtaining leave to quit the place on the following day. General Pekin lent us his assistance; and it was owing chiefly to his interest that twenty soldiers were ordered to attend by day-break, and assist in towing the boat against the current; as it was necessary to reascend a part of the river, and proceed towards the sea by one of the mouths through which the Don disembogues itself, nearer to Taganrock than that branch of it on which Azof is situated. We took leave of our boisterous entertainers soon after midnight, most of whom were by this time more than "*half seas over*;" and, in order

* See p. 155.

to secure our retreat, we determined to pass the night in the boat. It was still dark, and dreadfully tempestuous. A thunder storm came on, and the wind blew with the fury of a hurricane. As we passed the sentinels to go towards the river, vivid flashes of lightning disclosed to us at intervals, our carriage tossed about in the boat, as if in a gale at sea. We got on board, however; and presently such a deluge of rain ensued, that we were glad to seek shelter with the marmots, whose natural somnolency was not proof against such violent concussions, and who were thrusting their noses between the blinds of the windows. I never experienced such a tempest. During all the rest of the night, the water seemed to descend as from a cataract, beating through the very roof of the carriage, and entering by every crevice. As the day dawned, the rain ceased to fall; but the wind continued as before. Our servant arrived from the fortress, having succeeded in mustering the soldiers. We encouraged them by liberal offers; and had the satisfaction to find, that although our boat's motion was hardly progressive against the united force of the wind and tide, we were actually leaving Azof.

After a long and very obstinate struggle, in which our boatmen were nearly exhausted, we at last succeeded in reaching that branch of the river through which we were to steer with the tide towards the sea. It is called the *Kalancha*. Here we rewarded and dismissed our assistants from the garrison, hoisted our canvass, and, falling very rapidly down the current, sailed into the Mæotis. The mouths of the Don are thirteen in number. In other respects, this river, by its shallows and islets, its periodical inundations, its rapidity and rolling eddies, perturbed by slime and mud, its vegetable and animal productions, bears, as has been before remarked, a most striking resemblance to the Nile. The inhabitants of all this part of the sea of Azof maintain that its waters annually diminish. A remarkable phenomenon occurs during particular seasons, which offers a very forcible proof of the veracity of the Sacred Scriptures. During violent east winds, the sea retires in so remarkable a manner, that the people of Taganrock are able to effect a passage on dry land to the opposite coast; a distance of twenty versts*: but when the wind changes, which it sometimes does very suddenly, the waters return with such rapidity to

* Rather less than fourteen miles.

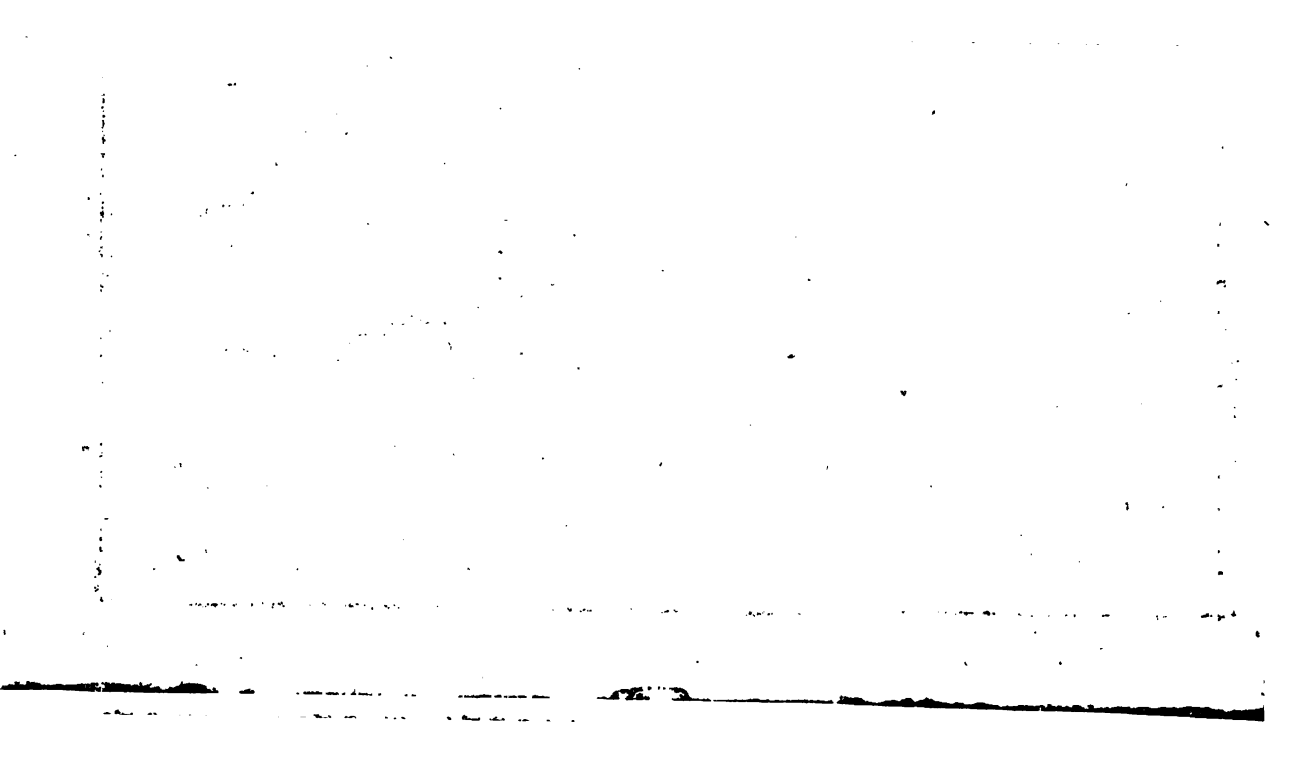
their wonted bed, that many lives are lost. In this manner, also, small vessels are stranded.* We saw the wrecks of two, which had cast anchor in good soundings near the coast, but were unexpectedly swamped upon the sands. The east wind often sets in with great vehemence, and continues for several weeks. They have also frequent gales from the west; but very rarely a wind due north, and hardly ever an instance in which it blows from the south. This last circumstance has been attributed to the mountainous ridge of Caucasus, which intercepts the winds from that quarter. The sea is so shallow, near Taganrock, that ships performing quarantine lie off at a distance of fifteen versts;† and vessels, drawing from eight to ten feet of water, cannot approach nearer to the town to take in their lading.

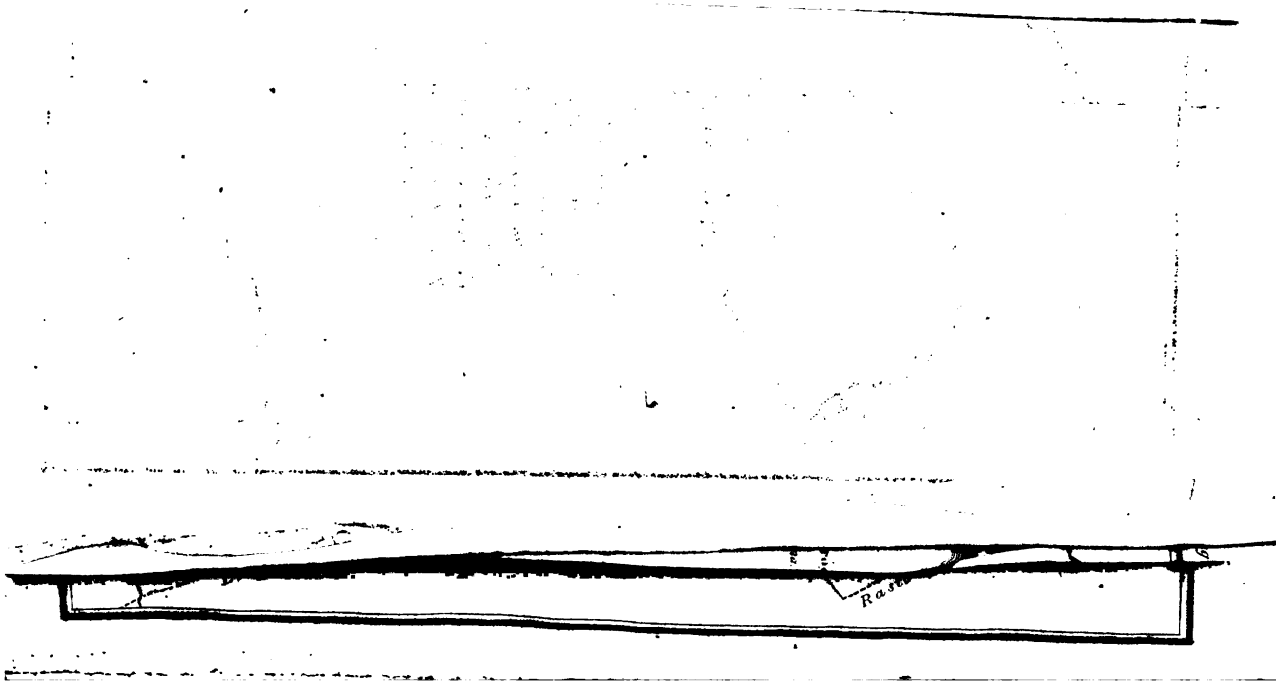
The elevated situation on which Taganrock is built rendered it visible to us from the moment we entered the sea of Azof. The wind, however, began to fail; and it was night before we reached the shore. Several of the inhabitants came down upon our arrival; and being afterwards provided with a tolerable set of apartments, we established ourselves for a few days, to prepare for our journey through Kuban Tartary.

* "The merchandise brought from Voronetz comes down to Rastoff in barks which will not bear the sea, but are broken up there. Their cargoes are again embarked in lighters, which convey them to Taganrog, and to the ships in the road. As the wind changes to the east, and the water grows shallower, they get farther and farther out to sea, and are often obliged to sail without having completed their cargo. This singular kind of monsoon takes place almost every year after midsummer. The governour said it seldom failed. Storms are not uncommon; and the navigation is considered as very unsafe, by reason of the numerous shoals, and the want of shelter." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

I have followed Mr. Heber's orthography in the names of places, whenever an extract is given from his journal; not deeming it lawful to subject so accurate a writer to any rules which I may have laid down for myself, and to which, perhaps, I have not always adhered.

† Ten miles.




Rasp

CHAPTER XV.

EUROPEAN AND ASIATICK SHORES OF THE SEA OF AZOF.

Taganrock—Commerce, external and internal—Canal of Communication between the Caspian and Black Sea—Marriage Ceremony of the Calmucks—Consecrated Ensigns of the Calmuck Law—Difference between their Sacred and Vulgar Writings—Sarmacand—Various Inhabitants of Taganrock—Antiquities—Voyage across the Sea of Azof—Chumburskaia—Margaritovskaia.

TAGANROCK is situated on the cliff of a very lofty promontory, commanding an extensive prospect of the sea of Azof, and all the European coast to the mouths of the Don. Azof itself is visible in fair weather, from the heights of the citadel. At present, the number of inhabitants does not exceed five thousand. The water, as in the Don, is very unwholesome when the winds carry off the salt water; but when a current sets in from the sea it is more salutary. It certainly was not one of the wisest plans of Peter the Great, when he proposed to found the capital of his empire in a place so disadvantageously situated. The water near it is so shallow, that no haven could possibly have been constructed, except by forming canals at an expense beyond all calculation. The ships now at quarantine lie off at a distance of ten miles; and all vessels drawing from eight to ten feet water, can only approach within fifteen versts of the town. Taganrock formerly contained seventy thousand inhabitants; but in consequence of a capitulation made with the Turks, it was entirely rased. Its revival may bear date from the establishment of the Armenian colony at Nakhtshivan. At present, all the best houses are in its suburbs. The fortress contains a miserable village, full of ruins; exhibiting at the same time, traces of very considerable works, which have been entirely abandoned. The inhabitants entertain hopes that the emperour will visit and inspect the place, and that it will then become a town of the first importance in the empire. There is not any situation in the south of Russia more favourable for commerce, was it

not for the want of water. Ships from the Black Sea find here, in readiness for embarkation, all the produce of Siberia, with the caviare, and other commodities of Astrachan; whereas at Gherson and Odessa they have to wait for lading after their arrival. But it is only during three months in the year that commerce can be carried on at Taganrock. In winter the sea is frozen, so that sledges pass upon the ice to Azof. During the short season of their commerce, the rent of a single warehouse upon the shore is estimated at four hundred roubles. As soon as the first ships make their appearance from the Black Sea, the wagons from the interior begin to arrive.* These ships undergo a quarantine of forty days, during all which time the caravans continue to increase; and before the end of the quarantine, no less than three thousand wagons occupy all the plains below the town. Of this number, six thousand arrive annually from the Ukraine.

Taganrock has three fairs in the year; the first upon the first of May; the second, and principal fair, upon the tenth

* "From November to March, the sea is frozen, and navigation seldom safe earlier than April. As soon as the ice is supposed to have passed, a small vessel is sent from Taganrog to Kerteh (in the Crimea) and *vice versâ*. After this signal the navigation commences. From April to midsummer a southwest wind prevails very steadily, which greatly increases the depth of water, and favours the arrival of vessels. About midsummer the water is generally deepest, and the sea crowded with small vessels. The harbour admits but few. Vessels may then lie tolerably near the shore; at other times, ships of two hundred tons are compelled to lie in the open sea, fifteen versts [ten miles] from the shore. In autumn, the sea of Azof is often no more than fourteen feet at its greatest depth. From Taganrog to Azof is a shoal, or continuation of shoals, with hardly seven feet water, and in some places only five. The number of vessels is generally from six to seven thousand. Of these, about one hundred and fifty, or two hundred, are small craft from Trebizond and Sinope, which bring *nardek*, a marmalade of grapes, and *becmiss*, a syrup made from various fruits by boiling them with honey. Raisins of the sun are also brought in great quantities. All these are used in the distilleries. Since the destruction of the vineyards by the late hard winters, the *becmiss* has become more necessary. The spirit thus produced is sold all over the empire as French brandy. The Greeks of the Archipelago bring chiefly wine of a very poor sort, which is also used in the distilleries. Of these Greeks, about one third carry the Russian flag; but, as our friend D——— said (a merchant who resided here) "*Mauvais Russe, Mauvais Pavillon.*" They are of very bad character, and very poor. Any Greek who would purchase a house and land, became at once a Russian subject, and enjoyed their protection. The real Russian traders are very few. The European traders were Italian, Ragusan, Austrian, and Dalmatian, and in 1805 a few French, but under English colours, and with Maltese crews. These bring French wine, and German and English cloth. They carry back fish and iron." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

of August; and the third upon the eighteenth of November. The quantity of fish taken in the sea of Azof is truly astonishing; and these are sent, in a dried state, over all the south of Russia.* They receive fruit from Turkey, such as figs, raisins, and oranges; also Greek wines from the Archipelago, with incense, coffee, silks, shalls, tobacco and precious stones. Copper comes to them from Trebisond, but of a very inferiour quality, and is all sent to Moscow. Among their principal exports are cavaire, butter, leather, tallow, corn, furs, canvass, rigging, linen, wool, hemp, and iron, of which last article above a million pouds† were exported during the year in which we visited the place. Their canvass is very bad. The copper of Siberia is not brought to Taganrock, as Moscow receives the whole produce of those mines. Yet the greatest advantage which the town enjoys, is in being the deposit of Siberian productions. From Orenburgh they receive tallow, furs, and iron, which, with the cavaire of Astrachan, has only the short passage by land which intervenes between Zaritzin on the Volga, and the Don, a distance of forty English miles,‡ where Peter the Great projected a canal, and which it was Paul's intention to have completed. A draught of the intended communication between the Euxine and the Caspian Sea, by means of this canal, was first published by Perry, the English engineer, who was employed by Peter for the undertaking. That is not the least interesting part of Perry's Narrative, which relates the conduct of the Russian government towards him; because it shows the false glare which played about the greatest sovereign they ever had. Russia was, and is,

* "In winter the greatest fishery is carried on. Holes are made in the ice, at small distances, and the net passed under from each of these to the next in succession, by means of a pole, until a large tract is enclosed. Christmas is consequently as busy a time as midsummer; and a mild winter is ruinous." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

† A poud equals thirty six pounds of English weight; but some writers, among others, the translator of Pallas's Travels through the south of Russia, &c. state it as equal to forty.

‡ The canal of communication between the Volga and the Don, according to Perry [p. 3.] would have been 140 versts, because it would have followed the course of two other small rivers; the Lavla which falls into the Don, and the Camishinka, which falls into the Volga; but the section for the canal would not much exceed two miles. "Upon these small rivers," says Perry, "sluices were to be placed, to make them navigable; and a canal of near four Russian miles [equal to two and one third miles English] to be cut through the dry land, where the said rivers come nearest together." A work like this would not long be in agitation in England.

and ever will be, that point in the great circle of society, where the extremes of meanness and magnificence unite. Peter the Great, shuffling with his engineer, to evade the payment of a few roubles, is the faithful archetype of all the tsars, tsarinas, princes, and nobles of the empire, who would not scruple to rob their own *valet de chambre*, actuated by the same spirit which induced their heroine Dashkof, after losing thirty roubles at cards, to send thirty of the royal academy's almanacks by way of payment.* They are a people who cannot be truly appreciated, excepting by those who have not only actually resided among them, but who have seen them when removed from intercourse with civilized nations, and devested of that external varnish so forcibly alluded to by the lord lieutenant of the county of Wasa, in the extract annexed to a former page of this volume.† Perry hardly expected to meet with credit, when he gave his humble representation of the hardships he sustained, inasmuch as it effected the integrity of so lofty an individual; but further acquaintance with the country has long reconciled his simple narrative with all our notions of the people.‡ An Englishman will probably pause before he contracts for employment with any future potentate of Russia. The canal has never been accomplished, neither is it likely to be so, without the aid of talents, which, being exotick, the Russian government may find it difficult to procure.

The Calmucks form very large settlements in the neighbourhood of Taganrock. Their camps were numerous at the time of our visit; and both Calmuck men and women were seen galloping their horses through the streets of the town, or lounging in the publick places. Calmuck women ride better than the men. A male Calmuck on horseback looks as if he was intoxicated, and likely to fall off every

* See *Memoirs of the Court of Petersburgh*, by Segur, vol. II. p. 130.

† Page 194.

‡ "In the mean time, his lordship [*Apraxin, the lord chamberlain*] upon his return to Moscow, informed me that he had orders from the czar to pay me my arrears, and he gave directions to his deputy to bring in the account of what was due to me; so that I thought myself now sure of my money: but the next time I waited upon his lordship, in discourse he told me, that his majesty was so taken up with the affairs of the army in Poland, that it would, perhaps, be a long time before he would come again to Moscow, and have leisure to go and view the place, and give his orders, &c. and pleasantly asked me, what I would do with myself in the mean time."—*Perry's State of Russia*, p. 19.

instant, though he never loses his seat; but the women sit with more ease, and ride with extraordinary skill. The ceremony of marriage among the Calmucks is performed on horseback. A girl is first mounted, who rides off in full speed. Her lover pursues; and if he overtakes her, she becomes his wife, and the marriage is consummated upon the spot; after which she returns with him to his tent. But it sometimes happens that the woman does not wish to marry the person by whom she is pursued, in which case she will not suffer him to overtake her; and we were assured, that no instance occurs of a Calmuck girl being thus caught unless she has a partiality for her pursuer. If she dislikes him, she rides, to use the language of English sportsmen, "*neck or nothing*," until she has completely escaped, or until the pursuer's horse is tired out, leaving her at liberty to return, to be afterwards chaced by some more favoured admirer.

We visited one of their largest camps near the town, and found the earth all around their tents, covered by the mutilated carcases of dead rats, cats, dogs, suslicks, and marmots. The limbs of horses were placed upon upright stakes, and drying in the sun. Their dogs are fierce and very numerous. A dreadful storm had happened during the preceding night; and we found the Calmucks in considerable distress, owing to the havock which the tempest had made among their tents, some of which it had unroofed, and overthrown many. Their high priest, in a yellow, dirty robe, was walking about to maintain order. To each tent was affixed a small flag-staff, the ensign of which was of scarlet linen, containing, in sacred characters, the written law of the Calmucks. By means of an interpreter, who accompanied us upon this occasion, we were told that such banners were always erected in times of any general calamity, as preventions of theft and intrusion upon each other's property. Most of the flags we examined were torn, and others so much effaced by use, that we could only discern some of the written characters, yet all were sufficiently perfect to convince us of the extraordinary fact, that they were manuscripts, beautifully written upon coloured linen. It was, therefore, highly desirable to procure one of these interesting documents; and we ultimately succeeded, although the acquisition was made with considerable difficulty. At first they would not suffer us even to touch them; but being told that we were strangers in the land, that we came from very distant, western countries;

and that we were not subjects of Russia, they entered into consultation with each other; the result of which was, that if we would pay the priest for the trouble of transcribing, a fac-simile of one of the banners used in the camp should be brought to our quarters in Taganrock. This manuscript, fairly written on scarlet linen, was accordingly brought, in a very solemn embassy, and with many curious forms of presentation, by a party of the elder Calmucks, headed by their priest, the whole party being in their best dresses. I had been absent, and, upon my return, found these strange looking people sitting upon the bare earth, in the court-yard of the house where we lodged. As I drew near, the priest, in a kind of yellow frock, made a long speech, the substance of which was to inform me, that their law, esteemed sacred, had never been before suffered to pass from their hands; but as they were assured we were great princes, who travelled about to see the world, and gather instruction for our own people, they had ventured to consign the consecrated code to our use. They moreover desired us to observe, that the character in which it was written was also sacred; on which account they had also brought a specimen of the vulgar character in daily use among them. Their sacred characters, like those of Europeans, read from left to right, and are of the highest antiquity; these are used in all writings which concern the Calmuck law. The vulgar characters, such as they use in their correspondence, and the common concerns of life, are read from the top to the bottom, and are placed in columns. I have used every endeavour, but in vain, since my return to England, to get this curious manuscript translated; nor has it been as yet decided in what language it is written.* A gentleman of Taganrock, Mr. Kavalensky, from whom we experienced many other acts of kindness, was our interpreter upon this occasion. He spoke the Calmuck language with great fluency, and said it was by no means difficult to acquire. It is frequently used in Astrachan, and throughout all the territory of Bochârâ, the inhabitants of which are principally Calmucks. I had an opportunity of seeing some who had traversed those remote and almost impenetrable regions. When I questioned them with regard to Sarmacand, its once celebrated capital, they described it as possessing many remains of former magnificence. Doubtless it also

* The original is now deposited in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

contains many curious manuscripts; as the Calmucks are so well versed in the art of writing, and hold certain of their manuscripts even in veneration. They preserve, like all other oriental nations, many traditions respecting Alexander. Such, in addition to my former observations, is all the information I am able to afford, concerning this remarkable people, the Hippophagi of Pliny and the more ancient historians. Their number in the Russian empire has diminished since the establishment of provincial governments and the division of lands, owing to their being more confined to limited situations.* Frequent attempts have been made, and are daily making, to induce them to form a regular settlement. Like all nomade tribes, particularly Laplanders and gipsies, they are so much accustomed to an uncontrolled and vagrant life, that nothing but extreme indigence can compel them to cultivate land, and reside in any fixed habitation.

The country near Taganrock is a continuation of those *steppes* which I have so often described, affording pasture to several thousand cattle. It abounds also with swarms of the little quadruped before mentioned, under the name of *suslick*. Near to the town are small plantations of trees, and particularly some fine oaks, which the late commandant planted, and which flourish with other large trees near the shore. We also observed crab-trees, and the plant from which the Spanish liquorice† is obtained, in full bloom, the root of which was full of juice, and had a very high flavour. The inhabitants of Taganrock, avoid planting trees close to their dwellings, on account of the swarms of musquitoes which would be thereby harboured.

The diversity of nations observable in the various inhabitants of Taganrock, is altogether without example. Every street resembles a masquerade. I counted at one time the individuals of fifteen different countries assembled together; all of whom were not more remarkably distinguished by their respective dresses and habits, than by the harmony and friendship which existed among them. No one seemed to regard the other as a stranger. In their societies and intermarriages, each individual preserves his mode of dress, and exercises his rule of worship, without making the smallest sacrifice to etiquette, by any alteration in his national habits,

* See Pallas's Travels in Russia, vol. I. p. 115.

† *Glycyrrhiza glabra*.

or giving the slightest offence to the parties with whom he is connected. Even the common disputes and petty quarrels, so frequent in the markets of large commercial towns, appeared unknown to the motley tribe who peopled this place; yet Babel itself could hardly have witnessed greater variety of language. The fifteen nations, whose representatives I observed at one time gathered together, were as follow:

1 Russians,
2 Greeks,
3 Armenians,
4 Nagay Tartars* [*Hamaxobii*]
5 Calmucks [*Hippophagi*]
6 Cossacks,
7 Germans,
8 Poles,
9 French,
10 English,
11 Turks,
12 Italians,
13 Malo-Russians,
14 Prussians,
15 Hungarians.

If the commerce of Taganrock should experience any considerable increase, we may reasonably conclude, from the present view of its inhabitants, that almost every nation upon earth will have its agent there.

The shores of the sea of Azof, from the commerce carried on by the Greeks in the Euxine and Palus Mæotis, bring the traveller so near to what may be deemed classick land, that an inquiry after antiquities was not neglected. We could not hear, however, that any thing worthy of notice had ever been discovered. *Tumuli*, so often before mentioned, abound in all the steppes; and in working the cliffs for the establishment of a magazine or storehouse, where one of these *tumuli* had been raised, they found in the sandy soil, of which it consisted, an arched vault, shaped like an oven, constructed of very large, square bricks, and paved, in a style of most exquisite workmanship, with the same materials. If any thing was discovered by the workmen who made the excavation, it was concealed; for they pretend that its contents were unobserved or disregarded. In all probability something of value was removed from the sepulchre, as will appear by the description hereafter given of a

† "The Nagay Tartars begin to the west of Marinopol; they cultivate a good deal of corn, yet they dislike bread as an article of food. They extend from Marinopol to Perecop, along the coast of the sea of Zabasche. Their tents differ from those of the Calmucks, as, being more clumsy, and never taken to pieces, they are carried about on cars. This usage they seem to have borrowed from the primitive Scythian population. The Nagay tribes train their camels to the yoke, for which they are ill qualified, and which practice is unknown among all the Mongul tribes in Asia." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

similar tomb, opened on the Asiatick side of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Such vaulted sepulchres seem to render trivial the notions which have lately been entertained and published respecting the antiquity of arches. The *tumuli* in which such appearances have been discovered cannot be considered as posterior to the time of Alexander, if they were not equal in antiquity to the foundation of the Macedonian empire.

News arrived while we remained in Taganrock, that the Cossacks of the Black Sea, or, as they are called, Tchernomorski, inhabiting Kuban Tartary, had crossed the Kuban with a considerable reenforcement under general Draskovitz, a Sclavonian officer in the Russian service, and made war upon the Circassians, in order to be revenged for injuries sustained in consequence of the constant plunder carried on by that people in their territory. We had long entertained a desire of crossing the deserts of Kuban, with a view to reach the districts which lie at the foot of Mount Caucasus, and, if possible, gratify our curiosity by a sight of the Circassians in their own country, whose personal endowments are almost proverbial. A favourable opportunity seemed now to present itself; but even the Don Cossacks had cautioned us against their brethren of Kuban, whom they described as a lawless set of banditti; and our friends in Taganrock considered the undertaking hazardous in the extreme. Yet the experience which had so often taught us that rumoured perils disappear when approached, and above all, the desire of traversing an unknown tract of land, fortified us for the undertaking. On the evening of the third of July, having placed our carriage in a wretched, flat-bottomed vessel, more like a saucer in shape, than a boat, we ventured on the waves and shallows of the sea of Azof. The first part of our voyage was as pleasant and tranquil as we could wish; but having sailed through all the Turkish fleet of merchant ships at quarantine, it blew, as night came on, a gale upon our quarter. Our little boat, heavily laden, with its enormous sail very ill managed, seemed all at once at the mercy of the sea. The direction given to us was to steer southeast and by east. The only person on board who had the slightest notion of navigation, was a French refugee at the helm, who pretended he had been a sailor, and now held the guidance of our vessel. By mere accident I happened to notice the polar-star; and its bearing proved that we were out of the course we had been directed to steer.

Upon this our Frenchman was asked if he had not a compass. "Oh yes, a very good one," he replied; but instead of using it, he had kept it safe locked in the chest upon which he sat. The compass being produced, it appeared that we were going due south; and to give an idea of the ignorance of the mariners in these waters, who are all of them coasters, it need only be mentioned, that our pilot, alarmed by his mistake, continued to turn the box containing the compass, in the hope of making the needle correspond with his wishes. Finding that all was wrong, an instantaneous and fearful confusion ensued. We let go the mainsail, and made an endeavour to lower it; but the rigging became hampered, and the gale fast increasing, bore the gunnel down; and the carriage rolling very near over the lee side, we shipped as much water as we could barely float with. Our first efforts were to secure the carriage from another roll, and, with all our force exerted, to hold the wheels; while our terrified boatmen, half out of their senses, were running over and against each other. I have heard veteran officers in the British navy declare, that they have encountered more real danger in what is called *boating*, than in doubling the cape of Good Hope during the heaviest gales of wind; and I will venture to say, not one of them, had they been then present with us, would have deemed it possible to save our lives. We at last succeeded, however, in getting out a couple of anchors, and having lowered and lashed the carriage, so as to secure it from any violent motion, passed a night, beneath the canopy of heaven, in a state of terrour, almost without hope. As morning broke, we discerned the Asiatick coast, towards the south; but the gale continuing, we could not weigh our anchors before noon; when getting under weigh once more, we sailed with more moderate weather, to the promontory of Chumburskaia, in Asia, where we landed our carriage.

The village of Chumburskaia consists of a few miserable *wigwams*, the inhabitants of which were busied hauling their nets when we arrived. So prodigious was the draught of fishes made at every haul, that the few wagons stationed with oxen to carry off the produce of the fishery were insufficient for its removal. A single haul was sometimes sufficient to fill two or three of these wagons; and the fishes thus taken, were conveyed to a place for preparing them, belonging to the owners of the land; where, being first salted, they were exposed for drying in the sun. The variety

caught was very great. We saw them draw out Prussian carp, pike, sturgeon, sterlet, a sort of large bream, fish which resembled perch, but of very considerable size, and those immense crawfish of which I have before spoken. The shore at this place was covered with a very fine gravel, composed of shells and sand. Swarms of toads and small serpents were crawling or running towards the sea; the water, though unwholesome, being so little impregnated with salt, that the inhabitants use it for drinking, and for all culinary purposes.

Proceeding towards the interiour, the view is bounded by *steppes*, as on the European side, covered with tall, luxuriant plants. Although the distance is small which conveys the traveller from Europe to Asia, yet the variety of new objects which almost immediately present themselves, cannot be unobserved. Beetles of a gigantick size, locusts, various coloured insects, large, green lizards, some of which are twelve inches in length, all manifest a change. Having brought a letter to a Greek gentleman, whose commercial speculations, particularly in the fishery, had induced him to adopt a residence in these parts, we found him at Margaritovskaia, another small village four miles from Chumhurskaia, and caused our carriage to be conveyed to his house. He was settled in a small colony of his own countrymen, the neatness of whose cottages plainly distinguished them from all the other inhabitants of that country. "I have retired to this place," said he, "to be somewhat removed from the shore; as the natives along the coast are not to be trusted." He gave us a supper of rice, milk, and pancakes, according to the custom of his country; and we should have felt comfortable in his little dwelling, had it not been for the disgusting appearance of toads, which continually entered, crawling about the floor. Reptiles, vermin, bad air, bad water, and bad people, are among the plagues which distinguish oriental territories; but the small district we traversed in this part of Asia, from the mouths of the Don to those of the Kuban, may vie in horrours with any other I have since seen. The roads at this season of the year [July] were certainly excellent and the post very well supplied, but they were said to be full of danger, and certainly characterized by every unwholesome and filthy accompaniment.

CHAPTER XVI.

JOURNEY THROUGH KUBAN TARTARY, TO THE FRONTIER OF CIRCASSIA.

Relays for Horses—River Ae—Cossacks of the Black Sea—Cause of their Migration—How distinguished from Don Cossacks—and from Russians—Wild Fowl—Singular Species of Mole—Cherubinovskoy—Plants—Rate of Travelling—Tumili—Stragglers from the Army—View of the Caucasian Mountains—Capital of the TCHERNOMORSKI*—Manners of the People—their Dress and Exterternal Appearance—Visit from the Ataman—Causes of the War in Circassia—Passage of the Kuban—Advance of the Cossack Army—Arrival of the Pacha of Anapa—Ceremony of Concluding the Peace—Circassian Princes—Peasants of Circassia—Dances of the Circassians—Language—*LESGI*—Remarkable instance of bravery in a Circassian—Circassian Women—Commerce with the Tcherormski—Skill in Horsemanship—State of Travelling in Caucasus.*

THE whole territory from the sea of Azof to the Kuban, and thence following the course of that river towards its embouchure, is a continual desert, more desolate than the steppes on the European side of the Mæotis, in which a few huts, rudely constructed of reeds and narrow flags, and stationed at certain distances, serve to supply horses for the post. Such wretched hovels offer neither accommodation nor food. They are often destitute even of any thatched covering as a roof, and supply merely an enclosure, in which the houses remain their stated time, standing in mud or dung. The persons who have the care of them make their appearance when the traveller arrives, from a hole in the ground: having burrowed, and formed a little subterraneous cave, in which they live, like the marmots, moles, and other tenants of the wilderness.

We left Margaritovskoy on the fifth of July, admiring the fine view that was presented of the sea of Azof, and travelled towards the AE, one of the several rivers mentioned by Ptolemy, in this part of Asiatick Sarmatia, and

which it is difficult to identify with any of the ancient names enumerated by him. *Ae*, in the Tartar language signifies *good;* and the name is said to have been applied to the river, because its banks afford a favourable pasture for sheep; but the water is brackish, and impregnated with salt.

During the first thirty six versts* of this day's journey, we found Grecain, or Malo-Russian inhabitants. Their number in this district does net exceed seven hundred persons; yet a full proof of their industry and superiour importance, as tenants of the land, is offered in the fact of their affording to their landlord an average payment of no less a sum annually than ten thousand roubles. The boundary of their little territory is formed by the river Ae towards the south, and the sea of Azof to the north. The river Ae separates them from a very different and very extraordinary race of men, whose history and country we are now prepared to consider; namely, the TCHERNOMORSKI, or *Cossacks of the Black Sea;* more dreadful tales of whom are told, to intimidate travellers, than even the misrepresentations circulated in Russia concerning their brethren, the Cossacks of the Don. We had been directed to augment our escort, and, in consequence, were always preceded by a troop of armed Cossack cavalry. It is true, the figures of those who composed the body of our own guard did not appear very conciliating; but we had never reason to complain either of their conduct, or of their honesty.

The Tchernomorski are a brave, but rude and warlike people, possessing little of the refinement of civilized society, although much inward goodness of heart; and they are ready to show the greatest hospitality to strangers who solicit their aid. Their original appellation was ZAPOROGZTZSI, according to the most exact orthography given to me by Mr. Kovalensky of Taganrock; a term alluding to their former situation "*beyond the cataracts*" of the Dnieper, from the banks of which river they were removed, by the late empress Catherine, to those of the Kuban, in order to repel the incursions of the Circassians and Tartars from the Turkish frontier. Their removal was originally planned by Potemkin, but did not take place until about nine years previous to our arrival in the country. Their society upon the Dnieper originally consisted of refugees

* Twenty four English miles.

and deserters from all nations, who had formed a settlement in the marshes of that river.* Storch affirms, that there was hardly a language in Europe but might be found in use among this singular people.†

In consequence of the service they rendered to Russia in her last war with Turkey, Catherine, by an *ukase* of the second of June, 1792, ceded to them the peninsula of Taman, and all the countries between the Kuban and the sea of Azof, as far as the rivers Ae and Laba; an extent of territory comprehending upwards of one thousand square miles.‡ They had also allotted to them a constitution in all respects similar to that of the Don Cossacks, and received the appellation of "*Cossacks of the Black Sea.*" They were, moreover, allowed the privilege of choosing an ataman; but their numbers have considerably diminished. They could once bring into the field an army of forty thousand effective cavalry. At present, the number of troops which they are able to supply does not exceed fifteen thousand. Upon their coming to settle in Kuban Tartary, it was first necessary to expel the original inhabitants, who were a tribe as ferocious and savage as the Circassians. Part of these were driven to the deserts of Nagay, and the *steppes* north of the Isthmus of the Crimea: the rest fled over the Kuban to Circassia, and became subject to the princes who inhabit Caucasus. At the time we traversed Kuban, the Tchernomorski occupied the whole country from the Ae to the Kuban, and from the Black Sea to the frontier of the Don Cossacks.

* "These men originally were deserters and vagabonds from all nations, who had taken refuge in the marshy islands of the Dnieper. At the foundation of Cherson, they were chased from their homes, and took shelter at the mouth of the Danube, still preserving their character of fishermen and pirates. Potemkin offering them pay and lands, they returned to the side of Russia, and did great service in the second Turkish war. They received, as a reward, the country newly conquered from the Kuban Tartars. They hold their lands by the same tenure, and enjoy nearly the same privileges as the Don Cossacks. They are, however, much poorer, and more uncivilized, and never quit their country, where, indeed, they have sufficient employment. They receive no pay, except an allowance of rye; and dress themselves at their own expense, and in whatever colours they choose, without any regard to uniformity. The officers, for the most part, wear red boots, which is their only distinction. They deal largely in cattle; and have a barter of salt for corn with the Circassians. They are generally called thieves. We found them, however, very honest, where their point of honour was touched, very good natured, and, according to their scanty means, hospitable." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

† Storch. Tableau de Russ. tom. I. p. 62. ‡ Ibid. p. 65.

The Russians speak of them as a band of lawless banditti. We soon found they had been much misrepresented; although among a people consisting of such various nations and characters, we certainly could not have travelled without the escort by which we were accompanied. The road, if the plain, unaltered earth may admit of such an appellation, was covered with stragglers, either going to the scene of war, or coming from it. Their figure, dress, and manner, were unlike any thing seen in Europe; and however good the opinion may be which we still entertain of this people, it would be trusting too much to that opinion, to advise any traveller not to be prepared against the chance at least of danger, where the temptation to commit acts of hostility, and the power of doing so, exist in so great a degree. They do not resemble the Cossacks of the Don in habits, in disposition, or in any circumstance of external deportment. The Cossacks of the Don all wear the same uniform: those of the Black Sea any habit which may suit their caprice. The Don Cossack is mild, affable, and polite: the Black Sea Cossack is blunt, and even rude, from the boldness and hardihood of his manner. If poor, he is habited like a primeval shepherd, or the wildest mountaineer; at the same time having his head bald, except one long, braided lock from the crown, which is tucked behind the right ear. If rich, he is very lavish in the costliness of his dress, being covered with gold, silver, velvet, and the richest silks, and cloths of every variety of colour; but wearing, at the same time, short cropped hair, which gives to his head the appearance of the finest busts of the ancient Romans. The distinctive mark of a Black Sea Cossack, born by the lower order among them, of a braided lock from the crown of the head, passing behind the right ear, is retained even by the officers, but concealed by the younger part of them, with very artful foppery, among their dark hair. They seemed ashamed to have it noticed; although, like a relick on the breast of a Catholick, it was preserved even with religious veneration; and there was not one of them who would not sooner have parted with his life, than with this badge of the tribe to which he belonged. The custom is of Polish origin: but in this part of the world it serves like the sign among freemasons, and distinguishes the Tchernomorski Cossack from the Cossack of the Don, as well as from every other tribe of Cossacks in the Russian empire. The Tchernomorski are much more cheerful and noisy than the Don

Cossacks; turbulent in their mirth; vehement in conversation; somewhat querulous; and, if not engaged in dispute, are generally laughing or singing. The Cossacks of the Don hold this people in little estimation, considering them as an inferiour band of plunderers when in actual service. But it must be said, the Tchernomorski entertain the same sentiments with regard to them, making those remarks which the uneducated and lower class of English do with regard to foreigners; such as, that "one Cossack of the Black Sea is a match for any three of his neighbours on the Don." The Russian regards both with aversion, and affects to consider them beneath his notice and unworthy his society, for no other assignable reason than ignorance or envy. The Cossack is rich; the Russian poor. The Cossack is high minded; the Russian abject. The Cossack is, for the most part, clean in his person, honourable, valiant, often well informed, and possesses, with his loftiness of soul, a very noble stature. The Russian is generally filthy, unprincipled, dastardly, always ignorant, and rarely dignified by any elevation of mind or body.*

But it is proper to attend more closely to the detail of the journey. At thirty six versts distance from Margaritovskoy we came to the river *Æe*, called *Yea* by the Turks, and *Iéia* by the Germans, a boundary of the territory possessed by the Tchernomorski. Just before we crossed this river, we passed a fortress of considerable size, rudely constructed of earth and surmounted by a few pieces of artillery. This fortress was originally a *dépôt* of stores, and a barrier against the Tartars. It is still garrisoned. The commandant, as we changed horses at *Aeskoy*, gave us news of the war to which we were travelling. From him we learned, that the allied army of Cossacks, Sclavonians, and Russians, had crossed the Kuban, and had taken several Circassian villages; that many Circassian princes had applied in person to the Tchernomorski for peace; that the pacha of

* When Mr. Heber was in this country, his friend, Mr. Thornton, the companion of his travels, lost his gun; and they left Ekaterinedara, supposing it to be stolen; as travellers in Russia are constantly liable to thefts of every description. To their great surprise, however, when they arrived at Taman the gun was brought to them. An express had been sent after them, who had travelled the whole distance from Ekaterinedara to Taman, to restore the gun to its owner; and the person employed to convey it refused to accept any reward for his labour. Such facts as these require no comment. The character of the people, and their superiority to the Russians in every qualification that can adorn human nature, is completely established.

Anapa had announced his intention of acting as mediator, and of repairing to the Tchernomorski capital, Ekaterinedara. He cautioned us to be on our guard concerning the Tchernomorski, as the route would now be filled with deserters, and persons of every description from the army; and, above all things, he advised us to increase the number of our guard, lest treachery might be experienced from the members of our escort, from whom as much might be apprehended as from the Circassians.

We observed several sorts of game in this day's journey, particularly the wild turkey, the pheasant, some wild swans, and wild ducks; also a large sort of fowl as big as a capon. In the *steppes* we caught a very uncommon species of mole. To us it was entirely new; although perhaps it may have been the animal mentioned in the *Journal des Savans Voyageurs*, as known in Russia under the appellation of *slepez*.* It seemed totally blind; not having the smallest speck or mark of any eye or optick nerve. Its head was broad, and quite flat, like that of an otter; its under jaw armed by two very formidable fangs, with which, when caught, it gnashes and grates its upper teeth. It is to the highest degree fierce, and, for so small an animal, remarkably intimidating; for though it will not turn out of the way, while on its march, it bites and tears whatever it encounters. It is of a pale ash colour; and, with the exception of the head, much like the common mole.

Passing the Ae, we entered the territory of the Tschernomorski; and proceeding about four miles further, we arrived at Cherubinovskoy, a wretched village, built of reeds, and containing two or three paltry shops. As we journeyed on from this place, the post houses were constructed exactly after the description given in the beginning of this chapter. They were totally destitute of any security from the weather, consisting only of a few bundles of reeds and flags, loosely put together, and liable to be scattered by the slightest wind. The wonder is, how they can possibly preserve their cattle in such places during the winter season, which is sometimes extremely severe. We observed several sledges for travelling over the snow; and in these the attendants of the relays had constructed their beds.

* Gmelin considered it as an intermediate link between the mouse and the mole; for though, like the mole, it buries itself, yet its food is confined entirely to that which it finds on the soil. See *Journ. des Sav. Voy.* p. 151.

On the sixth of July we saw nothing but continued *steppes*, covered by beautiful and luxuriant flowers. Among the tallest and most showy, appeared the dark blue blossoms of the *Viper's Bugloss*, or *Echium altissimum* of Jacquin, and *italicum* of Linnæus. The *Statice trygonoïdes*, not known to Linnæus, grew in abundance; and is common over all Kuban Tartary; also those beautiful plants, *Iris desertorum*, and *Dianthus Carthusianorum*. We were of course busied in making additions to our herbary; and the note subjoined will enumerate the principal part of our acquisition.* The mosquitoes began to increase, and were very troublesome. The heat at the same time was very great, being as high as 96° of Fahrenheit, when estimated with the greatest caution in the shade.

Throughout all this part of Kuban, a traveller with a light carriage may proceed at the rate of one hundred and thirty English miles in a day. With our laden vehicle, notwithstanding the numerous delays occasioned by search for plants and animals, we performed seventy miles in the course of twelve hours. We passed several lakes, one of which, from its remarkable appellation, deserves notice: it was called *Bey's Eau*, "*Prince's Water*;" *eau* being pronounced exactly as by the French, and signifying the same thing. *Bey* is a very common oriental word for *a prince*. A village near this lake was called *Bey's eau koy*. We noticed also some corn mills, worked by undershot wheels; and ancient tumuli, as usual, in the perspective. Among the birds, swallows appeared by far the most numerous. One vast plain was entirely covered by swarms of them, evidently assembling in preparation for a migratory flight to some other country. Wild swans, geese, and ducks, were in great numbers. But by much the most frequent objects were the tumuli; and from their great number I should have been inclined to suppose they were occasionally raised as marks of guidance across these immense plains during win-

* A new species of *Calendula*; also of *Ranunculus*, and *Galega*—*Crambe Tartarica*—*Cerinthe minor*—*Antirrhinum genistifolium*—*Anthemis millefoliata*—*Lathyrus tuberosus*—*Symphytum consolidum*—*Salvia nemorosa*—*Galium rubioïdes*—*Phlomis tuberosa*—*Xeranthemum annuum*, in great abundance—*Nigella Damascena*—*Astragalus tenuifolius*.—Others, well known in Britain, were, *Thalictrum minus* (Lesser Meadow Rue)—*Agrostemma Githago* (Cockle)—*Tanacetum vulgare* (Tansy)—*Ranunculus Lingua* (Great Spear-wort)—*Cynoglossum officinale* (Hound's tongue)—*Trifolium arvense* (Hair's-foot Trefoil)—*Trifolium melilotus lutea*.

ter, when the ground is covered by snow: but whenever any one has been laid open, the appearance of a sepulchre puts the question of their origin beyond dispute, and the traveller is left to wonder and perplex himself in conjectures concerning the population which supplied the labour for raising these numerous vestiges of interment, as well as the bodies they served to contain. The number greatly increased as we drew near to the Kuban; and in the last stage, before we reached that river, I counted ninety one, all at once in view.

The whole of the soil in this part of the Tchernomorski territory is covered by fine pasture herbage, and supplies hay for all their cavalry and cattle.* In our route, we frequently encountered parties returning from the war, who had been dismissed to their respective homes, or had thought proper to remove themselves. These were all armed similarly to our escort, and according to the opinion of the commandant of the old mud fortress upon the Ae, when we entered their territory, were as much to be dreaded as the Circassians themselves. They passed us, however, very respectfully, probably on account of our number, which had been augmented from twelve to twenty. As for those of the Tschernomorski whom we found in the different post houses, they really appeared as wild as American savages; having their bodies quite naked, except a sheep's hide cast across their shoulders, with the wool on the outside. They usually appeared lying among the grass, while the horses for the post were grazing around them, ready to be caught when wanted.

We now drew near to the Kuban, and had reached the last post house before arriving at Ekaterinodara, when the view of the Caucasian mountains opened upon us, extending, in a craggy and mountainous ridge from east to west. I endeavoured to recall a former impression made upon my mind in the approach to the Alps from Augsburg, and the recollection served to convince me, that the range of Mount Caucasus has neither the apparent altitude nor grandeur of the Alpine, whatever their relative heights may

* "The cattle here are larger and finer than any where in Russia. There are no sheep, not even of the Asiatick breed. The Cossack horses are what would be called in England good galloways. Their masters vaunt very much their speed and hardiness. According to them, a moderately good horse will go sixty versts, or forty miles at full speed, without stopping. They are seldom handsome." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

be. Marshal Biberstein, a celebrated Russian botanist and traveller, afterwards informed me, that he considered *Mount Chat* in Caucasus higher than *Mont Blanc*: it is certainly visible at the immense distance of two hundred miles. The snowy summits of the Alps are seen for a day's journey before reaching them, glittering above the line of clouds collected near their bases; especially by a traveller who approaches the Tirol, where they seem to rise up all at once like a wall from the plains of Suabia. To us, indeed, who had travelled so long in the flats of Russia, the Caucasian mountains were a new and very interesting sight. Our eyes were fatigued by the uniformity of perpetual plains; and even serene skies, to which we had been so long accustomed, were gladly exchanged for the refreshing winds of the hills, the frequent showers, and the rolling clouds, which always accompany them. Trees also began to appear, and the banks of the Kuban were covered with woods. The oak, so long a stranger, reared his venerable head; and the willow, the bramble, wild raspberries, blooming shrubs, and thick underwood covered the ground, affording retreat to abundance of wild boars and deer. The last are often taken young, and kept as tame animals in the cottages of the country.

EKATERINEDARA, or *Catherine's Gift*, the capital of the Tchernomorski Cossacks, makes a very extraordinary appearance. It has no resemblance to a town, but is rather a grove or forest of oaks, in which a number of straggling cottages, widely separated, are concealed, not only from all general observation, but even from the view of each other. The inhabitants have cut down and cleared as many as they could; but the streets, if they may be so called, and the spaces between the houses, are covered with dwarf oaks, and thick branches of scions yet rising from the roots which are left in the earth. The antiquity of the tumuli which cover all this country, may, in some degree, be proved, even by the appearance of the oaks growing on them. We saw some trees, perhaps, as old as any in the world, which were so situated. The inhabitants had dug into the tumuli, to form cellars for their ice and wine; and, in so doing, found several earthen vases, deposited with the skeletons which these sepulchres contained; but unfortunately they destroyed every thing they discovered. The air in this *metropolitan forest* is pestiferous, and the water of the place very unwholesome. Fevers, similar to those which prevail near

the Pontine marshes, at Paestum, and on the coast of Baia in Italy, afflict those who reside here. In the environs, however, the air is better; and, perhaps, when the ground is cleared, so as to admit a free circulation, and thoroughly cultivated by the increase of gardens, the health of the inhabitants will be less injured; but from its damp situation, and the vicinity of extensive marshes on the Circassian side of the Kuban, Ekaterinodara is never likely to be a desirable place of residence. The very foundation of the city bore date only eight years previous to our arrival; so that it still had the appearance of a colony newly transported to the wilderness of America, maintaining a struggle against all the obstacles opposed to it, from inhospitable natives, impenetrable woods, and an unwholesome climate. The houses of the inhabitants were neater than our best English cottages. Each owner possessed a large area before his door, to which an avenue of the finest oaks conducted; also an adjoining garden, in which we noticed the vine, the watermelon, and the cucumber. The sunflower blooms spontaneously every where, without cultivation; and many plants found only in our greenhouses are the weeds of the plain. The climate, from a proximity to the mountains, is humid and cloudy, agitated by frequent and violent winds, with thunder, and sudden tempestuous rains.

In their new settlement, the Tchernomorski still display the same manners and mode of life which they practised before they migrated from the Dnieper. By this means the Circassians, and even those of the Russians who live among them, or near them, are instructed in many domestick arts of comfort and cleanliness to which they were before strangers. Celebrated as they justly are for their skill in horsemanship, they acknowledge themselves inferiour in this respect to the Circassians, whose light bodies, lightly accoutred, on the fleetest horses in the world, outstrip them in the chace. Yet I knew not a more interesting object than a Cossack of the Tchernomorski mounted and equipped for war. It is then only they may be said to exist, and in their native element; brandishing their long lances in the air, bending, turning, or halting suddenly when in full speed, with so much graceful attitude, and such natural dignity, that the horse and his rider seem as one animal.

The reins of government are entirely in the hands of the ataman and his officers. These wear the most theatrical and showy dresses which are known to any people in the whole

world. Their breasts are covered with chains of gold and lace. Their sabre is Turkish, their boots of red or yellow coloured leather, their cap of black velvet, ornamented with lace and silver chains, or fine black Tartarian wool, taken from lambs in an embryo state; and the waist bound with silken sashes, which support pistols of the most costly workmanship. A small whip, with a short leathern thong, is attached to their little finger. The lower extremity of their lance is supported by the right foot; and from the powder flask, which hangs in front, are suspended silver coins and other trinkets.

On the evening of our arrival, the ataman waited upon us with a party of officers. One of the best houses in the place had been previously allotted to our use, which they desired us to consider as our own, and declared themselves ready to render us any service in their power. The ataman then informed us, that the pacha of Anapa, with several of the princes of Circassia, had crossed the Kuban, and pitched their tents on the northern side of the river, suing for peace with the Tchernomorski; that a considerable part of the Cossack army would march to give them a meeting in the morning, and adjust the preliminaries; and as the ceremony might amuse us, he very kindly offered to include us among the persons of his suite; to which proposal we readily assented.

The history of the war in which they had been so recently engaged is as follows: The Circassians, in their nocturnal incursions, had for the last three years committed many depredations upon the territory of the Tchernomorski; not only stealing the cattle, but sometimes bearing off the inhabitants. The Tchernomorski applied to the emperour for permission to punish these marauders, and for a reenforcement. General Drascovitz was accordingly sent, with a party of troops and some artillery, into the Kuban. At five o'clock on the morning of Friday, June the 20th, the army, consisting of four thousand five hundred men, including two regiments of regulars, some pieces of artillery, and the chief part of the Cossack army stationed in and near Ekaterinedara, began to advance, by crossing the river. This undertaking was sufficiently arduous to have daunted better disciplined troops. The Kuban is broad and very rapid; and a few canoes, with one flat bottomed barge, was all the aid which could be procured for this purpose. General Drascovitz himself assured me he had never seen any

thing equal to the spirit and alacrity with which the Cossack cavalry, who led the way, received the order to march. They plunged on horseback into the torrent, and swam to the opposite shore. The passage was begun, as I have stated, at five in the morning; and by four o'clock in the afternoon the whole army had crossed, which, considering the want of proper boats and other conveniences, and the great rapidity of the current is wonderful. By nine o'clock in the same evening, the attack was commenced. A small party, consisting only of eight of the Circassian guard, were surprised in the very onset of the march, of which two were taken, and the others fled, to give the alarm. The first effective blow was struck by the Circassians, who attacked the advanced guard of the Cossack cavalry, taking eleven of the Cossack horses and a few prisoners. General Drascowitz then detached a body of Cossacks to reconnoitre, who found the Circassians in possession of a strong hold and prepared for attack. These gave the Cossacks a very warm reception; but the general perceiving it, caused some pieces of artillery to bear upon his opponents. The noise of cannon had never before been heard in Circassia: the rocks of Caucasus repeated the dreadful uproar of the guns; and the natives, at the very sound, fled in all directions. The Russian army, rapidly advancing, burned and destroyed eight of the villages, took eight thousand head of cattle, besides a quantity of arms and other valuables. The number of the dead on the side of the Circassians amounted to thirty seven in one village; and nearly an equal slaughter took place in all the others. The Russians lost only ten Cossacks, who were made prisoners, but had not a man killed, and very few wounded. The number of the Circassian prisoners was not great; for so desperate was their valour, that they preferred being cut to pieces rather than surrender. The first overtures for peace were made by the arrival of some deputies from the Circassians, demanding the reason of the war. The answer given by the Cossacks is curious, as it serves to call to mind similar laconick expressions. "*You have played your gambols*," said they, "*in our territory these three years: we therefore come for a little sport in yours.*" This answer being carried to the princes of the country, they came in great numbers to sue the Cossacks for quarter and peace. To aid this request, a scarcity of bread soon prevailed among the combined forces of Russians and Cossacks; and the water of the

country being bad, they retreated gradually towards the Kuban, where they were met by the pacha of Anapa, who, with a great retinue and much ceremony, came, in the name of the Turkish government, to intercede for the Circassians; offering himself, at the same time, a pledge for the security of their future conduct. To strengthen these assurances, he accompanied the Cossacks and Russians across the Kuban, and entered Ekaterinedara, but was not permitted to remain there, on account of the quarantine. He was suffered, however, to pitch his tent on the Cossack side of the Kuban, close to the river. From thence he passed again into Circassia; and assembling the princes of the country, made them take a solemn oath of peace and friendship with the Tchernomorski; but the latter, not being satisfied with the report of these proceedings, insisted that the same oath should be publicly repeated on their side of the river. It was for this purpose that the pacha of Anapa had again returned, bringing with him the most powerful of the Circassian princes, who now waited upon the northern bank of the Kuban, to go through the required ceremony.

At nine o'clock on the following morning, the 8th of July, general Draseovitz sent his *droski*, escorted by a party of armed Cossacks and an officer, to say the ataman was waiting for us to join his suite in the procession to the pacha of Anapa's tent by the Kuban; and that many of the princes of Circassia were there, ready to take the oath of peace. We drove to head quarters, and arrived as the grand cavalcade, consisting of the ataman with a numerous escort of Cossack officers, and delegates from all the troops of the Cossack army, were proceeding to the river side, distant only half a mile from the town. I never beheld so fine a sight. The dresses worn by the officers were more beautiful than the most magnificent theatres display, exhibiting every variety of colour and ornament; while their high bred horses, glittering in embroidered housings, and prancing with flowing manes and tails, seemed conscious of the warlike dignity of their riders. Several Cossacks darted by us, on the fleetest coursers we had ever seen, to join the cavalcade. In front rode the ataman, bareheaded, in a dress of blue velvet, with sleeves and trowsers of scarlet cloth, very richly embroidered. From his shoulders loosely fell a rich tunick, lined with blue silk, and fastened back by gold buttons. His boots, like those of all the other officers, were of red leather; and by his side was suspended a broad and

costly sabre, in a sheath of red velvet, richly embossed with gold and studded with turquioses. On each side of him rode a party of his principal officers and behind followed all the flower of the Cossack army, in most sumptuous dresses, curbing there foaming and neighing steeds. We were, by the ataman's orders, placed in the van of the procession; and soon arriving on the high grounds which form the northern bank of the Kuban, beheld the encampment of the Turks and Circassians on a small flat, close to the water's edge. The pacha, surrounded by his attendants, was seated in his tent, smoking, with the awning drawn up on all sides. He was attended by a Turkish courier from the porte, his own dragoman or interpreter, and several of the most powerful Circassian princes, dressed in the savage and extraordinary habits worn by the different tribes of Mount Caucasus, some of which will be hereafter more particularly noticed. Upon the opposite shore appeared a very considerable multitude of the Circassians, collected either by curiosity, or the hope of bartering with the Cossacks, when the terms of peace should be concluded. The greater part of these remained at a distance from the rest, with evident caution and mistrust, as if uncertain what termination the business of the day might have. As soon as the Cossack cavalry made its appearance, the Circassian deputies rose, and came to the entrance of the pacha's tent, who was seen in front of the party, bearing in his hand a small tuft of cammel's hair fastened to an ivory handle, with which he was occupied in keeping off the mosquitoes. The Cossack army halted upon the brow of the hill; and all the cavalry being dismounted, were drawn up in two lines parallel to the river; in front of which appeared the Cossack soldiers, standing by their lances. The ataman and his principal officers rode down into the plain before the tent; where, having alighted, their horses were taken back, and they all advanced bareheaded towards the pacha. We accompanied them; and being stationed by the ataman, near his person, understood, by means of our interpreter, all that passed upon the occasion.

The preliminaries began by an apology from the ataman, for having kept the pacha so long waiting. "Your coming," replied the pacha, "is for a good purpose, and therefore may have demanded consideration: it is only bad things which are rashly hurried over."

Ataman. "Have you explained to the Circassian princes, that we are not satisfied with oaths of peace made by them in their territory? We must bear testimony to their attestations here, in our own land."

Pacha. "I have made this known throughout all the Caucasian line; and several of the most powerful princes of the country are now present, to answer for the rest of their countrymen, and for themselves."

Ataman. "Have all those who are not present, as well as these their deputies, taken the oath of peace on the other side of the river?"

Pacha. "All of them. Unless I had been present upon the occasion myself, and had actually witnessed it, I would not venture to be responsible for their peaceable behaviour; which I now promise to be."

Ataman. "Your excellency speaks of a responsibility, which is, perhaps, much greater than you imagine. Hitherto their princes have paid no respect to the obligation of an oath, which has been violated as often as it was made. How many have engaged to be bound by the oath which is now to be repeated?"

Pacha. "Fifty; and of these, the most powerful are the princes who have attended me upon this occasion."

Ataman. "All our Cossack brethren, whom the Circassians have made prisoners, must be restored, in failure of which the war will certainly be renewed; and in compliance with this demand all our prisoners will be given up."

Some other conversation passed which I was not able to collect, from the rapidity with which it was delivered. As soon as the preliminaries were concluded, which involved very little discussion, for the Circassians seemed willing to accede to any proposition made on the part of the Cossacks, the pacha took from his bosom a manuscript written upon linen, on which the Circassian princes severally laid their hands, repeating the necessary oath, which promised to the Cossacks the undisturbed possession of all the country on the northern side of the Kuban. What the nature of the manuscript was we could not learn, except that it contained certain passages of the Koran, and other sacred writings. The whole ceremony ended by the pacha's writing with a reed, the names of the parties concerned in this transaction.

The extraordinary appearance of the Circassian princes drew my attention entirely to them. Their clothes were as ragged as any English beggar's, and their necks and legs quite bare. A few only had slippers of red leather on their feet. Their heads were all shaved, and covered on the crown with small scull caps, laced with silver.* In their belts they had large pistols; and by each of their sides were suspended a sabre and a knife. Ball-cartridges, sewed singly, were ranged in rows upon their breasts. The sleeves of their jackets being worn out at the elbows, plates of silver or of steel armour, inlaid, appeared through the holes, which they wore next the skin, covering their arms, and otherwise concealed by clothes. A coat of mail covered also the breast and the rest of the body. Some of them wore a sort of iron shirt, made of twisted mail, or rings so closely interwoven, and so well adapted to the form, that every part of the body was covered and protected, except the face. Pallas, in his Travels through the South of Russia, has represented one of their princes on horseback, covered by this kind of armour.† A bow and quiver are fastened by straps round the hips. I brought away one of their arrows, which had actually passed through the body of a Cossack horse, and killed the animal on the spot. The Circassians use the bow with very great skill, never making any random shots, but sure of the aim before they let the arrow fly. The Russian army dreaded very much those destructive weapons, as they are used by very skilful marksmen, who, like riflemen, station themselves in trees, or among rocks, in the passes of mountains, to pick out the officers.

A circumstance not worth relating, if it did not illustrate the manners and character of the different people then assembled, afforded considerable amusement to us, who were merely spectators upon this occasion. When the pacha received the ataman with his attendants, he was evi-

* The most ancient covering of the head worn in Greece was exactly of the same shape, resembling the scalps worn by the Americans from the prisoners they make in war. It is worn beneath the turban all over the east. The Circassians of rank wear it without any turban. It is still worn in the same manner by many inhabitants of modern Greece; and its use in that country long prior to its conquest by the Turks, agrees very well with my grandfather's opinions concerning the origin of the Getick, Gothick, and Grecian people. See *Connexion of the Roman, Saxon,* and *English coins,* &c.

† See Pallas's Travels through the Southern Provinces, &c. Vol. I. p. 401. Pl. 20.

dently in a state of trepidation. Seeing the high banks of the river covered with armed men, and the lances of the Cossacks ranged like a forest along the northern side of the Kuban, he could not conceal his anxiety and uneasiness. His own manners were remarkably affable and polite; but he viewed the troops and officers of the Cossack army by whom he was surrounded, as a set of lawless plunderers, for whose conduct there could be no long security. Doubtless, he had heard as many tales of the barbarity of the Tchernomorski as we had before, and wished himself again safe upon his divan in Anapa. If we had been filled with such idle fancies by the Russians themselves, it is but reasonable to conclude, that the Turks, who consider even the Russians as barbarians, must necessarily esteem the Cossacks as a set of ferocious banditti. The reader may then imagine what the astonishment of the pacha was, when, upon being induced by curiosity to ask the ataman from what country we were, he was informed we were English gentlemen, travelling for amusement among the very people whose appearance gave him so much uneasiness, and whom nothing but the most urgent necessity could have caused him to visit. He seemed to regain all his composure by this intelligence, speaking very highly of our countrymen, and saying, that the obligations England had conferred upon Turkey would never be forgotten. We took this opportunity to inquire respecting the state of the countries bordering the south coast of the Black Sea. He described them as full of difficulty and danger for travellers; that many districts were infested by merciless robbers; and that a journey to Constantinople by land from Anapa, would at least require three months; whereas, by water, from the same place, it might be accomplished in four or five days. Indeed, the inhabitants of Taganrock have performed the voyage within that period, including the additional passage of the sea of Azof, and the straits of Taman.

As soon as the ceremony ended, the pacha embarked with his suite, in a canoe so narrow, that two persons could not sit abreast; and, with more adventure than might have been expected in a Turk, hampered as he was by his cumbrous dress, he squatted on some weeds in the bottom of the vessel, and was soon paddled into the middle of the rapid torrent. Their canoes are all made of one piece of wood, being merely the trunk of a large tree scooped for the purpose. From the numbers huddled with the pacha, we

expected every instant to see the canoe sink or upset, for its edge was level with the water. They were out of sight, however, in an instant, descending the current with amazing velocity, and disappearing by the turn of the river.

We then went to examine more minutely the crowd of Circassians of a lower order, numbers of whom were passing the Kuban in their canoes, and collecting on the Russian side. They came to exchange wood, honey, and arms, for salt, according to their usual practice in times of peace. Here we saw some of the wildest mountaineers of Caucasus, all of whom were completely armed, and all robbers by profession. The representations made of the natives in the south seas, do not picture human nature in a more savage state than it appears among the Circassians. Instructed from their infancy to consider war and plunder not only as a necessary, but as an honourable occupation, they bear in their countenance a most striking expression of ferocious valour, of cunning, suspicion, and distrust. If, while a Circassian is standing behind you, a sudden retrospect betrays you his features, his brow lowers, and he seems to meditate some desperate act; but the instant he perceives that he is observed, his countenance relaxes into a deceitful smile, and he puts on the most obsequious and submissive attitude imaginable. Their bodies, especially their legs, feet, and arms are, for the most part, naked. They wear no shirt, and only a pair of coarse, ragged drawers, reaching a little below the knee. Over their shoulders they carry, even during the greatest heat of summer, a thick and heavy coat of felt, or the hide of a goat, with the hair on the outside, which reaches below the waist. Under this covering appears the sabre, bow and quiver, musket, and other weapons. The peasants as well as their princes shave the head, and cover it with the scull-cap, as before mentioned. Difference of rank, indeed, seems to cause little distinction of dress among them, except that the peasant further covers the head and shoulders with a large cowl. The beauty of features and form, for which the Circassians have so long been celebrated, is certainly very prevalent among them. Their noses are aqueline, their eye-brows arched and regular, their mouths small, their teeth remarkably white, and their ears not so large nor so prominent as among the Tartars; though, from wearing the head shaven, they appear to disadvantage, according to European notions. They

are well shaped, and very light limbed, being generally of the middle size, seldom exceeding five feet eight or nine inches. Their women are the most beautiful perhaps in the world, of enchanting perfection of countenance, and very delicate features. Those which we saw, and which were the accidental captives of war, carried off with their families, were remarkably handsome. Many of them, though suffering from ill health, fatigue and grief, and under every possible circumstance of disadvantage, had yet a very interesting appearance. Their hair is generally dark or light brown, sometimes approaching to black. Their eyes have a singular animation, peculiar to the Circassian people, which, in some of the men, gives an expression of ferocity. The most chosen works of the best painters, representing a Hector or a Helen, do not display greater beauty than we beheld even in the prison at Ekaterinedara, where the wounded Circassians, male and female, charged with fetters, and huddled together, were pining in sickness, and sorrow.

Seeing that the Circassians were collected in much greater numbers on the Caucasian side of the Kuban, we applied to the commander in chief for permission to pass over into their territory. This was obtained with great difficulty; and the ataman, accompanied by several armed Cossacks, was ordered to attend us. We crossed the river in canoes; and, arriving on the Circassian side, we beheld the natives, who had been collected from all parts of the country, gathered in parties along the shore. Several of them, having a most savage aspect, were formed into a group about two hundred yards from the place where we landed. Perceiving the ataman avoided going towards them, we begged that he would allow us that privilege. "If it is your desire," said he taking his sabre from its scabbard, "you shall not be disappointed on my account; but you little know what sort of people they are. They pay no respect to treaties, not even to their own princes, when they see an opportunity of plunder; and are likely to do some of us injury before we return." Our curiosity got the better of all fear, and we followed the ataman's reluctant steps to the place where they were assembled. Seeing us advance, they hastily snatched up their arms, which they had placed against the trees and on the ground, and received us with an air of evident defiance. We endeavoured to convince them that our views were pacifick; but matters soon grew more and more ur-

racing, as they began talking loud and with great rapidity. No one of our party understood what they said; and the ataman's uneasiness considerably increasing, we made signs for the canoes to draw near the shore, and effected our retreat. Thinking to show them some mark of respect, and of our friendly intentions, we took off our hats, and bowed to them as we retired. The effect was very amusing: they all roared with loud, and savage laughter, and mocking our manner of making obeisance, seemed to invite us to a repetition of the ceremony; and as often as we renewed it, they set up fresh peals of laughter. The Cossack officers, who accompanied us upon this occasion, told us that the Circassians who lurk about in the immediate vicinity of the Kuban are a tribe as wild and lawless as any in the whole district of Caucasus; and that their principal object is to seize upon men, and carry them off, for the purpose of selling them as slaves in Persia. The cannon on the heights of Ekaterinedara at that time commanded the whole marshy territory on the Circassian side; yet it was impossible to venture even a few hundred yards, in search of plants, on account of the danger that might be apprehended from the numbers who remained in ambush among the woods near the river. The hasty observation we had made disclosed to us a plain covered with wild raspberry trees, blackberry bushes, and a few large willows by the water's edge. Further, towards the south appeared woods of considerable extent, full of the finest oaks. Beyond these woods were seen the chain of the Caucasian mountains, and the territories which had been the theatre of war. The mountains rose like the Alpine barrier. Some of them appeared to be very high, and their sides retained patches of snow toward the middle of July; but, upon the whole, they seemed inferiour in altitude to the Swiss Alps. The passes through Caucasus must be difficult and intricate, as the mountains stand close to each other, and their summits are rugged and irregular. Those which were nearest to Ekaterinedara were not less than twenty-six English miles distant, and yet very visible to the naked eye.

When we returned to the Russian side, the Circassians who had crossed the river, were dancing and rejoicing on account of the peace. One of their vagrant musicians, exercising the profession so much esteemed by all nations in the infancy of society, and particularly among the tribes who inhabit Mount Caucasus, played on a silver flute called

camil. It was about two feet in length, and had only three finger-holes towards the lower extremity of the tube. The mode of blowing this instrument is as remarkable as the sound produced. A small stick is placed in the upper end of a flute, open at either extremity; which, being drawn out to the length of an inch, is pressed by the performer against the roof of his mouth. It is very difficult to conceive how any tones can be produced in this manner, as the performer's mouth is kept open the whole time, and he accompanies the notes with his own voice. By the violent straining of every muscle in his countenance, the performance seemed a work of great difficulty and labour, the sounds all the while resembling the droning noise of a bagpipe. I wished to purchase the instrument with a quantity of salt, the only money they receive in payment; but its owner, deriving his livelihood and consequence among his countrymen entirely from the use of it, would not consent to sell it. The Circassians know nothing of the value of coins, using them only to adorn their persons; and even for this purpose they did not seem desirous to possess the few silver pieces we offered to them. It is evident that their favourite musical instrument, the *camil*, was not always of metal; for upon the silver tube which I have described, the natural joints seen upon canes and reeds in the rivers and marshes of the country had been imitated by the maker.

Their dances do not resemble those of any other nation. Something, perhaps, nearly similar may have been described as the practice of the inhabitants of the South Sea islands. Ten, fifteen, or twenty persons, all standing in a line, and holding by each other's arms, begin lolling from right to left, lifting up their feet as high as possible, to the measure of the tune, and interrupting the uniformity of their motion only by sudden squeaks and exclamations. Nothing could seem more uneasy than the situation of the performers in the middle of the row; but even these, squeezed as they were from one side to the other, testified their joy in the same manner. After some time there was a pause, when a single dancer, starting from the rest, pranced about in the most ludicrous manner, exhibiting only two steps that could be assimilated to the movements of a dance, both of which may be noticed, not only in our English hornpipe, but in all the dances of the northern nations. The first consisted in hopping on one foot, and touching the ground with the heel and toe, alternately, of the other. The second, in hopping on

one foot, and thrusting the other before it, so as to imitate the bounding of a stag; from which animal the motion was originally borrowed, and whose name it bears among the Irish at this day. A due attention to national dances frequently enables us to ascertain the progress which has been made by any people towards refinement. The exercise itself is as ancient as the human race, and, however variously modified, the popular dances of ages the most remote, and of countries the most widely separated, may all be deduced from one common origin, which has reference to the intercourse of the sexes, and is, therefore, more or less equivocal, in proportion as the state of society is more or less affected by the progress of civilization.*

In different parts of the great chain of mountains which bears the general appellation of Caucasus, the languages are as various as the principalities. Few of the present inhabitants of Kuban Tartary are able to converse with any of the Circassian tribes. Those whom he saw near the river, spoke a dialect so harsh and guttural, that it was by no means pleasing to the ear. Pallas says it is probable, that the Circassian bears no affinity to any other language, and that, according to report, their princes and *Usdens* speak a peculiar dialect, which is kept secret from the common people, and used chiefly in their predatory excursions.† Their mode of life is that of professional robbers. It might have been said of the Circassian, as of Ishmael ‡ "He will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him." These who inhabit the passes of the mountains, and are not occupied in any agricultural employment, depend solely on plunder for their subsistence. The petty princes are continually at war with each other; and every one plunders his neighbour. The inhabitants of the plains go completely armed, to carry on the labours of the field. The crops are also guarded by armed men. No Circassian poet can, therefore, celebrate the peaceful occupation of the plough, since with them it is a warlike pursuit. The sower, scattering seed, or the reaper who gathers the

* An inquiry into the antiquity and origin of national dances, as connected with the history of mankind, would form a very curious subject of discussion. The author once collected materials for that purpose, but it would require more leisure than is now granted him to prepare them for the publick.

† Pallas's Travels through the Southern Provinces, &c. Vol. I. p. 408.

‡ Gen. xvi. 12.

sheaves, is constantly liable to an assault; and the implements of husbandry are not more essential to the harvest than the carbine, the pistol, and the sabre.*

Of all the Circassian tribes, the *Lesgi*, inhabiting the mountains of Daghestan, which run nearly parallel to the western coast of the Caspian, bears the worst reputation. Their very name excites terrour among the neighbouring principalities; and it is used as a term of reproach by many of the native Caucasus. Different reports are naturally propagated concerning a people so little known as the Circassians in general; and perhaps half the stories concerning the Lesgi are without any foundation in truth. All the inhabitants of Caucasus are described by their enemies as notorious for duplicity. and for their frequent breach of faith; and it is through the medium of such representation alone that we derive any notion of their character. But, placing ourselves among them, and viewing, as they must do, the more polished nations around them, who seek only to enslave and to betray them, we cannot wonder at their conduct towards a people whom they consider both as tyrants and infidels. Examples of heroism may be observed among them, which would have dignified the character of the Romans in the most virtuous periods of their history. Among the prisoners in the Cossack army, we saw some of the Circassians who had performed feats of valour, perhaps unparalleled. The commander in chief, general Drascovitz, maintained, that in all the campaigns he had served, whether against Turks or the more disciplined armies of Europe, he had never witnessed instances of greater bravery than he had seen among the Circassians. The troops of other nations, when surrounded by superior numbers, readily yield themselves prisoners of war; but the Circassian, while a spark of life remains, will continue to combat even with a multitude of enemies. We saw one in the prison at Ekaterinedara, about thirty five years of age, who had received fifteen desperate wounds before he fell and was made prisoner, having fainted from loss of blood. This account was given to me by his bitterest enemies, and may, therefore, surely be relied on. He was first attacked by three of the Cossack cavalry. It was their object to take him alive, if possible, on account of his high rank, and the consideration in which he was held by his own countrymen. Every endeavour was therefore used to attack him in such a manner as

* The same remark is applicable almost all over the Turkish empire.

not to endanger his life. This intention was soon perceived by the Circassian, who determined not to surrender. With his single sabre, he shivered their three lances at the first onset, and afterwards wounded two of the three assailants. At length, surrounded by others who came to their assistance, he fell, covered with wounds in the midst of his enemies, fighting to the last moment. We visited him in his prison, where he lay stretched upon a plank, bearing the anguish of his terrible wounds without a groan. They had recently extracted the iron spike of a lance from his side. A young Circassian girl was employed in driving away the flies from his face with a green bough. All our expressions of concern and regard were lost upon him: we offered him money, but he refused to accept any, handing it to his fellow prisoners as if totally ignorant of its use.

In the same place of confinement stood a Circassian female, about twenty years of age, with fine light brown hair, extremely beautiful, but pale, and hardly able to support herself, through grief and weakness. The Cossack officers stated, that when they captured her she was in excellent health, but ever since, on account of the separation from her husband, she had refused all offer of food; and, as she pined daily, they feared she would die. It may be supposed we spared no entreaty which might induce the commander in chief to liberate these prisoners. Before the treaty of peace they had been offered to the highest bidder, the women selling generally from twenty five to thirty roubles apiece; somewhat less than the price of a horse. But we were told it was now too late, as they were included in the list for exchange, and must therefore remain until the Cossacks, who were prisoners in Circassia, were delivered up. The poor woman, in all probability, did not live to see her husband or her country again.

Another Circassian female, fourteen years of age, who was also in confinement, hearing of the intended exchange of prisoners, expressed her wishes to remain where she was. Conscious of her great beauty, she feared her parents would sell her, according to the custom of the country, and that she might fall to the lot of masters less humane that the Cossacks were. The Circassians frequently sell their children to strangers, particularly to the Persians and Turks; and their princes supply the Turkish seraglios with the most beautiful of the prisoners of both sexes which they take in war.

In their commerce with the Tchernomorski Cossacks, the Circassians bring considerable quantities of wood, and the delicious honey of the mountains, sewed up in goats' hides, with the hair on the outside. These articles they exchange for salt, a commodity found in the neighbouring lakes, of a very excellent quality. Salt is more precious than any other kind of wealth to the Circassian; and it constitutes the most acceptable present which can be offered to them. They weave mats of very great beauty, which find a ready market both in Turkey and Russia. They are also ingenious in the art of working silver and other metals, and in the fabrication of guns, pistols, and sabres. Some, which they offered for sale, we suspected had been procured from Turkey, in exchange for slaves. Their bows and arrows are made with inimitable skill; and the arrows, being tipped with iron, and otherwise exquisitely wrought, are considered by the Cossacks and the Russians as inflicting incurable wounds.

One of the most important accomplishments which the inhabitants of these countries can acquire, is that of horsemanship; and in this the Circassians are superiour to the Cossacks, who are, nevertheless, justly esteemed the best riders known to European nations. A Cossack may be said to live but on his horse, and the loss of a favourite steed is the greatest *family* misfortune he can sustain. The poorer sort of Cossacks dwell under the same roof with their horses, lie down with them at night, and make them their constant companions. The horses of Circassia are of a nobler race than those of the Cossacks. They are of the Arab kind, exceedingly high bred, light and small. The Cossack generally acknowledges his inability to overtake a Circassian in pursuit.

The brother of Mr. Kovalensky of Taganrock, by cultivating the friendship of one of the Circassian princes, passed over the mountainous ridge of Caucasus in perfect safety and protection. According to his account, a stranger, who has voluntarily confided in the honour of a Circassian, is considered a sacred trust, even by the very robbers who would cross the Kuban to carry him off and sell him as a slave, if they chanced to find in their predatory excursions out of their own dominions. Since this account was written, one of our own countrymen, Mr. Mackenzie, passed the Caucasus, previous to a campaign which he served with the Russian army in Persia. His escort consisted of a hundred in-

fantry and fifty Cossacks, with a piece of artillery. During thirteen days spent in the passage, the troops were under the necessity of maintaining a most vigilant watch, and their rear was frequently harassed by hovering hordes of Circassians. The result of his observations tends wholly to dispute the accuracy of those of Mr. Kovalensky. According to Mr. Mackenzie's opinion, no reliance whatever can be placed upon the supposed honour or promises of a people so treacherous and barbarous as those who inhabit this chain of mountains.

CHAPTER XVII

JOURNEY ALONG THE FRONTIER OF CIRCASSIA, TO THE CIMMERIAN BOSPORUS.

Quarantine—Second Excursion into Circassia—Departure from Ekaterinedara—Produce of the Land—Division of the River—Mosquitoes—General Appearance of the Circassian Territory—Watch-Towers—Cimmerian Bosporus—Temrook—Text of Strabo and Pliny reconciled—Fortress and Ruins—Siena—Remarkable Tomb—Antiquity of Arches—Milesian Gold Bracelet—Origin of Temples—Cepoe—Fortress of Taman—Taman—Ruins of Phanagoria—Tmutaracan—Amphitheatre—Other Remains—Prelela Volcano—Inscriptions at Taman.

IN the commerce carried on between the Circassians and the Tchernomorski, a sort of quarantine is observed, trivial in its nature, and negligently guarded. The exchange of corn, honey, mats, wood, and arms, for the salt of the Cossacks, is transacted without contract; the wares of the Circassians being placed on the ground where they find the salt ready stationed for bargain. But, from the very great proximity of the parties during all this intercourse, as well as the danger of communicating infection by handling the different articles which they are bartering, the plague, if it existed in Circassia, might very readily be communicated to the Tchernomorski. It is true, that, except at Ekaterinedara, they seldom cross the river to each other's territory, during the profoundest peace; for so great is the

mutual jealousy and even detestation in which they live, that quarrels and skirmishes would be the inevitable consequence of more general communication. Whether it is owing to their frequent hostilities, or the great rapidity of the Kuban or the domestick habits of the Cossacks, is uncertain; but fishing seemed entirely neglected, notwithstanding their favourable situation. The only boats used upon the river are those canoes before mentioned, each consisting of one entire piece of wood, being scooped out of a single tree.

On the evening of the last day of our residence in Ekaterinedara, we again obtained permission from the commander in chief to make another excursion into Circassia. The natives on the opposite shore were much diminished in number; we could see only a few stragglers; and we hoped to collect some plants for our herbary. General Drascovitz himself attended us to the water's side, and, having sent over a party of Cossacks, retired with several of his troops to the high grounds on the northern bank of the river, in order to keep a look-out for our safety. The cannon stationed on these heights had a very extensive range over the opposite country; and we were ordered, if we heard a gun fired, to effect a retreat as speedily as possible. We landed, and found, near the river, the *Glycyrrhiza glabra*, the *Rubus cæsius*, and *Agrimonia Eupatoria* or Common Agrimony. The appearance in the swampy plain before us did not promise a more copious selection, and we therefore entreated the Cossacks to venture with us to the woods, which appeared within a short walk to the south. This our guard positively refused; and continuing our search more immediately under the cannon of Ekaterinedara, we presently found they had good reason for their denial, as upwards of sixty of the Circassians made their appearance among the willows. On our approach, they all collected together, making a great noise, and asking us several questions in a loud tone, which, perhaps, were no otherwise menacing than that we did not understand them. Irritated as they had been by the events of the late war, no confidence could have been placed in their courtesy, even if any had been manifested; for although hospitality among savage nations is a sacred principle, revenge is not less an object of veneration, particularly among Circassians.* We therefore reluctant-

* "Among the Circassians, the spirit of resentment is so great, that all the relatives of the murderer are considered as guilty. This customary

ly retired, and once more regaining our canoes, for ever bade adieu to a country which seemed to baffle every project that could be devised by mere travellers for its investigation. Nothing less than an army, at that time, could have enabled us to penetrate farther; and even with an escort, like Denon in Egypt our observations might have been restricted to the limits of the camp in which we must have lived.

Leaving Ekaterinedara, to pass along the Russian line we crossed the *steppes* to *Vydnia*, a military station. Notwithstanding the very numerous *videttes* and garrisoned places which guard the frontier, we were desired to increase the number of our escort. A post route is established throughout this boundary of the empire, and, in general, is very well conducted. The Russian line, from the Black Sea towards the east, continues along the north side of the Kuban, and from that river to the Kuma, which is swallowed in banks of drift sand before it reaches the Caspian; thence by the north of the Caspian, through the country of the Kirgissians,* and by the river Ural, on to the lake Baikal (which is in fact a sea) the river Amour, and by the frontier of China, to the oriental ocean. Afterwards it is continued to the north as far as Kamstchatka. Throughout this vast boundary, a regular post and military stations may be found: only that the traveller, in the more northern part of it, instead of horses for his conveyance, would be supplied with large dogs.

Our journey conducted us, as usual, over immense plains, which seemed hopeless of any elevation or boundary. The land, however, between Ekaterinedara and Vydnia, was very rich. We saw some good wheat, barley, oats, millet,

infatuation to avenge the blood of relatives, generates most of the feuds, and occasions great bloodshed among all the tribes of Caucasus; for unless pardon be purchased, or obtained by intermarriage between the two families, the principle of revenge is propagated to all succeeding generations. The hatred which the mountainous nations evince against the Russians in a great measure, arises from the same source. If the thirst of vengeance is quenched by a price paid to the family of the deceased, this tribute is called *Thlil-Ufasa*, or *the price of blood*: but neither princes nor nobles accept of such a compensation, as it is an established law among them to demand *blood for blood*." Pallas's Travels, vol. I. p. 405.

* The country of Kirgiss is divided into three parts; Little Kirgiss, Middle Kirgiss, and the Grand Kirgiss. The two first only, with a few villages south of the Baikal, are subject to Russia. But the greater part of the country of the Kirgissians is entirely independent; and its inhabitants are vagrants, living entirely in wagons. The people of Bochara or Bucharia, lead a better mode of life. They have several considerable towns.—Their capital is Samacand.

rye, Indian corn, and a great quantity of large thistles among the grass, which are a well known proof that the land is not poor. All sorts of melons and grapes were thriving in the open air. From Vydnia to *Mechastovskoy*, and to *Kara Kuban* (each of which latter places is nothing more than a single hut scooped in an ancient tomb) we noticed chiefly grass land, with here and there patches of underwood and young oaks; among which, we found some red peas, and vines growing wild. The postmaster at Mechastovskoy refused to change a note of five roubles, because it was old, and had been a good deal in use. Hereabouts we observed a noble race of dogs, like those of the Morea, and of the province of Abruzzo, in Italy, guarding the numerous flocks. The villages also were filled with them, on account of their utility in giving alarm during the nocturnal incursions of the Circassians. We also saw several of that gigantic breed which goes by the name of the Irish Wolf Dog. From Kara Kuban our route lay chiefly through swamps, filled with reeds and other aquatick plants. The air was excessively hot and unwholesome. At length we reached that division of the river which insulates the territory of Taman, and, crossing by a ferry, came to *Kopil*, another military station. The branch of the river in which this ferry is stationed bears the name of Potrocka, and falls into the sea of Azof. The other branch retains the original appellation of Kuban, and falls into the Black Sea. The Isle of Taman, which separates the two, is the territory, which, opposed to the promontory of Kertchy, in the Crimea, constitutes those straits anciently called the Cimmerian Bosporus. At Kopil, we found a general officer, who had married the daughter of one of the Tchernomoski. He showed us some of the subalterns' tents, which were full of dirt and wretchedness. In the colonel's tent, who was absent, we saw a table beautifully inlaid with mother-of-pearl and ivory. Upon asking where it was made, we were told it had been purchased of the Circassians, who are very ingenious in all such arts. The general told us, significantly, he preferred Kopil to Petersburgh—any place, we inferred, rather than the residence of the emperour Paul. Few situations could surpass Kopil in wretchedness. Bad air, bad water, swarms of mosquitoes, with various kinds of locusts, beetles, innumerable flies, lizards, and speckled toads, seemed to infest it with the plagues of Egypt. Horses could not be procured;

but the general accommodated us with his own. As we left Kopil, we quitted also the river, and proceeded through marshes to *Kalaus*. In our way we caught some small ducks, and saw also wild geese. At Kalaus were two young elks, very tame; and we were told that many wild ones might be found in the steppes during spring.

In the course of this journey from Ekaterinedara, as we advanced, the frequent stands of lances announced, at a distance, the comfortable assurance of the Tchernomorski guard; without which the herds of cattle in the steppes, amounting to many thousands, would be continually plundered by the Circassians. These guards passed the night on the bare earth, protected from the mosquitoes by creeping into a kind of sack, sufficient only for the covering of a single person, in which they lie upon the thistles and other wild plants of the steppes. At Kalaus there was rather a strong body of the military. From this place to Kourky the distance is thirty-five versts.* Night came on, but we determined to proceed. No contrivance on our part could prevent millions of mosquitoes from filling the inside of our carriage, which, in spite of gloves, clothes, and handkerchiefs, rendered our bodies one entire wound. The excessive irritation and painful swelling caused by the bites of these furious insects, together with a pestilential air, excited in me a very considerable degree of fever.† The Cossacks light numerous fires to drive them from the cattle during the night; but so insatiate is their thirst of blood, that hundreds will attack a person attempting to shelter himself even in the midst of smoke. At the same time, the noise they make in flying cannot be conceived by persons who have only been accustomed to the humming of such insects in our country. It was, indeed, to all of us a fearful sound, accompanied by the clamour of reptile myriads, toads, and bullfrogs, whose constant croaking, joined with

* Rather less than twenty-four English miles.

† The mortality thus occasioned in the Russian army, both of men and horses was very great. Many of those stationed along the Kuban died in consequence of mortification produced by the bites of these insects.—Others, who escaped the venom of the mosquitoes, fell victims to the badness of the air. Sometimes they scoop a hollow in the ancient tombs, to serve as a dwelling; at other times, a mere shed, constructed of reeds, affords the only covering; and in either of these places, during the greatest heat of summer, they light large fires, in order to fill the area with smoke; flying to their suffocating ovens, in the most sultry weather, to escape from the mosquitoes.

the barking of dogs and the lowing of herds, maintained in the midst of darkness an unceasing uproar. It was our intention to travel in all hours, without halting for any repose; but various accidents compelled us to stop at Kourky about midnight, a military station like the rest; and no subsequent sensation of ease or comfort has ever obliterated the impression made by the suffering of this night. It was near the middle of July. The carriage had been dragged, for many miles together, through stagnant pools; in fording one of which it was filled with water; and the *dorneuse*, seat, floor, and well, became, in consequence, covered with stinking slime. We stopped, therefore, to open and inspect the trunks. Our books and linen were wet. The Cossack and Russian troops were sleeping on the bare earth, covered by sacks; and beneath one of these a soldier permitted my companion to lie down. The ground seemed entirely alive with innumerable toads, crawling every where. Almost exhausted by fatigue, pain, and heat, I sought shelter in the carriage, sitting in water and mud. It was the most sultry night I ever experienced; not a breath of air was stirring; nor could I venture to open the windows, though almost suffocated, through fear of the mosquitoes. Swarms, nevertheless, found their way to my hiding place; and when I opened my mouth, it was filled with them. My head was bound in handkerchiefs, yet they forced their way into my ears and nostrils. In the midst of this torment, I succeeded in lighting a large lamp over the sword case, which was instantly extinguished by such a prodigious number of these insects, that their dead bodies actually remained heaped in a large cone over the burner for several days afterwards; and I know not any mode of description which may better convey an idea of their afflicting visitation, than by simply relating this fact; to the truth of which, those who travelled with me, and who are now living, bear indisputable testimony.

The northern bank of the Kuban, being every where elevated, presents a very extensive view, across those marshy plains of Circassia, which lie towards the river, of the mountainous ridges of Caucasus. As morning dawned, we had a delightful prospect of a rich country on the Circassian side, something like South Wales, or the finest part of Kent; pleasing hills, covered with wood, and fertile valleys, cultivated like a garden. A rich Circassian prince, the proprietor of this beautiful territory, frequently ventured

across the Kuban, as we were informed, to converse with the guard. On the Russian side, the scenery is of a very different description; particularly in the journey from Kalass to Kopil, where it is a continued swamp; in travelling through which, tall reeds, the never-failing indications of unwholesome air, rose above the roof of our carriage, to the height of sixteen or twenty feet. Sometimes, for many miles, we saw no other objects; nor were other sounds heard than the noise of mosquitoes, and the croaking of toads and frogs. Upon the elevated land nearer to the river, and in the midst of the military stations which protect the line, observatories of a very singular construction are raised, for the purpose of containing a single person. They resemble so many eagles' nests, each of which is placed upon three upright, tall poles, or trunks of trees. Here a Cossack sentinel, standing with his fusil, continually watches the motions of the Circassians, on the opposite side of the Kuban.

As we left Kourky, the mosquitoes began to diminish in number; and to our inexpressible joy, in the approach towards the shores of the CIMMERIAN BOSPORUS, or *Straits of Taman*, they suddenly disappeared altogether.*

We were now approaching countries connected with the earliest history of Greece, and the most splendid periods of Rome. Occasions to illustrate their interesting records, by reference to ancient monuments, might, indeed, be few; but we resolved to note every occurring observation, and did not anticipate with indifference the gratification we should experience in traversing regions once the emporium of Athens; which continued to supply her with the principle of her existence, as a maritime power, until the commerce of the Euxine passed, with the liberties of Greece,

* The inhabitants of Taman had never been tormented by these insects; but during the night after our arrival, the whole family with whom we lodged, were stung by a few, which came with us unperceived in the carriage. England is, for the most part, free from this terrible scourge, as well as from the locust; but it is very uncertain how long it may continue so, as the progress of both one and the other, towards latitudes where they were formerly unknown, has been sensibly felt in many countries within the present century. Perhaps in no part of the globe do they abound more than in Lapland. When Acerbi published his travels in those regions, it was objected that he had too often mentioned the mosquitoes; yet there is no circumstance, which gives to his writings more internal evidence of truth than the cause of this objection. The fact is, the real nature of their afflicting visitation, which renders even life burthensome, cannot be conceived, but by persons who have had the misfortune to undergo its consequences.

into the hands of the Romans. Her trade in the Euxine not only enriched, but supported her inhabitants. It became the nursery for her seamen, and was of the utmost importance in the demand it occasioned for her own manufactures. A very principal part of this intercourse was confined to the Cimmerian Bosporus, whose kings and princes received the highest marks of Athenian regard. Many of them were made citizens of Athens, which, in that age, was esteemed one of the most distinguished honours that could be conferred.* From periods the most remote, from those distant ages when the Milesian settlements were first established upon the coasts of the Euxine, a trade with the inhabitants of the country, which extended even to the Palus Mæotis and the mouths of the Tanaïs, had been carried on; and it is, perhaps, to those early colonies of Greece that we may attribute most of the surprising, sepulchral monuments found on either side of the Cimmerian Bosporus. The Milesians erected a number of cities upon all the shores of the Euxine, and peopled them with their own colonies.† Other states of Greece, and especially the Athenians, followed their example.‡ The difficulty of ascertaining the locality of these ancient cities arises from two causes; first from the want of harmony which prevails among those authors whose writings we adopt as guides; and, secondly, from our ignorance of the geography of the country. Not a single map has yet been published which gives any accurate representation. The only clue we possessed, to conduct us in our approach to the Bosporus,§ was the large, Basil edition of Pliny, a folio volume, which had

* "Leuco, king of Thrace, was so much pleased with it, that he ordered the decree, which made him an Athenian citizen, to be engraved on three marble columns: one of them was placed in the Pirœus, another on the side of the Thracian Bosporus, and the third in the temple of Jupiter Urius." *Clarke's Connexion of Coins*, p. 56.

† Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

§ According to the Greek text, particularly that of Strabo, it should be written ΒΟΣΠΟΡΟΣ, implying "*a passage for oxen*;" but all the Latin geographers write BOSPHORUS. It seems probable that the original appellation was derived from ΦΙΛΟΦΟΡΟΣ, the most ancient name of Venus, whose fane was upon these shores. The name of the *Bosporus* of Thrace, according to Eustathius, in his Commentary on Dionysius [see Ox. ed. p. 188] was a corruption of ΦΙΛΟΦΟΡΟΣ; but I should think the term was first taken, rather from the *Light Towers*, or the *Volcanick Fires*, common to both the straits, than from the origin he has assigned. The change of Φ into Β was common; as ΒΑΛΛΙΟΣ for ΦΑΛΛΙΟΣ, ΒΡΥΓΕΣ, for ΦΡΥΓΕΣ, ΒΕΡΟΝΙΚΗ for ΦΕΡΟΝΙΚΗ, and *balaena* for ΦΑΛΑΙΝΑ.

been presented to us by Mr. Kovalensky of Taganrock; a most unexpected acquisition in the plains of Tartary. According to the text of that author, we had every reason to believe we were not far from the situation of the ancient town of *Cimmerium;* and in this conjecture we were probably right.

At the foot of a small mountain, near the northern embouchre of the Kuban, we came to a station called Temrook. This place may be observed in the Russian maps. It is now nothing more, however, than a single hut, for the purpose of supplying post-horses. Near it, the very year before our arrival, a volcano rose from the sea, forming an island, which afterwards sunk again.* Temrook is mentioned in the notes to the Oxford edition of Strabo in more than one instance, with allusion to the Travels of Motraye, and written *Temrok.*† In Motraye's time it was a place of more consideration than we found it. He was there in the beginning of the last century,‡ and describes it as "considerable for its commerce, in hides, caviar, honey, Circassian slaves, and horses." He supposed its castle stood where the ancients planted their *Patræus;* and "two eminences," says he, "which are named *the point of the island*, may have been their *Achilleum Promontorium.*"§ Hardly any thing else seems required in order to prove that this must have been the situation of *Cimmerium*, which was, as Pliny mentions, "*ultimo in ostio.*" It had formerly, observes

* The following account of the rising of this island has been extracted from Pallas's Travels. "It was about sunrise, on the 5th of September [1799] when a subterraneous noise, and soon after a dreadful thundering, were perceived in the sea of Azof, opposite to old Temruk, about one hundred and fifty fathoms from the shore. This intestine convulsion was speedily followed by a report, not unlike that of a cannon; while the astonished spectators, who had attentively watched the terrifick scene, observed an island, of the form of a large barrow, rising from a cavity of the sea about five or six fathoms deep, and proceeding above the surface of the water, so that it occupied a space of about one hundred fathoms in circumference. At first it appeared to swell and separate by fissures, throwing up mire with stones, till an eruption of fire and smoke occupied the spot. . . . . On the same day, about seven o'clock, P. M. two violent shocks of an earthquake, after a short interval, were perceived at Ekaterinodar, which is two hundred versts [near 134 miles] distant from Temruk." *Pallas's Travels in the South of Russia*, vol. II. p. 316. The same author relates, that the island sunk again before he could visit it.

† Strab. Geogr. lib. ii. p. 722. edit. Oxon. 1807.

‡ Motraye was at Temrook in December 1711. See Trav. vol. II. p. 40.

§ Ibid.

the *same geographer*, born the name of *Cerberion*. Pallas remarks,* that Temrook may probably have been the *Cimbricus* of Strabo. That which at present entitles it to the particular notice of the traveller is, that from this place Motraye began his journey, when he discovered, in so remarkable a manner, the ruins of a Greek city in Circassia, which seems decidedly from an inscription he found there, to have been *Apaturus*. All that we can collect from the obscurity which involves this part of his narrative, is, that, leaving Temrook, he turned on the right, and, crossing a river, called by the Tartars *the Great Water* (probably the Kuban) arrived, after a journey of one hundred and ten hours,† at those ruins: also, that they were situated in a mountainous country; for he observes, that the Tartars of the mountains were not so civil as those of the plains. It follows, therefore, that Pliny is not speaking of the Apaturus in Sindica, mentioned by Strabo,‡ when he couples it with Phanagoria,§ but of a temple of Apaturian Venus, belonging to that city, and which Strabo also notices.¶ Having thus removed one difficulty, in reconciling the places on the Bosporus with the text of these authors, we may, perhaps, proceed with more facility and precision.

After leaving Temrook, we journeyed, for the most part in water, through an extensive morass, in the very midst of which are stationed the remarkable ruins of a considerable fortress, looking like an old Roman castle, and said to have belonged to the Turks. At the taking of this place, the Russians, from their ignorance of the country, lost five hundred men. In order to attack an outpost, they had a small river to cross, which they expected to pass on ice; but the Turks had cut it away, and the water was deep. During the deliberation caused by this unexpected embarrassment, the Turks, who were concealed behind a small rampart, suddenly opened a brisk fire, which caused them to leap into the water, where they were all shot or drowned. The fortress itself is a square building, having a tower at

* Travels through the Southern Provinces, &c. vol II. p. 315.

† The editor of the Oxford Strabo makes it five days and six hours, which is evidently a mistake, as will appear by consulting the text.

‡ Strab. lib. ii. p. 722. ed. Ox.

§ "Mox Stratoclia et Phanagoria, et pene desertum Apaturos." Plin. lib. vi. c. 6.

¶ Strab. lib. ii, p. 723. ed. Oxon.

each angle, and is still almost entire. It is puzzling to conceive for what purpose it was erected, as it stands in the midst of a swamp, without seeming to protect any important point. Is it possible that such a building can present the remains of *Cimmerium*, or even the *Tmutaracan* of the Russians, or any work of high antiquity? On account of its form, we should be inclined to believe its origin of no remote date: and yet that little has been ascertained of the style of architecture used in the earliest periods of fortification, may be proved by reference to a silver medal in my own collection, which I afterwards found in Macedonia. This medal is of the highest antiquity, being rude in form, and without any legend or monogram. The subject of it offers in front, within an indented square, the figure of a man, with a crowned head, and a poignard in his hand, combating a lion; and the reverse, with very little exception, may represent the fortress in question.

At the distance of two versts from this fortress, we saw other ruins, with a few ancient and some Turkish tombs, and subterraneous excavations. Among these may be recognised the identical antiquities described by Motraye, in his Travels.* No trace of any ancient work afterwards appeared, excepting *tumuli*, until we came to the bay of Taman. Then, on the shore, immediately above some very high cliffs, we observed the remains of a very large fortress and town, entirely surrounded with tombs and broken mounds of earth, indicating evident vestiges of human labour. The geography of these coasts is so exceedingly obscure, that a little proxility in noticing every appearance of this kind, may, perhaps, be tolerated. We soon reached the posthouse of Sienna, actually scooped in the cavity of an ancient tomb. In the neighbourhood of this place we found remains of much greater importance. Its environs were entirely covered with *tumuli*, of a size and shape that could not fail at once to excite a traveller's wonder and stimulate his research. The commandant of engineers at Taman, general Vanderweyde, had already employed the soldiers of the garrison in opening the largest. It was quite a mountain. They began the work, very ignorantly, at the summit, and for a long time laboured to no purpose. At last, by changing the direction of their excavation, and opening the eastern side, they discovered the entrance to

* Motraye, tom. II. p. 40.

a large, arched vault, of the most admirable masonry. I had the pleasure to descend into this remarkable sepulchre. Its mouth was half filled with earth. Yet, after passing the entrance, there was sufficient space for a person to stand upright. Farther towards the interiour, the area was clear, and the work perfectly entire. The material of which the masonry consisted, was a white, crumbling limestone, such as the country now affords, filled with fragments of minute shells. Whether it was the work of Milesians, or other colonies of Greece, the skill used in its construction is very evident. The stones of the sides are all square, perfect in their form, and put together without any cement. The roof exhibits the finest turned arch imaginable, having the whiteness of the purest marble. An interiour, vaulted chamber is separated from the outer, by means of two pilasters, swelling out wide towards their bases, and placed, one on each side, at the entrance. The inner chamber is the larger of the two.

Concerning every thing found in this tomb, it is, perhaps, not possible to obtain information. One article alone, that was shown to me by General Vanderweyde at Taman, may give an idea of the rank of the person originally interred there. It was a zone for the leg, or bracelet for the arm of the purest massive gold. The soldiers employed in the undertaking stole whatever they deemed of value and were able to conceal, and destroyed other things which did not appear to them to merit preservation. Among these, was a number of vases* of black earthenware, adorned with white ornaments. The bracelet was reserved by general Vanderweyde, to be sent to Petersburgh, for the emperour's cabinet; but as enough has been said of Russia, to induce at least a suspicion, that so valuable a relick may never reach its destination, a more particular description of it may be necessary. Its weight equalled three quarters of a pound. It represented the body of a serpent, curved in the form of an ellipse, having two heads, which, meeting at opposite points, made the opening for the wrist or ankle. These serpent heads were studded with rubies, so as to imitate eyes, and to ornament the back part of each head by two distinct

* A few of these vases were, however, sent to Moscow, according to the account given to me in the country, and were there swallowed by the whirlpool which engulphs all that is dear to literature in that city. Their local history is probably now lost for the Russians, in their astonishing ignorance, call all works of this kind *Etruskan*, believing thereby to add to their value.

rows of gems. The rest of the bracelet was also further adorned by rude graved work. It possessed no elasticity, but, on account of the ductility of pure gold, might, with sufficient force, be expanded so as to admit the wrist or the ankle of the person who was to wear it; and probably, when once adapted to the form, remained during the lifetime of the owner. I could not but view it as the most ancient specimen of art which, perhaps, exists in the world; and which, while it shows the progress then made in metallurgy, and in the art of setting precious stones, at the same time offers a type of the mythology of the age in which it was made; the binding of a serpent round the leg or arm, as a talisman, being one of the superstitions common to almost every nation in an early period of civilisation, and is a practice which may be often observed even at this day. Immediately above the stonework constructed for the vault of the sepulchre, appeared, first, a covering of earth, and then a layer of sea-weed,* compressed by another superincumbent stratum of earth, to the thickness of about two inches. This layer of seaweed was as white as snow, and, when taken in the hand, separated into thin flakes and fell to pieces. What the use of this vegetable covering could be is very uncertain, but it is found in all the tombs of this country. Pallas observed it placed in regular layers, with coarse earthenware vases, of rude workmanship, and unglazed, which were filled with a mixture of earth and charcoal.† It is said that a large marble soros or sarcophagus, the top of which now serves for a cistern, near the fortress of Yenikalé in the Crimea, was taken from this tomb. The appearance of the entrance, however, in its present state, contradicts the story, as the opening has never yet been made sufficiently wide for its removal, even had it been so discovered. That it was taken from one of the ancient tombs of the Bosporus, is highly probable;‡ and its perfect coincidence, in point of form, with that invariable model which prevailed in all the sepulchres of Greece, sufficiently indicates the people from it was derived.

Similar tombs are found on all the shores of the Bosporus.

* *Zostera marina*, according to Pallas.

† Travels through the Southern Provinces, &c. Vol. II. p. 306.

‡ Motraye mentions having seen the lower half of one, between Taman and Temrook, Vol. II. p. 40.

Close by that which I have desbribed, are many others, and some nearly of equal size. Pallas, in his journey over this country, mentions the frequent recurrence of such appearances all round the bay of Taman.* Indeed, it would be vain to ask where they are not observed. The size, grandeur, and riches of those on the European and Asiatick sides of the Cimmerian Straits excite astonishing ideas of the wealth and power of the people by whom they were constructed; and, in the view of labour so prodigious, as well as of expenditure so enormous, for the purpose of inhuming a single body, customs and superstitions are manifest, which illustrate the origin of the pyramids of Egypt, the caverns of Elephanta, and the first temples of the ancient world. In memory of "the mighty dead," long before there were any such edifices as temples, the simple, sepulchral heap was raised, and it became the altar upon which sacrifices were offered. Hence the most ancient heathen structures for offerings to the gods were always built upon tombs, or in their immediate vicinity. The discussion which has been founded on the question whether the Egyptian pyramids were tombs or temples, seems altogether nugatory: being one, they were necessarily the other. The *Soros* in the interiour chamber of the great pyramid of Cheops, which indisputably determines the sepulchral origin, as decidedly establishes the certainty that it was also a place of religious worship:

> Et tot *templa* Deûm Romæ, quot in urbe *Sepulchra*
> Heroüm numerare licet.†———

The sanctity of the Acripolis of Athens owed its origin to the sepulchre of Cecrops; and without this leading cause of veneration, the numerous temples with which it was afterwards adorned would never have been erected. The same may be said of the Temple of Venus at Paphos, built over the tomb of Cinyras, the father of Adonis; of Apollo Didymæus, at Miletus, over the grave of Cleomachus; with many others alluded to both by Eusebius‡ and by Clemens Alexandrinus.§ On this account, ancient authors make use of such words for the temples of the gods as, in their original and proper signification, imply nothing more than a tomb or a sepulchre. In this sense, Lycophron,¶

* Travels through the Southern Provinces, &c. vol. II. p. 305, &c.

† Prudentius, lib. i. ‡ Cohortatio ad Gent. 3.

§ Præp. Evang. lib. ii. c. 6. ¶ Lycophr. Cassandr. v. 882.

who affects obsolete terms, uses TYMBOΣ; and Virgil,* TVMVLVS. It has been deemed necessary to state these few observations, because there is no part of ancient history which is liable to greater misrepresentation, than that which concerns the origin of temples: neither is it possible to point out a passage in all Mr. Bryant's learned dissertations, which is so reprehensible, and so contrary to the evident matter of fact, as that in which this subject is introduced. Having afforded an engraved representation† of sepulchres, exactly similar to those excavated in the rocks of Asia Minor, and which bear inscriptions purporting the use for which they were constructed, he nevertheless exerted his extraordinary learning to establish an opinion directly contrary to their real history.

Sienna‡ seems to correspond very accurately with the CERVS of Strabo,§ and *Cepæ Milesiorum* of Pliny.¶ The Milesian sepulchres found there in such abundance may probably still further confirm this position; but in order to elucidate the text of either of these authors, it is absolutely necessary that reference should be made to better maps than have hitherto been published. No less than three ancient bridges of stone lead to this place from Taman; and that they were works as much of luxury as of necessity, is proved from the circumstance of their being built across places containing little or no water at any time. A shallow stream flows under one of them, which the people of the country pass at pleasure, disregarding the bridges, as being high, and somewhat dangerous on account of their antiquity. They consist each of a single arch, built with great skill, and according to that massive solidity which bespeaks the works of remoter periods. The usual bridges of the country

* "*Tumulum* antiquæ Cereris, sedemque sacratam,
Venimus." ——— *Æn.* lib. ii. v. 742.

† Bryant's Mythology, vol. i. p. 225. 4to edit. London, 1774.

‡ *Sienna* is the name of this place, as pronounced by the Tchernomorski Cossacks; but they are constantly changing the appellation of the different places in the country, and I know not what name it had among the Tartars.

§ Lib. ii. p. 722. ed. Ox. It is written *Cepi* in the Latin translation; and in the Greek text, Κίπους; but, according to the notes, some MSS read as above. I have written it as it is authorized by the edition of Pliny, which we chanced to have with us, as well as by Pomponius Mela, and Diodorus Siculus.

¶ Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap.

are nothing more than loose pieces of timber, covered with bulrushes.

We passed the new fortress of Taman, in our way to the town, which is distant from it two versts.* Workmen were then employed upon the building. It is an absurd and useless undertaking, but calculated to become the sepulchre of the few remaining inscribed marbles and Grecian bas-reliefs, which are daily buried in its foundation. As a military work, the most able engineers view it with ridicule; for an army may approach close to its walls, protected from its artillery by a natural fosse, and even unperceived by the garrison. The Russians begin to be convinced of the bad policy which induced them to extend their frontier into this part of Asia. The defence of the line from Ekaterinedara to Taman, which is not half the extent it occupies between the Caspian and the Black Sea, required, at the time we passed, an army of fifty thousand men,† whose troops, from the unwholesome climate and bad water, considered the station as little better than a grave. The country itself yields no profit, being, for the most part, swampy or barren land, and only serves to drain Russia of soldiers, who might be better employed. The natural boundaries offered by the Black Sea, the Sea of Azof, and the Don, with a cordon from that river to Astrachan, would much better answer the purposes of strength and aggrandizement; but Russia, morally considered, is like an enormous toad, extending on every side her bloated, unwieldy form, and gradually becoming weaker, as she swells with an unwholesome and unnatural expansion.

Arriving at Taman, we were lodged in the house of an officer who had been lately dismissed the service, through the attention of whom, and of general Vanderweyde, the commander of engineers, we were enabled to rescue from destruction some of the antiquities condemned to serve as materials in constructing the fortress.‡ The general con-

* "There is a fortress with a Russian garrison, of whom the Cossacks complain heavily as infamous thieves. Our carriage was guarded every night by a Cossack sentinel with his lance." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

† That is to say, during a period of war. In ordinary times, the number is by no means so considerable. Mr. Heber makes the whole guard of the cordon only equal to 5,000 men.

‡ As these have been already described in the account published of the Greek marbles deposited, since our return, in the vestibule of the publick library of the university of Cambridge, it is only necessary now to refer to

ducted us over the ruins, whence they derive masses of marble for this purpose; and called them, as they really appear to be, the Ruins of the City of PHANAGORIA. They are found over all the suburbs of Taman; the ground, for some versts in extent, being covered with the foundations of ancient buildings, among which are frequently discovered blocks of marble, fragments of sculpture, and ancient coins. Of the coins which I procured on either side of the Bosporus, few are common in cabinets. One in particular, found in or near Taman, deserves particular notice, as it seems to confirm what I have said respecting the situation of Phanagoria. It is a small silver medal of that city, of great antiquity, and I believe the only one which remains; as, there is nothing like it in the collection at Paris nor in any other cabinet of Europe known to me. In the front, it presents the head of a young man, with that kind of cap which I have described in a preceding page of this volume;* and upon the reverse appears a bull, butting, with a grain of corn in a space below the line on which the animal stands, and above are the letters ΦANA. When we considered the destruction of ancient works, which has been so long carried on in Taman and its neighbourhood, we may reasonably wonder that any thing should now remain to indicate its former history. So long ago as the beginning of the last century, Motraye says the remains of antiquity were daily diminishing.† Between Taman and Temrook, he observed the lower part of the *soros* used as a cistern, of which *soros* the cistern at Yenikalé was probably the cover.‡ Whenever a traveller has a reason to suspect that he is upon or

that work, and to say that the articles described in Nos. I. IV. V. VI. XXIV. in pages 1, 4, 46, came from that place.

* See note, p. 243.

† "We took up our lodging that night at Taman, and set out on the 25th, early in the morning; and I observed nothing remarkable between this town and Temrook, but some yet considerable ruins, *which were likely to become less so every day, by their continued diminution*, occasioned by the inhabitants of these two places carrying off, from time to time, part of them, to build magazines, or lay the foundations for some houses. By their situation, they seemed to me to have been those of the *Phanagoria* of the ancients, if it was not at Taman; but I could not find either inscriptions or basso-relievos to give me any further insight into it. Hard by the highway, near a well, there is a sort of a long and large chest of hard stone, as valuable as marble, and without a cover, almost like the tombs at *Lampasco*." *Motraye's Travels*, vol. II. p. 40.

‡ Pallas says it was brought from the Isle of Taman. See vol. II. p. 285.

near the site of ancient cities an inquiry after the cisterns used by the inhabitants may guide him to very curious information; as it is the use to which the *soroi* are universally appropriated, and upon them ancient inscriptions may frequently be discovered. Another cause of the loss of ancient monuments to Taman was the establishment there of a colony of Russians at a very early period, when the city bore the name of *Tamatarcan*, or *Tmutaracan*.* Near the gate of the church-yard of Taman, lies the marble slab, with the curious inscription, which threw so much light upon the situation of that ancient principality of Russia, once the residence of her princes. We had the satisfaction to see it and to copy the inscription; which has been illustrated both by the writings of Pallas and by the celebrated Russian antiquary, the latter of whom has published, in his own language, so valuable a dissertation concerning it.† It is, therefore, superfluous to say more of this valuable relick, than that it commemorates a mensuration made upon the ice, by prince Gleb, son of Vladimir, in the year 1065, of the distance across the Bosporus, from Tmutaracan to Kertchy; that is to say, from Phanagoria to Panticapeum, which is found to correspond with the actual distance from Taman to Kertchy. The words of the inscription are to the following effect: "*In the year* 6576 [1065] *Indict.* 6. *Prince Gleb measured the sea on the ice; and the distance from Tmutaracan to Kertchy was* 30,054 *fathoms.* Pallas relates, that the freezing of the Bosporus, so that it may be measured on the ice, is in itself no uncommon occurrence; ‡ which, while it serves to ascertain the truth of ancient history, proves also that the degrees of heat and cold do not vary as those of latitude; both Taman and Kertchy § being nearer to the equator than Venice, where the freezing of the

* "The name in Theodosius's Itinerary is *Tamatarca*." Tmutaracan means literally "the Swarm of Beetles." *Hoher's MS. Journal.*

† Alexis Mussin-Pushkin, one of the members of the privy council in Russia published an elucidation of the inscription, and of the principality of Tmutarakan, accompanied by a map, explanatory of the geography of ancient Russia. *Petrop.* 1794. quarto. See also, *Pallas's Travels in the South of Russia*, &c. vol. II. p. 306.

‡ Pallas's Travels in the South of Russia, vol. II. p. 289, 300.

§ These towns are situated in latitude 45. Venice is about half a degree nearer to the north pole. Naples and Constantinople are with respect to each other, nearly on the same line of latitude; yet snow falls frequently, during winter, in the latter city, but is seldom seen in the former.

sea would be accounted a prodigy. The cavalry of Mithridates are said to have fought on the ice, in the same part of the Bosporus where a naval engagement had taken place the preceding summer.*

Among the other antiquities of Taman, one of the most remarkable is an ampitheatre, which seems to have been intended for exhibitions of naval combats, if not used as a vast reservoir for containing water for other purposes. It is no less than a thousand paces in diameter, and all the floor paved. Its form is circular, and every where surrounded by ruins and the foundations of buildings, which slope towards the vast area in the middle. On one side only is a wide opening, that seems to have afforded the principal entrance. The pavement of the area, consisting of broad, flat stones, is now covered by earth and weeds. The subterraneous conduits, through which the water was conveyed, still remain; but they are now appropiated to other uses. One of them, beneath the church, is kept in order, for the use of the priests. When the Cossacks of the Black Sea first arrived in their new settlement, they caused the water to flow into this immense reservoir, for the use of their cattle; but as it stagnated, and proved extremely unwholesome, it was afterwards drained off. Crossing this area towards the south, are seen the remains of a temple, built after the Grecian model, and of considerable size. Here the workmen employed on the fortress discovered a considerable quantity of ancient materials, which they removed; such as marble colums, entablatures (many of which had inscriptions) marble bass-reliefs, and pieces of sculpture, which they have buried in the foundation of that edifice, or destroyed in making lime.† Near the ruins of this temple are also those of some other public edifice, which must have been of prodigious size covering a great extent of ground. The marble, as well as other stones, which the ancients employed in the buildings of Phanagoria, are all substances foreign to the country. The Isle of Taman produces nothing similar. The materials found there were brought either from the Crimea, from Greece, or, in later ages, by the Genoese from Italy. Among the fragments of such

* Strab. lib. vii. p. 444. ed. Oxon.

† An entablature, which they had broken for this purpose, and which I removed, is described in p. 46 of the account of the Greek Marbles at Cambridge, No. XXIV.

extraneous substances, I observed upon the shore even the productions of Vesuvius and could readily account for their appearance, having often seen the Genoese ballast their vessels in the bay of Naples, where the beach is covered by volcanick products. It will be necessary to attend to this fact, lest such substances found upon the Bosporus, should hereafter be confounded with the products of a volcano, which is only twenty-seven miles distant from Taman, called by the Tartars *Coocoo Obo*, and which the Tchernomorski, now possessors of the country, distinguish by the name of *Prekla*.* The eruptions of Prekla, although accompanied by smoke and fire, have not yet been followed by any appearance of lava. The product has been a prodigious discharge of viscous mud. The first explosion took place on the 27th of February, 1794, at half past eight in the morning; and was followed by the appearance of a column of fire, rising perpendicularly to the height of fifty fathoms from the hill I have mentioned. This hill is situated in the middle of a broad, angular isthmus, on the northeast side of the bay of Taman, distant only eight miles from that place, in a direct line across the water, and only ten from Yenikalé, on the Crimean side of the Bosporus. The particulars of this extraordinary phenomenon are given so much in detail by Pallas,† that it would be useless to repeat them here. Observations on such muddy volcanos have been published by Müller, and by Kæmpfer, in Germany; and different travellers have given an account of similar eruptions of mud at *Malcuba* in Sicily. At present there is nothing remarkable to be seen at Prekla, except boiling springs in the cavities whence the eruptions of fire and mud proceeded; and which, though perfectly cool, remain in a constant state of ebullition.‡

* A term used also by the Malo-Russians, to signify *Hell*. It is remarkable, that the Icelanders should likewise have called their volcano *Hekla*, which has, perhaps, in their language, the same signification.

† Vol. II. p. 318.

‡ "We took a ride with our Cossack host, to see the mire fountains mentioned by Pallas. The first thing we were shown was a circular area, resembling the crater of a small volcano. In the centre was a heap of stones, which, with the surrounding mud, appeared impregnated with sulphur. In one place was a pool of water, without any particular taste. About 500 yards distant was another circle, but much smaller, all of soft mud; and in the centre was a little hole, whence slowly bubbled out a nauseous, black fluid like bilge water. By treading on any part of the mud, more matter oozed from the wound; for the whole had the appear-

Two marble columns were lying before the church at Taman, each consisting of one entire block, about eighteen inches in diameter. Their capitals were of white marble, (although the shafts were of *Cipolino**) beautifully sculptured, having a representation of a ram's head at each corner, the curving horns of which made them resemble the Ionick order. Almost all the marble in Taman is of the kind called Cipolino. Near the columns were two marble lions, as large as life, and each executed in one entire block. Representations of the lion, sometimes of colossal size, are common upon these shores, left, probably, by the Genoese or Venetians. Two others were stationed before the door of the general's house. On the opposite side of the Bosporus are other remains of the same kind, particularly at Kertchy and at Yenikalé. Near this latter place is a very large one, lying in the sea, which may be seen in calm weather, although under water. In the wall of the church at Taman we observed two marble slabs with inscriptions, which I copied with difficulty, as they were covered with white-wash.

ants of one vast sore. We thrust our sticks into the mud, but found no bottom; and on withdrawing them, a similar kind of fluid rose through the apertures they had made. There was another, precisely similar, at a small distance; and very near this last, a well of water resembling that of Marrowgate, in taste, smell, and sparkling." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

* *Cipolino* is a name given by Italians to an impure marble, which, containing veins of schistus, decomposes, and falls off in flakes, like the coats of an onion.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM THE CIMMERIAN BOSPORUS, TO CAFFA.

Passage across the Straits—Yenikalé—Modern Greeks—Marble Soros—Singular Ancient Sepulchre—Pharos of Mithradates—Medals of the Bosporus—Ruins—Kertchy—Tomb of Mithradates—View of the Cimmerian Straits—Antiquities of Kertchy—Account of a Stranger who died there—Fortress—Church—Havock made by the Russians—Cause of the obscurity which prevails concerning the Ancient Topography of the Crimea—Departure from Kertchy—Ancient Vallum—Locusts—Venomous Insects—Gipsies—Cattle—Tartars—Vallum of Asander—Arrival at Caffa.

WE set sail from Taman on the 12th of July. The distance to Yenikalé, on the opposite shore, is only eighteen Russian versts, or twelve English miles. Prosperous gales, and placid weather, soon brought us midway between the European and Asaitick coasts; and as the sea was tranquil, I profited by the opportunity to delineate the view, both towards the Mæotis and the Euxine. Dolphins, in great numbers, played about our vessel. These animals go in pairs; and it is remarkable how very accurately their appearance corresponds with the description given of them by Pliny.* Arriving opposite Yenikalé, or, as it is frequently written, Jenikalé;† we found a fleet of Turkish ships waiting favourable winds, both for Taganrock and for Constantinople. Soon after we landed, we obtained lodgings in a neat and comfortable Greek mansion, the owner of which, by birth a Spartan, and a native of Misitra, was a man of integrity and considerable information. His wife was a native of Paros. We found their dwelling an asylum so agreeable, after our long Scythian penance, that we remained there nearly a week. A wooden balcony, or co-

* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ix c 8.

† Yenikalé is compounded of two Turkish or Tartar words, signifying *The New Castle.*

vered gallery, to which their principal apartment opened, gave us a constant view of the Bosporus, with all the opposite Asiatick coast, and of the numerous vessels which at this season of the year are constantly passing to and fro. As the table of our host was free to every comer, we dined with people from almost all parts of Greece and Asia Minor; and their conversation, as they all spoke Italian, was intelligible and interesting. The natives of Cephalonia, a sturdy and athletick race, those of the Morea, of the islands of the Archipelago, of Candia, the South Coast of the Black Sea, Trebisond, Amasra, and Constantinople, amused us by the singularity of their dress and manners, as well as by their conversation. The house of Keriâki, for that was the name of our host, was a sort of rendezvous, at which they all met, once in a year, in their voyage to and from Taganrock.* His windows were full of books, printed at Venice, in the modern Greek language, although the characters exactly correspond with those in use among us; and his boys, during evening, read to him the popular poem of Erotocritus, the Life of Alexander, with the extraordinary anecdotes of his horse Bucephalus, and the history of the ancient kings of Byzantium. Their mode of pronouncing Greek is much softer than ours, and more like Italian; but they understood me when I endeavoured to read Greek after their manner. Among all the Greeks, the letter β is sounded like our V; and it is very doubtful whether this was not the case in ancient times.† The natives of the Crimea still call the town of Kertchy *Vospor*, and the straits *Vospor*, although they write the word *Bospor*. It is worth while to inquire into the origin of the very popular poem of Erotocritus; since, although in rhyme, and certainly of no ancient date, the traditions and the stories on which it is founded are common all over Greece, and constitute the favourite topick of their evening tales. They pretend that the palace of Erotocritus is still to be seen, at a place called *Cava Calonna*, near Athens; alluding evidently to the promontory and temple of Sunium. Upon the walls of Keriâki's apartments were rude draw-

* The name of this place would be more properly *Taganrog*, as Mr. Heber uniformly writes it.

† The late professor Porson believed that the ancient Greeks pronounced the β as we do; and, in proof of his opinion, used to cite this verse of Cratinus:

Ὁ δ' ἠλίθιος ὥσπερ πρόβατον βῆ βῆ λέγων βαδίζει.

ings, representing subjects taken from Grecian history; and, among others, was one of Hercules, in a helmet and coat of mail, destroying the Hydra; but they knew nothing of the name of the hero, saying merely that it was the picture of a warriour once famous in Greece, and relating many extravagant tales of his valour, perhaps such as once formed the foundation of those poetick fables which ancient writers have handed down, with higher authority, to modern times. The heads of the young Greeks, both male and female, are full of such stories; and as they much delight in long recitals, these relations constitute the subject of their songs and discourses. In the Islands are vagrant bards and *Improvvisatori*, who, like Homer of old, enter villages and towns to collect alms, by singing or reciting the traditions of the country.

If we may judge of the Greeks in general, from the view we had of them in this part of the Crimea, they are remarkable for cleanliness, and for the attention paid to decency, and order in their dwellings. The women are, perhaps, the most industrious housewives upon earth, and entirely the slaves of the family. Their cookery is simple and wholesome. We never saw them idle. They have no desire to go abroad; and, if the employments of the house admit of their sitting down for a short time, they begin to spin, or to wind cotton. Yenikalé is almost wholly inhabited by Greeks. The men are, for the most part, absorbed in mercenary speculations; but the women are gentle, humane, obliging, and deserving of the highest praise.

The fortress of Yenikalé, from which the place has derived its present name,* stands upon some high cliffs above the town. In one of its towers is a fountain; and the source from whence it is derived supplies a conduit on the outside, near the base. The stream flows in by aqueducts, from a spring, said by the inhabitants to be four miles distant; and it falls, at the bottom of the tower, into the cavity of an ancient marble *soros*, alluded to in the preceeding chapter.† This *soros* is of one entire block of white marble, of the weight of two or three tons, and now used as the publick washing trough of the town. They tell the story before related, concerning its discovery in one of the tombs of the Isle of Taman; and it is probably the cover of that to which Motraye refers in his journey from Ta-

* See a former Note, p. 274. † P. 265.

man to Temtook.* From its inverted position, I was prevented noticing an inscription since discovered upon the top of it, and which I have not been able to obtain. We were assured by persons residing there, that when they began the excavations at Taman, for materials to build the fortress, the number of earthenware vases, and other antiquities, discovered by the workmen, was truly astonishing; that soldiers were seen with antique vessels suspended by a string, twenty or thirty at a time, which have since been broken and dispersed. Perhaps the reader is inclined with me to consider this part of the representation as greatly exaggerated. Our host, however, presented one small earthen vase which a slave brought home, who had been employed with others in digging near the church at Yenikalé. They found a pit, containing a stone sepulchre, of one entire mass, but of a cylindrical form, shaped like the mouth of a well, and covered by a slab of marble. In this cylinder they discovered an oval ball, the outside of which was a luting of white cement resembling mortar. When they had taken off this exterior crust, there appeared, within the ball, the small earthen vase I have mentioned, filled with ashes, and closed by a representation of Medusa's head, wrought in a substance similar to the cement which covered the vase.† In their care to cleanse the vessel, they had destroyed almost every trace of some black figures upon its exterior surface. From the rude structure of this relick, and the manner of its interment, so different from the practice used by the Greeks at any known period of their history, or that of any other nation, it is impossible to determine what degree of antiquity it may possess. After the reflection, that full fourteen hundred years before our era, a commerce was carried on in this country, imagination may indulge in conjectures, calculated, indeed, to enliven conversation, but ill suited to the tenour of writings, whose aim is to illustrate, rather than to perplex, the pages of history.

About four miles from Yenikalé, towards the Mæotis, on a rock advanced in the sea, is the point on which the ancient Pharos formerly stood; and this spot is still called by

* See the Extract from Motraye's Travels, in p. 275 of this volume.

† This circumstance is noticed in the account of the Cambridge Marbles, Appendix, p. 77; where the reader may find the subject of this remarkable symbol, and its purport in the Heathen Mythology, briefly discussed.

the Greeks PHANARI, and by the Russians PHANAR, which, in either language, implies a lantern or lighthouse. The ruins of the old foundation are still visible. Tradition ascribes it to the time of Mithridates, and the modern Greeks generally bestow upon it the name of Phanari Mitradati. It was a work of peculiar necessity, although long abandoned; since vessels coming through the Straits are obliged to keep close to the Crimean coast, for want of water, towards the middle of the passage, as well as on the other side. Accidents frequently happen. A large Turkish merchant vessel ran aground upon the shallows in the southern extremity of the Bosporus while we were there; and one of the Russian frigates passing up the Straits, was three times stranded in view of Yenikalé.

The medals of the Bosporus are among the most rare in the cabinets of Europe. We collected a few in Yenikalé. Among these were certain of the Bosporian kings, viz. one of Pærisades, in very small bronze; one of Sauromates the First, in bronze, of the middle size; two of Rhescuporis the First, in small bronze; one of Mithradates the Second, rather larger; and others whose real history it would have been difficult to determine, if it had not been for the light thrown upon them by Sestini.* Of the latter description is a small bronze medal, having in front a bull, butting; and for the reverse, a lamp or light tower, with the letters ΠΑΡ. This is proved by the Ainsley Collection to be a medal of Parium, although easily mistaken for one of the island of Paros. We obtained also other bronze medals, which had evidently been derived from the same colony of Mysia, viz. an imperial medal of Galba, two of Justinian, and one of Licinius; also, a Latin *Autonome*, of great rarity, with the head of a Roman empress in front; having for the reverse, an amphora, with the letters D. D. *Decreto Decurionum*. This last would have been wholly inexplicable to me, but for the observations of the learned Sestini upon one of a similar nature.† Concerning the representation given from a fine silver tetradrachm of Mithradates the Great, and a small silver medal of Polemo the First it should be said, that the coins of these kings were not struck in Bosporus, neither were they found there.

* Lettere e Diss. Numis. Sopra alcune Medaglie rarecelli. Coll. Ains. Tav. 1. tom. III. e Lett. 6. p. 18.

† Ibid. p. 29.

¶ procured them, after we left the Crimea, in the *bazars* of Constantinople. My observations upon all of them will be brief; and even these must be reserved for a note; because Numismatick dissertations involve discussion, in itself sufficient to occupy a volume. The reader who may wish to see the subject treated more at large, will find satisfactory information in Cary's History of the Kings of the Cimmerian Bosporus;* in the posthumous work of Vaillant;† the dissertation of Souciet;‡ and, above all, in the second volume of Eckhel;§ writings which, if they do not compensate, serve to render less sensible the loss literature sustained by the total annihilation of those records of Trogus Pompeius, which might have dispelled the darkness in which the Bosporian dynasties are involved.¶

* Histoire des Rois du Bosphore Cimmerien. Paris, 1732. quarto.

† Achæmenidarum Imperium, sive Regum Ponti, Bospori, &c. Histor. ad fid. Numis. accom. Vaillant.

‡ Hist. Chronol. des Rois du Bosphore Cimmerien, par Souciet. Paris, 1736. quarto.

§ Doctrina Numorum Veterum, à Jos. Eckhel, Part I. vol. II. p. 360. Vindobon. 1794. quarto.

¶ All the medals of the family of Mithridates, whether kings of Pontus, prior to the subjugation of the Bosporus, or successors of Mithridates the great, have their name written ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ, and not ΜΙΘΡΙΔΑΤΗΣ. It is, therefore, extraordinary, that the learned writers to whose works I have so recently referred, with this fact before their eyes, continue the corrupted orthography, and write MITHRIDATES, which is certainly not only erroneous, but wholly inconsistent with the true oriental etymology of the word. Neither are medals the only documents which afford authority for writing it *Mithradates*; as the inscriptions on Greek marbles bear the same legend. It is an abuse, however, which began with the Romans themselves, and has continued ever since. The same people who wrote *Massilia* for ΜΑΣΣΑΛΙΑ, and *Massanissa* for ΜΑΣΣΑΝΑΣΣΑ, and deduced *Agrigentum* from ΑΚΡΑΓΑΣ, would, of course, write *Mithridates* for ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ. With the exception of the portrait of Alexander, I think there is no countenance expressed on medals which we regard with so much interest as that of Mithradates,—"*Vir*," as it is sublimely expressed by Velleius, and cited by Eckhel, "*neque silentio, neque dicendo, nisi tuto, bello acerrimus, virtute eximus, aliquando fortuna, semper animo maximus; consilio dux, manu, ore in Romanos Hannibal.*" With him, the line of Bosporian kings begins in regular order; that is to say, it is freed from the uncertainty which belongs to the series of the first and second dynasty, in which the succession (whether of the Archæanactidæ, beginning with the year of Rome 267, and ending 309, or with the more immediate predecessors of Mithradates, from Spartacus to Pleribades) is not to be determined. Mithridates began his reign in Bosporus by the cession of Pleribades, in the year of Rome 639 viz. one hundred and fifteen years before Christ. The Bosporian era begins with the year of Rome 457 (viz. two hundred and ninety seven years before Christ) and ends in the time of Constantine the great; so

In the short distance from Yenikalé to *Kertchy*, which is little more than eleven versts, or seven English miles, we observed upon the clifts above the Bosporus many remains of ancient buildings; and the prodigious number of tumuli, which every where appeared, could only be compared to the nodules on the outside of a pine-apple. About half way on the right hand side of the road appeared a stratum of limestone, hewn in a semi-circular manner, so as to present an area, the sides of which were thirty feet perpendicular. In the middle of this area we found a deep well, hewn in the solid rock. The Tartar peasants near it assured us, that its sides were those of a vast cylinder of marble, buried in the soil; but it was evidently a channel bored through the rock. The work must have required great labour, the depth to the water being at least fifty feet, without including the further depth of the well, which we were not able to ascertain. The Tartars draw water from it for their sheep and goats, by means of a leathern bucket.

The town of Kertchy, standing on the side of the ancient Panticapæum, is now reduced to extreme wretchedness and insignificance. It was, not long since, of considerable conse-

that the monarchy continued at least eight hundred years. It is proper to pay particular attention to this circumstance, as many of the Bosporian medals have their dates upon the obverse side. Thracian medals have the same peculiarity: but there is an easy method of distinguishing a Thracian from a Bosporian medal. Upon the Thracian, the Omega is written Ω, and the Sigma Σ. Upon the Bosporian, the Omega is written ω and the Sigma C. By due attention to this very evident criterion, much confusion may be avoided.

Polemo the first succeeded to the throne of Bosporus twelve or thirteen years before Christ. The medals of this king are extremely rare. The head of Marc Antony, or of Augustus, generally appears upon the obverse side, to whom he was indebted for the kingdom. He was priest of a temple in Rome consecrated to Augustus, as appears by a curious inscription preserved by Cary. [*Hist. des Rois du Bosphore, p.* 41.] Immediately after Polemo, succeeded Sauromates the first; upon whose medals we see the interesting representation of the regalia sent from Rome for his coronation. The letters MH, in a wreath or crown of laurel, have not hitherto been explained. The medals of this king, whether in silver or bronze, are so rare as to be considered almost unique. [See *Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. II. p. 370.] Sauromates, as well as his successour Rhescuporis the first, took the name of *Tiberius Julius*, to which an inscription at Taman refers. Pellerin has preserved the legend on this medal entire. T . IOYΛIOY BACIΛEΔC CAYPOMATOY. Sauromates and Rhescuporis were kings of Bosporus only. Rhescuporis reigned in the time of Tiberius, and had this legend on a medal described by Cary and by Eckhel [*Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. II. p. 375] TIBEPIOC IOYVIOC BACIΛEΔC PHCKOYΠOPIC. Palemo the second succeeded Rhescuporis in the thirty eight year of our era; after whom, A. D. came Mithradates the second.

quence. The Russians, according to the statement made by several of its inhabitants, destroyed no less than five thousand houses. Even in its ruins, the regal seat of the Bosporian kings, once the residence of Mithradates, will ever be considered an interesting, if not an important place, for the researches of the historian. Our first inquiry among the few Greeks settled there was for medals; and several were brought, but, for the most part, so much injured as to be scarcely worth notice. I obtained one, however, in bronze, of a different description, which gave me the highest gratification; for after bestowing a little care in removing the hard crust which covered it, the word ΠΑΝΤΙΚΑΠΑΙΤΩΝ. with every letter perfect, might be plainly discerned.* It was said to have been found in Yenikalé. In front appears the head of one of the Bosporian kings; and for the reverse, a horse grazing, with the legend here given.

The traditions of Kertchy are in direct contradiction of history: for they relate not only that Mithradates died here, but that he was buried a short distance from the town, where they still pretend to show his tomb.† It is, perhaps, a Milesian work; but its height and size are so remarkable, that it is scarcely possible to believe it the result of human labour. Among the Greek inhabitants of Kertchy it bears the name of *the Tomb of Mithradates*. The Russians are not contented with showing his tomb; they also point out his palace, and conduct strangers for that purpose to the top of a natural hill or mountain above the town. They deceived general Suvarof to such a degree when he visited the place, that being told it was the sepulchre of so great a hero, the veteran soldier knelt upon the ground and wept. We visited that which is pointed out by the Greeks; it is four versts distant from Kertchy, near the road leading to Caffa. The Tartars call it *Altyn Obo*, and have a tradition that it contains a treasure, guarded by a virgin, who here spends her nights in lamentations.‡ It stands on the most elevated

* Eckhel [vol. II. p. 3] notices the same remarkable legend, as found on the medals of Panticapæum.

† Mithradates, according to Appian, was buried by Pompey at Sinope, among the sepulchres of his ancestors.

‡ See Pallas's Travels, vol. II. p. 281. It is worthy of observation, that Pallas, being unable to reconcile this surprising tumulus with any reference to the real history of the interment of Mithradates, or his own notions of probability as an artificial heap, endeavours to account for it by a natural process.

spot in this part of the Crimea, and is visible for many miles round. One thing concerning this tumulus is very remarkable, and may confirm the notion entertained of its artificial origin. It is placed exactly upon the vallum which formed the inner barrier of the Bosporian empire. This work still exists in an entire state, having a fosse in front, and passing across this part of the peninsula in a northerly direction from the Altyn Oba to the Sea of Azof. Several other similar heaps of astonishing size are situated near this tumulus, although it towers above them all, and the plains below are covered with others of smaller dimensions. There is yet another circumstance worthy of notice. Beyond the vallum to the west there are no tumuli, although they are so numerous on its eastern side; that is to say, on the Bosporian territory; neither are they seen again, but very rarely, in all the journey towards Caffa; and, before arriving at that place, they altogether disappear. Afterwards, proceeding to the site of *Stara Crim*,* they may again be noticed. The shape of the *Altyn Oba* is not as usual in ancient tumuli; it is rather a semi-spheroid. Its sides present that stupendous masonry which is seen in the walls of Tiryns, near Argos, in the Morea; where immense, unshapen masses of stone are placed together without cement, according to their accidental forms. The western part is entire, although the others have fallen. Looking through the interstices and yawning chasms of the tumulus, and examining the excavations made upon its summit, we found it, like the Cairns of Scotland, to consist wholly of stones heaped together; but its exterior betrayed a more artificial construction, and exhibited materials of greater magnitude. It seems to have been the custom of the age, in which these heaps were raised, to bring stones, or parcels of earth, from all parts of the country, to the tomb of a deceased sovereign, or near relation. To cast a stone upon a grave was an act of loyalty or piety; and a saying of friendship or affection in the north of Scotland still exists, which implies, "*I will cast a stone upon thy cairn*;" but the heap so raised consisted of heterogeneous substances; granite and limestone, fragments of volcanick rocks, pebbles from the seashore, and from the beds of rivers, promiscuously mixed, and frequently covered by superincumbent earth. Stones were generally used in pre-

* *Probably*, says Pallas, *the ancient Cimmerium*; (Travels in the South of Russia, vol. II. p. 360) but there seems little reason for the conjecture.

vrance to earth, perhaps as being more easily conveyed, and likely to render the heap more durable; in the Isle of Taman, where they were not easily procured, it is curious to observe the ingenuity used to preserve the tombs from decay; first by a massive and gigantick style of architecture in the vault; then by a careful covering of earth; further by a layer of seaweed, or the bark of trees, to keep out moisture; and, finally, by a stupendous heap of such materials as the country afforded. The stones of which the *Altyn Obo* consists are all of the same nature; and I believe, all of them natural to the soil. On the eastern side of it is a pit, formed, probably, by some person who wished to penetrate the interiour of this immense pile. The Tartars have tried in vain to effect a passage; but the stones fall in upon them as they proceed, and render their labour vain. Yet they have a tradition, that an entrance was once accomplished; and pretend to describe the interiour as a magnificent, vaulted stone chamber, formed by enormous slabs, which seem as if they would crush the spectator. It is remarkable they should use an expression signifying *vaulted*; because it agrees with the style used in the interiour of other tumuli upon the Asiatick side of the Bosporus, and thereby gives internal evidence of truth to their narrative; yet, perhaps, they derived the notion from similar appearances observed in other tombs which have been opened and subjected to their inspection.

The view from the top of the *Altyn Obo* is one of the finest in the Crimea. A range of similar heaps continues along the lofty ridge on which this tumulus stands, the whole way to Kertchy, the last object being the high mountain on which the ancient citadel of the Bosporians was placed; that is to say, upon the precipice above the sea, whence Mithradates threw the body of his son Xiphanes into the waves; as there is no other spot connected with the site of Panticapæum, which, from its eminence, illustrates the text of Appian, who says the deed was done in view of the mother on the other side of the strait. The palace of Mithradates was, in all probability, a fortress; and the traces of its foundation are yet visible, near a small, semicircular excavation in the rock; also a work of great antiquity. One of the tombs in the range I have mentioned, although not so large as that attributed to Mithradates, is equally remarkable. It is the nearest to the spectator in the series; the pretended tomb of Mithradates, or *Altyn Obo*, being the last towards

the west, and immediately on the barrier or vallum, beyond which, as stated before, those monuments cease to appear. It was surrounded, near the vertex of its cone, with a circular wall of stones, placed regularly together, but without any cement. Part of it is still entire; and, perhaps, the whole was formerly covered by a dome, of which the wall was originally the base: for exactly such another wall surmounted the top of the tumulus, often called *The Barrow of Achilles*, in the plain of Troy. Beyond this ridge, and these tombs, the view comprehends the whole of the Cimmerian Bosporus, the harbour of Panticapæum, the opposite coast of Phanagoria, *Prekla* volcano, and a great variety of objects, among which, at the time we were there, the passing fleets of European and Asiatick merchants from all the ports of the Black Sea, the Archipelago, and the Mediterranean, were not the least interesting. On all the distant promontories towards the east, over all the plains below, and wherever else the eye could roam, except beyond the Bosporian vallum, appeared the ancient tumuli so often described. These tumuli, as well as the hills, were covered with wild thyme, which swarms of locusts were devouring. The earth seemed also alive with a species of toad, described by Pallas, called the *Rana variabilis* crawling up to the very summits of the highest hills. It has a smoother skin than the common toad, is smaller, more active, and covered with round spots, whose beauty lessens the disgust of beholding the most deformed and horrible reptile in such abundance.*

There is, perhaps, no place in the Crimea, where the traveller will find so many antiquities as in Kertchy. The peasants gladly exchange, for a few copecks, the ancient coins which they have discovered in the soil; the walls of the town are full of broken and entire marbles, with bas-reliefs and inscriptions neglected or ruined. Some of the latter are used as steps before the doors of their houses, or serve, as at Yenikalé among other materials for building. Many of the inhabitants have placed ancient Greek marbles, over their doors by way of ornament; but without any knowledge of their real nature, or even common attention to the position of the figures; so that they are seen in all directions, sometimes lying sideways in a wall, or wholly inverted. A number of interesting relicks of this kind were

* The *Rana viridaria* is also found frequently in this part of the Crimea.

is imminent danger of disappearing for ever, when we arrived; for they had collected them as substances for the repairs of the church. I purchased three very remarkable slabs of antique marble, with the view of sending them to Cambridge; but a dispute arising among the proprietors concerning the division of the money, the bargain was set aside, and the marbles were detained. They have since been described in the work published by Pallas, after his Travels in the South of Russia, where the reader will also find them accurately delineated. Mr. Tweddell, of Trinity College, Cambridge, had recently visited this country, and he left with Professor Pallas his own beautiful transcripts of every inscription found here, from which documents they were published by the Professor, but without any illustration; the world having lost, in Mr. Tweddell's untimely death, and the subsequent disappearance of his journals at Constantinople, in 1799, as yet unexplained, all the information his great acquirements enabled him to afford.* Upon the basreliefs of the Bosporus, the remarkable representation of an equestrian figure, attended by a youth, is so often repeated, that it ought not to pass without observation; but it has hitherto received no explanation.† Perhaps a passage in Herodotus may throw some light upon the subject. He relates, that the Scythians killed their slaves and finest horses, and after taking out their entrails, stuffed them with straw, and set them up as equestrian figures in honour of their kings.‡

It is from Panticapæum that the imaginary Anacharsis of Barthelemy is said to have embarked for his travels in Greece. Here also, in ancient times, stood a temple of Æsculapius; in which was preserved the vessel of brass mentioned in the Anthologia, as having burst in consequence of a severe frost upon the Bosporus.§ If any future traveller should look for the site of that temple where the present church of Kertchy stands, he will not, perhaps, be far from the truth. Upon the introduction of Christianity, especially in countries where it wholly superseded the ancient

* See the observations which occur in the Naval Chronicle, vol. XXIII. p. 51, evidently written by an eye-witness of the facts which he relates.

† One of them is preserved among the Cambrige marbles. See the account published at the University Press, 1808 octavo, pp. 4, 5.

‡ Herodot. Melp. 72.

§ Anthologia Brunck. vol. II. p. 234.

superstitions, temples were almost always made subservient to the purposes of the new religion.

A Greek merchant at Kertchy applied to me to know if I would purchase the books and manuscripts of a person who had died there of a consumption some years before, and had been educated in England. He described the deceased as one who had employed all the latter part of his life in writing an account of the antiquities of the Crimea; who seldom conversed, but spent all his time in close application to his studies, and ultimately died of want, although he would not acknowledge his distress. We visited the cottage where his effects were preserved. Near a window lay an odd volume of Aristotle; and this we found to be the only book reserved for his last hours, all the rest being locked up by himself a short time before his death. In a corner of his miserable bed-room stood an English trunk, with its lock turned towards the wall. The old woman of the house said she was afraid to move it. When we turned it, we found it sealed, and a paper fastened across the lock, with a long, written inscription in modern Greek; purporting that the trunk should be sent unopened to his brother in Constantinople; which we immediately ordered to be done. The inscription ended with menacing the vengeance of all the saints and devils to the wretch who should dare to break the seal, and inspect the contents of the trunk.

Entering the fortress, now a ruin, we saw before the gate a beautiful marble fountain, said to be the work of Turks; but composed of ancient materials, some of which exhibited Turkish characters, and others Greek inscriptions of more remote date. Over the entrance is one of the large marble lions mentioned in a former page, the devices of Venice or Genoa, and marble columns, with fragments of marble entablatures, lie scattered about, either upon the ground, or among the stones used in erecting the walls. Within this fortress stands the church, a small building of considerable antiquity. The pictures suspended on its walls are among the earliest productions of Grecian art brought into the Russian empire, and probably coeval with the introduction of Christianity. Four marble pillars, of the Corinthian order, support the roof of this building; and, according to an inscription upon one of them, the church was erected in the year after Adam 6365, which answers to 757 of our era; a building, therefore, of high antiquity in the history of Christianity, and proving the extent of its

circulation in that early period. There are two smaller pillars of the same kind, placed above them. The priests showed me a copy of the gospels, of still more remote date, written in capital letters, upon vellum, quite black with age and use. It had been long abandoned to the service of the church, and a printed version had supplied its place. The priest would gladly have sold it; and I should with equal gladness have purchased it; but, as soon as the Russian police heard of my intention, its removal was prohibited, although its destruction was inevitable where it lay, and, perhaps, while this is written, it exists no more.

The havock made in all the towns of the Crimea during the various revolutions, and frequent change of inhabitants the country has sustained, has confused or annihilated almost every valuable document, for the illustration of its former history. But of all the people who have hitherto scourged this devoted land, none have proved so injurious to the interests of literature as the Russians. I dare not mention the high authority on which the traits of their national character were delivered to me, at the time I am conducting this part of my journal. It is sufficient to say, one, who best knew them, affirmed that there was no characteristick of a Russian more striking, than that of wantonly destroying whatever is prized by enlightened nations. In Kertchy, after levelling to the earth five hundred houses, they left about thirty poor shops, in the midst of the ruins, whose owners it is their daily practice to defraud. False in all their publick engagements as well as in their private treaties, they issued an ukase, inviting Greek merchants to settle in the town; but no sooner had these deluded people fixed there with their families, than the soldiers pulled down the houses about their ears; using at the same time other intimidating measures to compel them to higher duties, than any even of the Russians themselves have paid, to whom no exemptions had been accorded. Thus insulted and plundered, the oppressed Greeks demanded permission to leave the peninsula; which was positively refused. It may be asked why so little has been hitherto made publick concerning the real character of this very profligate people; to which the answer is, that there is no country where such pains have been employed to prevent it. There is nothing in which the late Catherine employed so much artifice, as in keeping secret the true history of her own people, and the wretched state of her empire. This is evident in all

her correspondence with Voltaire, in all her instructions to her ministers, in the glaring falsehoods published by her hired writers, but particularly in the work she, with her agents, put together, in answer to the writings of the abbé de la Chappe. A party of her *savans* were engaged to accompany her in a voyage down the Volga; as they sailed along, she caused that work to be read, every one present being called upon to contribute something, either of smart criticism, or contradictory remark; and the notes so collected, being afterwards put together by the celebrated Mushin Puskin, constituted the work which bears the title of "*The Antidote.*" I received this information from one of the persons who was present with her upon that occasion, and who also added his share to the undertaking. Nothing can be more deceitful than the glare which played about the court of Petersburgh in the time of Catherine. Pompous plans of improvement seemed to be the subject of daily conversation, and were industriously propagated in foreign countries, not one of which was carried into effect. They existed only upon paper, like the troops which Russia often affects to muster upon her frontiers; or like the numerous governments and garisons, whose names serve to occupy the void spaces upon the maps of her desolate territories.

Could there be found a native of Russia, with a passion for literature, who, to a knowledge of the Tartar language, added also that of the modern Greek (and many of the Russians speak both these languages with fluency) the Crimea would not remain long in the obscurity which at present involves its ancient topography. Unfortunately all those whom Catherine employed to travel through her dominions for purposes of science, were either solely occupied in natural history, or employed, more politically, in preparing splendid statistical accounts of the most wretched provinces.* Almost all of them were destitute of any classical information. Pallas's first and favourite study was zoology;

* Professor Pallas was among the number of those who became a victim to the consequences of their own too favourable representations. Having published his "*Tableau de la Tauride,*" printed at Petersburgh in 1796, in which he describes the Crimea as a terrestrial paradise (or to use his own words in the dedication to Zoubof, as "*cette belle Tauride—cette province si heureusement disposée pour toutes les cultures qui manquent encore à l' empire de Russie*") the empress sent him to reside there upon an estate which she gave him, and where we found him, as he himself confessed, in a pestilential air, the dupe of the sacrifice he had made to gratify his sovereign.

afterwards he cultivated mineralogy, botany, and entomology. When he came to reside in the Crimea, he was too far advanced in years, and too weak in health, to dedicate his hours to other pursuits, or he might have contributed largely to our stock of information. Hitherto, that which has been published concerning the geography and antiquities of the Crimea, has been written by persons who never visited the country. Those who have visited it were unfortunately neither geographers nor antiquaries.

We left Kertchy, and proceeded towards Caffa. After the second station we passed another ancient boundary or *vallum*, like that which has been described before, on which may be discerned the traces of turrets that were placed along this second barrier of the Bosporians. In all this route we found no other dwellings than Tartar huts, with earth floors, the entrance to which was so low that we could scarcely gain admittance, without creeping upon all fours. The post here is worse regulated than in any other parts of the empire; but if we hired the horses of the peasants, we found them to be strong, fleet, and beautiful, as Arabian coursers. The martens build their nests in the little chambers of the Tartars, and are encouraged to do so all over the Crimea, even in the best families, because they prevent flies from being troublesome. The roads, which in dry weather are excellent, now became, in consequence of rain, almost impassible for our carriage; the turf upon the *steppes* peeling off in large flakes, and adhering to the wheels with such weight, that they were often entirely clogged, and we could not proceed without clearing them.

We passed several ruined mosques: and a few Turkish and Tartar tombs appeared occasionally near the road. They were distinguished by small stone pillars, with a turban sculptured on the top; and sometimes they contained upon their shafts inscriptions in the Turkish or Tartarian language. We now began to perceive the truth of those surprising relations which we had often heard and read concerning the locust, in countries infested with that insect. The *steppes* were entirely covered by their bodies, and their numbers falling resembled flakes of snow, carried obliquely by the wind, and spreading a thick mist over the sun. Myriads fell over the carriage, the horses, and the drivers. The stories of these animals, told us by the Tartars, were more marvellous than any we had before heard. They said that instances had occurred of persons being suffocated by

a fall of locusts in the *steppes*. It was now the season, they further added, in which their numbers began to diminish. When they first make their appearance, a thick, dark cloud, is seen very high in the air, which, as it passes, obscures the sun. I had always supposed the stories of the locust to exaggerate their real appearance; but found their swarms so astonishing in all the *steppes* over which we passed in this part of our journey, that the whole face of nature might have been described as concealed by a living veil. They were of two kinds; the *Gryllus Tartaricus*, and the *Gryllus migratorius*, or common migratory locust. The first is almost twice the size of the second, and, since it precedes the other, bears the name of the *Herald*, or *Messenger*. The migratory locust has red legs, and its inferiour wings have a lively red colour, which gives a bright, fiery appearance to the animal, when fluttering in the sun's rays. The strength of limbs possessed by it is amazing; when pressed down by the hand upon a table, it has almost power to raise the fingers; but this force resides wholly in the legs; for if one of these be broken off, which happens by the slightest accident, the power of action ceases. There is yet a third variety of locust, *Gryllus viridissimus*, of Linnæus, found near the Don and the Kuban, which is entirely of a green colour. This last I have since seen upon the banks of the Cam, in my own country, and felt for the moment intimidated, lest such a presage should be the *Herald* of the dreadful scourge which the locust bears wherever it abounds.* On whatever spot these animals fall, the whole vegetable produce disappears. Nothing escapes them from the leaves of the forest to the herbs of the plain. Fields, vineyards, gardens, pasture, every thing is laid waste; and sometimes the only appearance left upon

* In the year 593, many countries were afflicted by famine in consequence of the ravages committed by locusts. In 677, Syria and Mesopotamia were overrun by them. In 852, they migrated from the eastern countries, and, after devastating whole regions in the west, were driven by winds into the Belgick ocean. In 1271, all the corn near Milan was destroyed by them; and in the year 1339; all the fields of Lombardy were laid waste. In 1541, they penetrated to Poland and Wallachia; in 1673, some swarms settled in Wales, and in 1748 fell in several parts of England; particularly in the neighbourhood of London. [Shaw's Zoology, vol. VI. part i. pp. 136, 137.] The best method of destroying them would be to recommend them as an article of food. In the Crimea they are often eaten by the inhabitants. Some French emigrants, who had been directed in this manner, assured me, that when fried, they were very palatable and very wholesome. The Arabs, according to Hasselquist, eat them roasted and are glad to get them.

the exhalation is a disgusting superficies caused by their putrifying bodies, the stench of which is sufficient to breed a pestilence. There can be no necessity for any further account of an animal so often described. We collected almost all the insects of the Crimea; among them are some of the largest kind without wings, and others differing only in trifling distinctions more interesting to the entomologist than the general reader. But there are insects which infest the peninsula, and which merit more particular notice on account of the danger to which they may expose an unsuspecting traveller. These are of three kinds; the two first of which from their external appearance, seem both to be spiders; but according to naturalists, only one belongs to the genus *aranea*; namely, the large, black tarantula, known in many parts of the south of Italy, and long famous there on account of giving its name to a dance, said to prove a remedy for its bite, which might otherwise prove fatal. This animal attains a fearful size in the Crimea. I caught one of them with a pair of tongs; when extended in a natural posture, upon a table, it embraced by its claws a circumference whose diameter equalled nearly three inches. The other, although smaller, is much more formidable. Professor Pallas named it *phalangium araneoïdes*. It is of a yellowish colour, looking like a large spider, whose legs are covered with hair. In front it has a pair of claspers, which bear some resemblance to a lobster's claws. Pallas assured me, that its bite had proved fatal, in instances to which he had himself born testimony. Fortunately it is very rare. I preserved one for some time in spirits; but the specimen was destroyed in its passage home. The third kind of insect, terrible on account of its bite, is the centipede, or *scolopendra morsitans*. This pernicious animal is very common in dry timber, beneath stones, and in fissures of the earth, in warm situations. Scorpions also are found in the mountains.

Strabo describes all the country between Theodosia [Caffa] and Panticapæum [Kertchy] as rich in corn and full of inhabitants.* In the villages we found parties of the Tziganki es, or gypsies, encamped as we see them in England, but having their tents stationed between the wagons in which they move about the country. Poultry, cats, dogs, and horses, were feeding all around them, seeming like

* Strab. lib. vii. p. 448. edit. Oxon. 1807.

members of the same family. The gipsies are much encouraged by the Tartars, who allow them to encamp in the midst of their villages, where they exercise the several functions of smiths, musicians, and astrologers. Many of them are wealthy, possessing fine horses and plenty of other cattle; but their way of life, whether they be rich or poor, is always the same. One of the wagons of a party to whom we paid a visit, was occupied by an enormous drum, which they accompany with a pipe when performing before the village dancers. The sound of this drum was the loudest I ever heard; and, though intimidating, was, nevertheless, musical. Strabo mentions the drum as an instrument common to the ancient *cimbri*, and notices its intimidating sound.* In their tents the men sat stark naked among the women. They rose, however, as we entered, and cast a sheep's hide over their bodies. The filth and stench of this people were abominable; and almost all of them had the itch to such a degree, that their limbs were covered with blotches and scabs.

The property of Tartar gentlemen consists chiefly in cattle. Thousands are seen in the *steppes*, often the property of a single man, and among these we noticed many hundred camels. The Tauridan camel is represented in Pallas's Travels, from a drawing by Geisler of Leipsick. It has a double hump upon its back. The author says, the camel grows larger in the Crimea than among the Calmuck Tartars; a circumstance of no moment, but directly contradicted by the Notes in my Journal; the camels in the territory of the Don Cossacks, and near the camps of the Calmucks, appeared to me to be much larger than those of the Crimea. They are used by the Tartars in drawing covered wagons with four wheels, called *Madshari*, in which they convey their families. The price of a full grown camel, in the Crimea, seldom exceeds a sum equivalent to twelve pounds of our money. Tartar gentlemen go armed on horseback, and ride remarkably well. Their religion, being Mohammedan, consists in nearly the same ceremonies observed among the Turks. At midday the priest of every village, after washing his head, feet, and hands, proceeds with his beads slowly to the mosque, where, having performed his devotions, he ascends to the top of the minaret, singing out, as loud as he can bawl, in a drawling tone, the

* Strab. lib. vii. pp. 425, 426. edit. Oxon. 1807.

well known invocation: "God is God, and Mahomet is his Prophet." The dress of the Tartars, particularly among the higher ranks of the men, is plain and simple. It preserves the oriental form, but without that contrast and variety of colour, which gives such splendour to the habits of Turks, Poles, and Tchernomorski Cossacks. A Tartar prince is generally seen in a habit of light, drab cloth, with a cap of gray wool, and yellow or drab-coloured boots. Perhaps the costume was more magnificent under the government of their khans; it might be injudicious, and perhaps dangerous, now to make a parade of laced clothes and expensive embroidery; since the smallest evil, to which they would be exposed in their journies, is that of plunder from the Russians.

In the last stage from Kertchy to Caffa, we passed the third, that is to say, the outer vallum or boundary of the Bosporians, which separated their peninsula from the country of the Tauri. Its remains, as well as those of the towers placed thereon, were very visible. This wall extends from the sea of Azof, beginning eastward of a place now called Arabat, to the mountains behind Caffa. It is mentioned by Strabo, who states from Hypsicrates, that it was constructed by Asander, three hundred and sixty stadia in length, having at every stadium a turret.* This description agrees with its present appearance; the distance from the sea of Azof is not so great, but the oblique direction of the wall makes its length equal that which Strabo has given.† Constantine Porphyrogenetes has afforded a more explicit account of the boundaries of the Bosporians. According to that author, the Sarmatians, in possession of the Bosporian territory, gave war to the Chersonites, respecting the limits of their empire. The Chersonites were victorious in a battle fought near Caffa; and by the treaty of peace, made on the spot, it was determined that the limits of the Bosporian empire should not extend beyond Caffa. Afterwards, the Sarmatians, under another leader, protested against this boundary, and giving battle to the Chersonites, were again defeated. Pharnacus, king of the Chersonites, then contracted the Bosporian limits still more, and placed their boundary at Cybernicus, leaving them only forty miles of

* Strab. lib. vii. p. 450. edit. Oxon. 1807.

† Allowing eight stadia to the English mile, its length would equal forty five miles.

territory;* "and these boundaries," observes the author, "remain to this day." From that period the Bosporus was lost to the Sarmatians. Pharnaces retained some of them to cultivate the land, and sent others to their own country; the latter, for this kindness, inscribed a pillar to him, which, perhaps, still remains among the antiquities of Kertchy.

We now arrived upon the beautiful bay of Caffa, supposed to have been Theodosia. The town appeared covering the southern side of it, and rising like a vast theatre, with its numerous mosques and minarets, over all the hills which enclose that part of the bay. Many vessels were at anchor near the place, and, notwithstanding the destruction of buildings by the Russians, it still wore an aspect of some importance. In former times it obtained and merited the appellation of the Lesser Constantinople; containing thirty six thousand houses within its walls; and, including the suburbs, not less than forty four thousand.

CHAPTER XIX.

FROM CAFFA TO THE CAPITAL OF THE CRIMEA.

Caffa in its present state—Barbarous conduct of the Russians—Inscriptions—Distribution of the Town—Departure from Caffa—Stara Crim—Ruined Baths—Villa of the Empress—Ancient Vallum—Remarkable Mountain—Karasubazar—Akmetchet—Professor Pallas—Unwholesome situation of the Town—Mus Jaculus, or Jerboa—Observations of Bochart and others upon that animal—Baktcheserai—Novel appearance of the City—Fountains—Destruction caused by the Russian Troops—Causes which led to the Deposition and Death of the late Khan—Consequences of the capture of the Crimea—Palace of the Khans—Preparations made for the reception of the late Empress—Seraglio—Description of the Charem—Visit to the Fortress of Dschoufoutkalé—Anecdote of an English Servant—Extraordinary Ring—Singular Excavation—Jewish Cemetery—Account of the Sect of Karai.

FIFTY families are at present the whole population of the once magnificent town of Caffa; and in some in-

* The latter is the same which the reader will find noticed in the first part of our journey from Kertchy.

stances a single house is found to contain more th[an] family. The melancholy devastation committed by [the] Russians, while it draws tears down the cheeks of [the] Tartars, and extorts many a sigh from the Anatolian Turk[s] who resort to Caffa for commercial purposes, cannot fail to excite the indignation of every enlightened people. At Caffa, during the time we remained, the soldiers were allowed to overthrow the beautiful mosques, or to convert them into magazines, to pull down the minarets, tear up the publick fountains, and to destroy all the publick aqueducts, for the sake of a small quantity of lead, which they were thereby enabled to obtain. Such is the true nature of Russian protection; such the sort of alliance which Russians endeavour to form with every nation weak enough to submit to their power, or to become their dupe. While these works of destruction were going on, the officers were amusing themselves in beholding the mischief. Tall and stately minarets, whose lofty spires added such a grace and dignity to the town, were daily levelled with the ground; which, besides their connexion with religious establishments, for whose maintainance the integrity of the Russian empire had been pledged, were of no other value to their destroyers than to supply a few soldiers with bullets,* or their officers with a dram. I was in a Turkish coffee-house in Caffa, when the principal minaret, one of the ancient and characteristick monuments of the country, to which the Russians had been some days employed in fixing blocks and ropes, came down with such violence that its fall shook every house in the place. The Turks, seated on divans, were all smoking, and, when that is the case, an earthquake will scarcely rouse them; nevertheless, at this flagrant act of impiety and dishonour, they rose, breathing out deep and bitter curses against the enemies of their prophet. Even the Greeks who were present, testified their anger by similar imprecations. One of them, turning to me, and shrugging his shoulders, said, with a countenance of contempt and indignation, Σκύθαι! SCYTHIANS! which I found afterwards to be a common term of reproach; for, though the Greeks profess the same religion as the Russians, they detest the latter as cordially as do the Turks, or Tartars.† The

* The Russian troops are obliged to provide themselves with lead.

† The mild and amiable Pallas, notwithstanding the awe under which he was kept by the Russian government, could not pass in silence the destruc-

most lamentable part of the injury thus sustained has been in the destruction of the conduits and publick fountains, which conveyed together with the purest water from distant mountains, a source of health and comfort to the people. They first carry off the laden pipes in order to make bullets; then they take down all the marble slabs and large stones for building materials, which they employ in the construction of barracks; lastly, they blow up the channels which convey water, because they say the water porters cannot earn a livelihood where there are publick fountains. Some of those fountains were of great antiquity, and beautifully decorated with marble reservoirs, as well as by bas-reliefs and inscriptions. In all Mohammedan countries it is considered an act of piety to preserve and to adorn the publick aqueducts. Works of that nature once appeared in almost every street of Caffa; some were publick washing places; others poured out streams of water as clear as crystal for allaying the thirst of the inhabitants, and for ablutions prior to going to the mosques. They were nearly all demolished when we arrived.

The sculptured marbles of its ancient Grecian inhabitants had not shared a better fate. All that even Mohammedans had spared of bas-reliefs, of inscriptions, or architectural pillars, were broken by the Russians, and sold as materials to construct their miserable barracks. We found the identical marbles, described by Oderico,* broken and exposed for sale in the ruins of the old Genoese fortress. These were of peculiar interest, because they related to the history of the town. It was in vain that we solicited to become purchasers; the request was immediately denied by the general officer. "Strangers," he said, "are not permitted to take any thing out of the country." In a short time

tion of these beautiful buildings. It is interesting to remark the caution with which he suppresses his indignation while he communicates the fact "When I caused," says he, "the prospect of this town [Caffa] to be drawn from the side next the bay, there were two minarets, fifteen fathoms high, and furnished with serpentine staircases leading to the top; though *both structures have since been demolished.*" Trav. vol. II. p. 267. Had the professor ventured two syllables further, if he had merely added the word *alas!* his grey hairs would not have saved him from what the archbishop of Moscow [p. 100 of this volume] so emphatically styled "*the free air of Siberia.*" Indeed few would have ventured even to mention the circumstance. Such considerations make a Briton feel sensibly the blessings of the constitution under which he lives.—*O sua si bona norint!*

* Lettere Ligustiche dell' Oderico, octavo, Bassano, 1792.

nothing will remain in Caffa but the traces of desolation, which its Russian conquerors may leave behind them. It has experienced such a variety of revolutions, and so many different masters, that even, in better times, when it was under the Mohammedan dynasty, few monuments remained of an earlier date than the establishment of the Genoese colony in the fifteenth century. At the entrance of the city, near an edifice which was once a mint, are some ruins which may perhaps, have belonged to the ancient Theodosia. They appeared to be of remote date. For the rest it must be observed, there does not exist in the place any thing which might lead to a conjecture, that such a city ever existed. An inscription in the walls of the fortress proves that it was completed so late as the year 1474, the very year of the capture of the city by the Turks, under Mohammed the second; and the earliest date of any inscription we could find, was not prior to the end of the fourteenth century. We obtained one in the Armenian language, the letters of which were beautifully sculptured in relief upon a slab of white marble. That inscription is now in the Vestibule of the University Library of Cambridge, and the translation of it appears in the account published there of the Greek Marbles.* It merely commemorates work done to one of the churches of Caffa, in the year 1400. Another inscription in the wall of the fortress is in the Latin language; and is remarkable for an errour in the word *tempore*, which Oderico has also noticed. It is placed beneath three coats of arms, sculptured on the same stone as follows:

TENPORE . MAGNIFICI . DOMINI . BATISTE .
IVSTINIANI . CONSVLIS . MCCCCLXXIIII.

Upon one of the columns of the principal mosque we found a Greek inscription to the memory of Helen, a nun, and a person of the name of Tagman, who died, as it is expressed, in the year after Adam 6327, in the month of May.

The distribution of the buildings in Caffa may be accurately ascertained. On the southern side stood the Genoese citadel, the walls of which still remain, and the traces of its streets within the enclosure are visible. Besides there are numerous subterranean chambers and spacious magazines, of the most massive and gigantick style of architecture. Several inscriptions remain in the walls, which, from

* Clarke's Greek Marbles. p. 8. No. VIII.

their elevated situation have hitherto escaped injury. The rest of this enclosure offers a promiscuous heap of ruins, daily becoming more confused.

The opposite side of the city was the residence of the Tartars, and this part is now inhabited. Centrally situated between the two, and somewhat elevated on the hills above them, stood that portion of the city, which was inhabited by the Armenians. It is a scene of ruins, like the quarter which the Genoese possessed. If Theodosia ever stood upon the site of the present town of Caffa, it must have covered the ground since tenanted by the Armenian and Tartar establishments, and occupied all the shore to the northeast.* As far as my own observations carry me, I have never yet been satisfied as to the fact that Theodosia and Caffa stood upon the same spot.

On the elevated territory above the Tartar city, close to the walls of the old Armenian fortress, is a circular building, very like those ruined edifices upon the coast of Baia, near Naples, which, though generally called temples, are more probably remains of the baths of the ancients. It is now a ruin; but, in taking down part of the stucco which loosely adhered to the wall, there appeared beneath, a beautiful covering of coloured plaster, exactly resembling that which is found in Pompeia, and in Herculaneum. The Armenians, who had probably converted this building into a

* Arrian calls Theodosia the *deserted city;* and the same expression is repeated in the anonymous Periplus, taken from the writings of Scymnus Chius, Marcianus and others. Vossius [Annot. in Peripl. Anon. p. 143] says: "*Theodosia Caffa vocari creditur, sed male; distinguunt enim τὴν Κάφαν Græci posteriores a Theodosiâ.*" Also another author, "*Censet tamen* [Le Quien. Orbis Christian. tom. II. p. 1103] *Dominus Sanson Theodosiam fuisse olim, quæ nunc* Tusha *appellatur: Caffam vero fuisse Chavum, ubi Tauro-Scytharum portus, et crevisse ex Theodosiæ ruinis, a quâ triginta milliaribus distat.*" Strabo [lib. vii.] mentions Χάβη, as one of the three fortresses built by Scilurus and his sons against the generals of Mithradates. Oderico, [Lett. Ligust. p. 149] who has adduced several authorities tending to prove a distinction between the two places, leaves the question undetermined. He thinks the name Θεοδοσία, or Θεοδοσία, was given by the Milesians, signifying "*The gift of God.*" Leucon, king of the Bosporians, sent from Theodosia to Athens two millions, one hundred thousand *medimni* of corn; and, according to Demosthenes, the imports from that place were greater than from all the other countries put together. After the taking of Caffa by the Turks, in the reign of Mohammed the Second, 1474, the Genoese colonies in the Black sea successively fell and were annihilated. In 1672, the commerce was entirely lost, and the Thracian Bosporus shut to foreign vessels. This trade did not revive until the victories gained by Catherine the second, [*Parmaleoni*, c. 23] a century afterwards, opened it once more.

place of worship, found it necessary to conceal its pagan ornaments. In the center of the old pavement of this building a very curious bas-relief was discovered, a few days only prior to our arrival. It was sculptured upon a kind of Cippus, in a very rude manner, the subject being divided into two parts, above and below. In the upper part appeared two crowned heads, and in the lower, a staircase was represented conducting to the mouth of a stone sepulchre. I endeavoured to prevail on the guides to follow the clue thus offered, and to search for the staircase so represented below the spot in which the stone itself was found. This they refused to do.

The remaining buildings of Caffa, are, for the most part, within the Tartar city. They consist of very magnificent publick baths and mosques, all of which are in a ruined state; a few minarets, the last of which is, perhaps, by this time, prostrate; some shops; the Turkish coffee-house; an unfinished palace of the late khan of the Crimea; and a large stone edifice, before alluded to, which was once a mint. I cannot leave my account of this place without noticing a very prevalent errour, into which Pallas himself has fallen in his account of the Crimea.* It is, that a species of Fuller's earth, dug in several parts of the Crimea, as well as in Anatolia, and called *Keff-kil*, has been so denominated from Caffa; and that it signifies *Caffa earth*. The real etymology of the name may be seen at any time, by a reference to Meninski's Oriental Dictionary; it is derived from two Turkish words, which imply *foam*, or *froth*, of the *earth*.

Our journey from Caffa, as before we reached it, was continually over *steppes*. We saw upon our left, that is to say, towards the south, that ridge of mountains which covers the coast of the Crimea; but, unless a traveller follows the sinuosities of the southern shore of the peninsula, all the rest of the country is as flat as Salisbury Plain. The whole district from Yenikalé to Akitar, except the situation of the town of Baktcheserai, presents a most insipid landscape, consisting of a flat common, covered with grass and locusts; capable, it is true, of the highest cultivation, but entirely neglected. The Tartars and the Greeks refuse to cultivate the land, because they fear to be plundered by Russians; and the Russians are too indolent and too stupid to think of the advantages of industry.

* See Trav. vol. II. p. 97.

After we had passed a tedious distance over this kind of territory, the road gradually drew nearer to the mountains; and the appearance of ancient tumuli, increasing as we advanced, proved that we were in the vicinity of some ancient city. It was STARA CRIM, the approach to which is by a bold valley, or defile, formed by a mountain detached from the southern ridge. A variety of beautiful shrubs and trees sprout among the ruins, and the mountains are themselves covered with brushwood. Passing a bridge, whose massive masonry resembled the style of labour used by the ancient Etruscans in the walls of Crotona, we were surrounded by the remains of mosques, baths, and a profusion of moldering edifices, some of which still retained marks of great magnificence. We entered a building still entire. It consisted of one large area, covered by a beautiful dome, surrounded by eight smaller chambers; and its walls were of ancient stucco coloured in distemper. Thus it offered exactly the style of architecture seen in the temples of Venus and Diana at Baia, in Italy; and I entertain no doubt but that those buildings were originally publick baths belonging to that fashionable watering place of the ancient Romans. The pipes and steam channels were visible when I was in Italy some years ago; and particularly, in the bath called the Temple of Venus, every appearance corresponded with the publick baths of the eastern empire. At the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, its conquerers preserved the sumptuous baths which they found in the city, and which to this day offer a model of the very edifices to which I allude. The ceremonies, the uses, and abuses of the bath, were so generally adopted, and prevailed with so little alteration among the ancient heathens, that there is reason to believe they were practiced, with hardly any variety, by the inhabitants of Italy, of Greece, and the more oriental nations. The sculpture and painting, visible in those edifices, were frequently employed in licentious and detestable representations, such as were consistent with the orgies by which publick bagnios were degraded; and those who are at a loss to reconcile the pictured abominations of Baia with the solemnities of a temple, may, perhaps, more easily account for their appearance as ornaments of a Pagan bath.

In the midst of these very picturesque ruins, sheltered by the mountains, and shaded by beautiful trees, stands one of those villas which were erected for the empress Catherine

when she visited the Crimea. At every place in which she halted for repose, or was expected to pass a night, she found a palace prepared for her reception. Many of them are still kept up, and others, like this at Stara Crim, suffered to fall into decay. They generally consisted of a bed-room for the empress, with a bath adjoining, a ball-room, a small chapel, and a few other apartments for her guards and attendants. Nothing at present interrupts the melancholy solitude of her villa at Stara Crim. Some of the chambers were filled by heaps of the common liquorice root, collected for the use of the military hospitals, from the neighbouring woods where it grows wild, and attains great perfection. On the mountains to the south of this place, in one of these wild and secluded situations, where zealous devotees delight to dwell, is an Armenian monastery, concerning which we could obtain no other information, than that it was worth seeing on account of the surrounding scenery.

As we left Stara Crim to proceed on our journey towards Karasubazar, we passed another vallum still very perfect; and, from the distance to which it extends, it must have been once a boundary of great importance. It probably was one of those which separated the Tauro-Scythians from the colonies established in the Crimea. Hence, crossing continued *steppes*, and always over a flat country, with the view of the mountains towards the south, we came to Karasubazar.* Before we reached this place, a very remarkable mountain appeared on our right hand, flat at the top, and surrounded by precipices so perpendicular, and with such even surfaces, that it seemed like a work of art intended for a prodigious fortress. On the summit of this mountain the Tartars held their councils during the last rebellion against their Khan; this extraordinary place being considered by them as the appointed rendezvous in every crisis.† It was, indeed, a situation well suited for such a meeting; and a most sublime picture might have been afforded for the pencil of a Salvator or a Mortimer, when the rebel chiefs, mounted on their fleet coursers,

* The distinctions of *black* and *white water* seem to constitute many of the appellations of rivers and lakes in all the Mohammedan countries. *Kara Su Bazar* signifies nothing more than the *Black Water Market*, the name of a river, which is called *Kara Su*, or *Black Water*, being joined to *Bazar*, the common word for *Market*.

† According to Pallas it is called *Akkaya*, or the *White Mount*, by the Tartars, and *Shirinskaya Gora*, by the Russians; alluding to the use made of it by the nobles of Shirinsky. Travels, vol. II. p. 252.

and attended by their chosen bands in the savage dresses of the country, held communication there.

Karasubazar has not suffered so much as other towns of the Crimea since its conquest by the Russians; yet it exhibited many ruins, sad memorials of their dominion, which with a long street of shops, are, perhaps, all that a traveller would notice. The Tartar cemeteries have been devested of their tombstones, and these have been broken or hewn so as to constitute materials for building; although the country affords most excellent limestone, which might be removed from the quarries with almost as little trouble as the destruction of the gravestones occasions to the Russians. Many of the houses in the place have been erected with bricks which have never been burned, but merely formed in a mould, and afterwards hardened by exposure to the sun and air. In this way the ancient Grecians sometimes fabricated vessels of earthenware, when they wished to present offerings of the purest clay in the temples of their gods.* All the commodities of the Crimea are said to be purchased at cheaper rate in Karasubazar than any other market of the peninsula.† The principal shops are employed in the sale of leather, particularly of the Morocco kind, which they prepare themselves, pottery, hardware, soap, candles, fruit, and vegetables. The number of inhabitants amounts to about 3700, male and female; a population which includes a very mixed race of Tartars, Russians, Greeks, Jews, Italians, and Armenians.

From Karasubazar we came to AKMETCHET,‡ the residence of the governour general of the Crimea. The Russians, since the peninsula came into their hands, have endeavoured to give it the name of *Sympheropol*; but I never heard it called by any other appellation in the country, than that which it received from the Tartars. This place was once beautiful from the numerous trees that filled the valley through which the *Salgir* flows; but the Russians have laid all waste. Scarcely a bush now remains. It will, however, be long celebrated as the residence of professor Pallas, so well known to the literary world for his long travels, and already so often mentioned in this volume.

* Appendix to Greek Marbles, p. 71.

† Pallas's Travels, vol. II. p. 251.

‡ A Tartar word, signifying "*The White Church!*"

His fame would have been sufficiently established if he had published no other work than that which he began under such favourable auspices, the *Flora Rossica*; and yet the barbarity of the people with whom he is compelled to live, is such, that they will not allow him to complete the undertaking. The drawings were all finished, and almost all the text. To his hospitable and humane attentions we were indebted for comforts, equal, if not superiour, to those of our own country; and for every literary communication which it was in his power to supply. When we delivered our letters of recommendation to him, he received us more like a parent than a stranger to whose protection we had been consigned. We refused to intrude by occupying apartments in his house, which had more the air of a palace than the residence of a private gentleman; but when we were absent one day upon an excursion, he caused all our things to be moved, and upon our return we found a suite of rooms prepared for our reception, with every convenience for study and repose. I may consider myself as indebted to him, even for my life. The fatigue of travelling, added to the effect of bad air and unwholesome food, rendered a quartan fever so habitual to me, that had it not been for his care and skill I must have sunk under it. He prescribed for me, administered every medicine with his own hands, carefully guarded my diet, and, after nursing me as his own son, at last restored me to health. When I recovered, he ransacked all his collection for drawings, charts, maps, books, antiquities, minerals, and whatever else might forward the object of our travels; accompanied us upon the most wearisome excursions, in search not only of the insects and plants of the country, but also of every document which might illustrate either its ancient or its modern history.* His decline of life has been embittered by a variety of unmerited affliction, which he has born even with Stoical philosophy. Splendid as his residence appeared, the air of the place was so bad, that the most rigid abstinence from all sorts of animal food, was insufficient to preserve the inhabitants from fevers. We left him determined to pass the remnant of his days in cultivating vineyards among the rocks upon the south coast

* If either he or his family should ever cast their eyes upon these pages, they will here find the only acknowledgement we have been able to render for such unexampled benevolence. His kindness has, indeed, been ill requited; the political differences between England and Russia, together with other untoward circumstances, have put it out of our power to fulfil, even the few commissions with which he honoured us when we parted.

of the peninsula. There was reason to hope, that by the death of Paul he might have been called to honours and emoluments; but subsequent travellers in Russia do not furnish intelligence so creditable to the administration of the new sovereign. When the late empress Catherine sent him to reside in the Crimea, with a grant of lands in the peninsula, it was intended for the reestablishment of his health, and as a reward for his long services; neither of which purposes has been accomplished. A splendid establishment in the midst of unwholesome air, has been all the recompense he has obtained. Thus it is, that we find him in the sixtieth year of a life devoted to science, opening his last publication with an allusion to "*the disquietude and hardships which oppress him in his present residence, and embitter his declining days.*"† We used every endeavour to prevail upon him to quit the country and accompany us to England; but the advanced period of his life, added to the certainty of losing all his property in Russia, prevented his acquiescense. The ceremony of his daughter's marriage with a German officer took place during our residence with him in the Crimea, and was celebrated according to the rites of the Greek Church; so that, as he was absolved from almost every tie which ought to have confined him to the country, there was some reason to hope he would have listened to our proposals; by acceding to which, his life might be prolonged, and his publications completed. Our entreaties, however, were to no effect; and, perhaps, before this meets the publick eye, our friend and benefactor will be no more.

Owing to the interest of professor Pallas, much of the injury had been prevented which Akmetchet, in common with other towns of the Crimea would have sustained. Many of the Tartar buildings had been suffered to remain, and the publick fountains were still unimpaired. The place owed all its importance to the circumstance of its being the residence of the governour general of the Crimea, a veteran officer of the name of Michelson, formerly well known for the service he rendered to Russia, in the defeat of the rebel *Pugatchef*. In other respects it is one of the worst situations in the Crimea. Its inhabitants are subject to frequent fevers during the summer, and the water is not so good as in other parts of the peninsula. Fruit and vege-

† See Preface to vol. II. of Travels in the South of Russia.

tables, which are so common in the southern villages, can only be procured by purchase from the Tartars. As a town, it has a mean and insignificant appearance; the streets are narrow, unpaved, and filthy, with a few shops maintained entirely by Greeks. The Salgir, which, except in rainy seasons, hardly deserves the name of a river, flows in the valley, on one side of which the town stands. The neighbourhood abounds with game, so that the officers of the garrison are enabled to amuse themselves with almost every kind of European chace. They hunt the stag, the fox, and the hare. Hawking is also a favourite pursuit. The Tartars being very skilful in training birds for that purpose. A few days after we took up our residence with professor Pallas, some Tartars brought him a beautiful little animal, which has been called the Jumping Hare, and born a variety of names,* but is, in fact, the same as the African Jerboa. We saw it afterwards in Egypt; and it is not common either there or in the Crimea. It may be called the Kangaroo in miniature; as it has the same form, although it is smaller than a rabbit, and it assists itself, like the Kangaroo, with its tail in leaping. That which Professor Pallas received was a pregnant female, containing two young ones. Its colour was light gray, except the belly, which was almost white. The fore-feet of this animal are attached to its breast without any legs; so that in all its motions it makes use only of its hind quarters, bounding and making surprising leaps whenever it is disturbed. Afterwards we caught one in the steppes, which we stuffed and brought to England. Professor Pallas himself did not seem to be aware that the *Mus Jaculus*, which was the name he gave it,† is the animal mentioned by Shaw in his account of Barbary;‡ nor was it until we became enabled to make the comparison ourselves in Africa, that we discovered the Jerboa to be the same kind of quadruped we had before known in the Crimea. Bochart supposes this little animal to be the *Saphan* of the scriptures.§ "The high hills are a

* Allusion has been already made to the confusion introduced in Zoology, by the different names, and discordant accounts which travellers have given of this animal. See p. 163 of this volume.

† See Travels, vol. II. p. 457.

‡ Shaw's Travels, p. 177. quarto edit. London, 1757.

§ See Bochart, Hierozoicon. Pars. II. cap. 33. Lond. 1663. "Probatur *Saphan* non esse cuniculum, sed majoris muris genus in Palæstina," &c. &c.

refuge for the wild goats, and so are the stony rocks for the *Saphannim*;" which our translation renders "*Conies*." Shaw is, however, undecided upon this point; but supposes the Jerboa, from the remarkable disproportion of his fore and hinder legs, may be taken for one of the two-footed rats mentioned by Herodotus and other authors.* The whole merit of either of these observations, if there be any, is due, first to the learned Bochart, and afterwards to the labours of Haym, in the illustration of a medal of Cyrene, upon which this animal appears; although Shaw, after the introduction of those observations in his work, not only does not acknowledge whence he derived the information, but even asserts that the animal described by Haym was not the Jerboa. It seems pretty clear that it was; although in the engraving published by Haym, the fore feet are represented rather too long. A century ago they did not pay the attention to minute accuracy in such representations which they do now, and nearly that time has elapsed since the work of Haym appeared.† His mode of expressing himself is, to be sure, somewhat equivocal, because he says, "when it ran it went hopping like a bird;" but the words "*e sempre camina sopra due piedi solamente*," as well as "*salta molt' alto quand' è spaventito*," when added to the engraved representation plainly prove what it was. It is generally esteemed as an article of food in all countries where it is found. It burrows in the ground like a rabbit; but seems more to resemble the squirrel than either that animal or the rat. Its fine dark eyes have all the lustre of the antelope's. Haym says, the smell of it is never offensive when kept domestick; and, indeed, it may be considered one of the most pleasing, harmless little quadrupeds of which we have any knowledge. Gmelin observed it in the neighbourhood of Woronetz in 1768; Messerschmied in Siberia; and Haslequist in Egypt.‡ When our army was encamped near Alexandria, in the late expedition to Egypt, the soldiers preserved some of these animals in boxes, and fed them like rabbits.

* Shaw's Travels, p. 177. Also, the authors cited by him; Herod. Melp. Theoph. apud Ælian Hist. Anim. lib. xv. c. 26. Photius, ibid. Arist. de Mirib. Egypt.

† Haym's Tesoro Britannico was published in 1720. He had the animal alive; and a very curious account of it is given in the second volume of his work, p. 124.

‡ Journal des Scavans Voyageurs, p. 76.

From Akmetchet the distance is only thirty versts* to Baktcheserai, once the residence of the khan, and the Tartar capital of the Crimea. As it was our intention to make the tour of all the south part of the peninsula, we lost no time in setting out for this place. We met several caravans, which were principally laden with cucumbers of such immense length and size, that the statement of their dimensions will, perhaps, not be believed. We measured some that were in length above two feet. There is no article of food so grateful to a Russian as the salted cucumber, and all the inhabitants of the Crimea cultivate the plant for the sake of the pickle they afford. They have varieties of this vegetable unknown in England; among others, one which is snow white, and which attains the astonishing size I have mentioned, without running to seed, or losing any thing of its crisp and refreshing flavour. The country, as we advanced, became more diversified with wood; and near the villages we saw good crops of corn and hay. I have before observed, that a traveller, unless he visits the southern coast, may pass over all the rest of the Crimea, and from its appearance conclude that the whole country is nothing but a flat and dreary *steppe*. Baktcheserai is the first object in the whole journey from Yenikalé to Sevastopole, which interrupts the dull monotony of at least two thirds of the peninsula, to the north of Tchetirdagh, and the other mountains which oppose themselves to the Black Sea on the southern side. It is one of the most remarkable towns in Europe: first, in the novelty of its manners and customs, which are strictly oriental, and betray nothing whatsoever of a European character: secondly, in the scite of the town itself, which occupies the craggy sides of a prodigious, natural fosse between two high mountains, somewhat like that of Matlock in Derbyshire. The view breaks all at once upon the traveller in a most irregular and scattered manner; while bubbling fountains, running waters, gardens, terraces, hanging vineyards, and groves of the black poplar, seem to soften the horrour of rocks and precipices, and even make them appear inviting. The religious veneration with which the Tartars regard their fountains, induces them to spare no expense which may enrich them with the purest water. These fountains are almost as necessary to the ceremonies of

* Twenty English miles.

the mosque, as they are ornamental to the town; since every true Moslem washes his head, beard, hands, and feet, before he proceeds to prayer. The number of fountains is so great at Baktcheserai, that they are seen in all parts of the city; water flowing from them day and night, as cold as ice, and as clear as crystal. One of them had not less than ten spouts, from which the purest streams continually fell upon slabs of marble. Here, four times in every twenty four hours, the Tartars, invoked by their *Mullas* from the lofty minarets, are seen assembled performing their ablutions, and proceeding to their mosques. If Paley's position be admitted, that "a man who is in earnest about religion cannot be a bad man,"* the Mohammedans, being more in earnest than any sect of worshippers upon earth, are entitled to respect; and I will confess, I never beheld a Moslem at his prayers without feeling a kindling awe, inspired by the sincerity of his devotion. Not a syllable is suffered to escape his lips, except those which express the name of God, and which, at intervals, are heard in low, impressive sighs. His whole soul seems to hold communion with the object of his worship: nor does any thing divert his attention.†

To describe what Baktcheserai was, it would be necessary to convey ideas at least adequate to the present appearance of its ruins: and this is very difficult. The savage and wanton barbarity of the Russians found in the magnificence of this capital wherewith to exercise, in its full scope, their favourite passion for destruction. The city was divided into several departments, of which the Greek colony alone occupied one entire and extensive valley. This they entirely demolished, not leaving one stone upon another. The palace of the khan in the center of the town, was that in which he usually resided; but he had a favourite and more pleasing retirement in a magnificent

* Paley's Sermons, Disc. I. Lond. 1808.

† The efficacy of inward devotion, as contrasted with external offerings, is recommended with powerful simplicity in a specimen of early English poetry, as old as the time of Queen Elizabeth, preserved in the Travels of "*Certaine Englishmen into farre countries*," printed in 1609. It is the end of a Latin inscription in the church at Cologne (on the Offerings of the three Kings) translated into English:

"For *Gold* present a perfect heart;
For *Myrrh* admit him tears;
For *Frankincense*, powre from thy brest
A fume of humble praiers!"

edifice, most delightfully situated beneath a mountain, upon the sloping side of a beautiful vale. This they so completely erased, that without a guide to the spot no one can discover even where it stood. Of the rest of the city not above one third now remains. Were I to detail half the cruelties, the extortions, the rapine, and barbarity, practised by the Russians upon the devoted inhabitants of the Crimea, and their deluded khan, the relation would exceed belief. I have the authority of one of their commanders, whom I dare not name, for asserting, that when the *Mullas*, or Tartar priests, ascended the minarets at midday to proclaim the noon, according to their usual custom, the Russian soldiers amused themselves by firing muskets at them; and in one of these instances a priest was killed. The repugnancy with which every English reader will peruse an account of such enormities, may lead him to doubt the veracity of the representation; although given as it was received from an eye-witness of the fact.

The capture of the Crimea was an event which excited the attention of all Europe: but the circumstances which led to the deposition and death of the khan are not so generally known. They have been artfully concealed by the Russians; and the brilliancy of the conquest of the Crimea, dazzling the imagination, has prevented a due inquiry into those dark and sinister manœuvres by which the plot was carried on for the subjection of the peninsula. Potemkin, that arch-priest of intrigue and wickedness, planned and executed the whole of it; to fulfil whose designs it was immaterial what laws were violated, what principles trampled on, what murders committed, or what faith broken. His principal favourites were swindlers, adventurers, pimps, parasites: unprincipled men of every description, but especially unprincipled men of talent, found in him a ready patron.*

It is well known, that by the last treaty of peace which Russia made with the Turks, prior to the conquest of the peninsula, *Shahin Ghirei*, of the family of the khans, who had been a prisoner and a hostage at Petersburgh, was placed on the throne of the Crimea. This was the first step towards the overthrow of that kingdom. From the moment of his accession, the Russian minister in the Crimea, an artful and designing foreigner, well chosen from Potemkin's

* The noted major Semple was among the number. He possessed considerable influence over Potemkin; and it is said the present uniform of the Russian troops was recommended by him.

list to execute the plans he had in view, began to excite the Tartars against the khan, raising commotions among them, buying over the disaffected, and stimulating the people to frequent insurrection. In the mean time he insinuated himself into the good graces of the khan, teaching him to do whatever might be most unpopular in the eyes of his subjects. Among other dangerous absurdities, he prevailed upon the khan to place every thing in his establishment upon a Russian footing; to discipline his troops after the Russian manner; to build frigates on his coast, filling his head with preposterous ideas of the navigation of the Black Sea. Thus he incurred enormous expenses, which compelled him to drain his subjects of their money, and increased their murmurs. The Russian minister, equally active on both sides, lost no opportunity to encourage the follies of the khan, or to augment the disaffection of the nobles. The work succeeded to his utmost wishes; a revolt took place, which soon became general; and the terrified khan was persuaded to fly, first to Caffa, and afterwards to Taman.

Then it was that the last master-stroke of political intrigue was effected. The khan was prevailed upon to call in the assistance of the Russian troops, who were eagerly waiting the proposal, and as eagerly acceded to it. Thus a Russian army was suffered to enter, unmolested, into the heart of the Crimea. Under pretext of punishing those who had rebelled against the khan for a revolt they had themselves excited, they put to death whomsoever they thought proper, took possession of the strong holds, and practised their usual excesses. The Tartars, some by compulsion, others by entreaty, and a still greater number by terrour, were driven from their country, and compelled to seek elsewhere a residence. The khan returned to Karasubazar, where the Russian army was encamped, and there, in presence of the Russian troops, was persuaded to order his nobles to be stoned to death; his pretended allies feasting their eyes with the slaughter of men whom they first induced to rebel against their sovereign, and afterwards caused to be butchered for having complied with their desires. Thus the deluded khan and his still more deluded subjects, alike the dupe of designing wretches whom they had allowed to take possession of their country, began at last to open their eyes, and endeavoured to rid themselves of an alliance so fatal in its consequences. It was too late; the khan was himself a prisoner in the very centre of the

Russian army: and the rest of their conduct towards him exceeds in depravity all that had preceded.

A proposal was made to him to resign the crown of the Crimea; to quit the peninsula; and to attest, by his sign manual, that the individuals of his family, in which the throne was hereditary, were for ever rightfully deposed. The khan received the insolent proposal with the astonishment and indignation which it merited; but he was reminded, that being indebted to the Russians for his kingdom, he ought to resign it whenever it might accord with their wishes. The reasoning was arbitrary; but very effectual when it is enforced at the mouth of a cannon, and an unfortunate prince, to whom it was addressed, remains prisoner in the camp of his enemies. In addition to this proposal, conditions were annexed, that instead of being deprived of his dignities by compliance, the khan should have his residence in Petersburgh; that he should hold a court there of much greater splendour and magnificence than he had known in the Crimea; that he should be allowed an annual pension of one hundred thousand roubles, be enriched by all manner of presents, enjoy the luxuries of that great capital, and partake in the amusements which the magnificence of Catherine constantly afforded; that no restraint whatever should be put upon his person, but that he should be at full liberty to act as he might think proper. The khan saw the snare into which he had fallen, but there was no method of liberating himself. He retained, however, sufficient firmness to persist in a refusal; in consequence of which, force completed what entreaty was unable to accomplish. He was dragged a prisoner to Kaluga,* a wretched hamlet upon the river Oka, yet ranking as the capital of a government of the same name, and a thousand versts distant from Petersburgh, from which place he was not permitted to move. In this miserable condition, finding that neither his pension was paid to him, nor any single engagement fulfilled which the Russians had made, he insisted upon going to Petersburgh, but was told it could not be permitted. At last, giving himself over entirely to despondency, he exclaimed: "Let me be delivered a victim to the Turks; they will not refuse me, at least, the privilege of

* Mr. Eton [*Survey of the Turk. Emp.* p. 323] says, he "*retired to Kaluga.*" Was the liberty of retiring ever known in Russia? A similar expression, however, occurs in p. 308. "*He quitted Russia, and retired to Constantinople.*" I hope Mr. Eton's entertaining work did not experience a revisal from the hands of the Russian police.

choosing the manner of my death, since my enemies have resolved on my destruction!" The unparalleled cruelty of the Russians, suggested the propriety of acceding to this request; they rejoiced to hear it made, because it offered an easy method of getting rid of one whom they had pillaged, and whose presence was no longer either necessary or desirable. They placed him, therefore, upon the Turkish frontier, where he was taken, and, being afterwards sent to Rhodes, was beheaded.*

If it be now asked what the Russians have done with regard to the Crimea, after the depravity, the cruelty, and the murders by which it was obtained, and on that account became so favourite an acquisition in their eyes, the answer is given in few words. They have laid waste the country; cut down the trees; pulled down the houses; overthrown the sacred edifices of the natives, with all their publick buildings; destroyed the publick aqueducts: robbed the inhabitants; insulted the Tartars in their acts of publick worship; torn up from the tombs the bodies of their ancestors, casting their relicks upon dunghills, and feeding swine out of their coffins; annihilated all the monuments of antiquity, breaking up alike the sepulchres of saints and pagans and scattering their ashes in the air, "*Auferre, rapére, trucidare falsis nominibus, Imperium; atque ubi solitudinem faciunt Pacem appellant!*"

There was something very emphatick in the speech of a poor Tartar, who, one day lamenting in his garden the havock made among the fruit trees by a severe frost, said, we never used to experience such hard weather; but since the Russians came, they seem to have brought their winter along with them."

The principal palace of the Khans is still entire, and probably may escape the general destruction; because the late empress ordered it to be kept in repair, and always according to its present oriental form. When she came to

* The reader, having perused this narrative, will determine whether there has been any thing on the part of the French, respecting Spain, to equal the atrocity of the Russians in getting possession of the Crimea. Mr. Eton, in his Survey of the Turkish Empire, p. 304, says their right to the peninsula was sacred, and that "*the mouth is unholy which dares to arraign it.*" The representation he has given in many parts contradicts itself; for example, in p. 327, he witnessed the expulsion of 75 000 Christians from the Crimea by the Russians, almost all of whom perished, in consequence of their cruelty, in the deserts of Nayga; yet in p. 333, he says, "those who chose to remain," after the seizure of the Crimea, "were left in the quiet possession of their property and their religion."

Baktcheserai, they had fitted up a set of apartments for her in the French taste; which gave her great offence, and caused her to issue the order for its preservation according to the original style observed in the building. It is situated in the midst of gardens, from which circumstance the city derives its name.* Those gardens are filled with fountains and fine fruit trees. Its interiour presents that kind of scenery which eastern romances describe, and our theatres endeavour to represent; consisting of chambers, galleries and passages, so intricate and irregular, that it is impossible to give any description of the plan by which they are put together, or the purposes for which they were erected. Upon the whole, it is rather insignificant for the residence of a sovereign. A large hall, opening by means of arches to the gardens of the seraglio, and to different courts, receives several staircases, which wind to different parts of the palace. From this hall a door conducted the khan to a small mosque, for his private devotions, when he did not appear in publick. Ascending to the apartments, we find no resemblance to any thing European. The rooms are small, and surrounded by divans; the windows all concealed by wooden lattices, or as they are called by the French, *jealousies*. Some of the windows look only from one room into another; but being intended, perhaps, more for ornament than utility, they consist of small casements placed in little oblong rows, and are at the same time so filled with framework and lattice, that no one can see through them. In the windows of the best apartments we observed painted glass. Several of the staircases which conduct from one set of rooms to another, are open to the air; but the persons ascending or descending were concealed from all outward view by lattices. The chief concern both of Tartars and Turks in their dwellings, seems to be, to avoid observation. Their apartments are very cold, and, to the generality of Europeans, would be insufferable in winter; but the Tartar, having nothing to do during that season of the year but to sit smoking, wrapped up in a huge pelisse, would find the rooms equally insupportable if they were warmer.

A very handsome bath, prepared in one part of the palace for the late empress, is worthy of notice; because, remaining exactly as it was fitted up for her, it proves the immense sums which were lavished by Potemkin during her

* *Baktcheserai* signifies *a palace situated in a garden.* See Pallas's Travels, vol. II. p. 28.

celebrated journey to the Crimea. The same luxuries were provided for her wherever she halted, together with all the elegance and conveniences of palaces, furnished, as if for her continual residence. She had adopted the daily practice of bathing her body with cold water, and for that purpose the most sumptuous baths were every where erected; and though most of them were used only once, they were all lined throughout with white cotton quilts, and surrounded by carpets and sofas of the same materials. The part of the seraglio which was particularly appropriated to the use of the women, it is well known, bears the name of the *Charem.** One has a natural inclination to see the inside of one of these places, secluded as they are from observation by the Mohammedans, with such rigid caution. There is nothing, however, to gratify the curiosity excited by so much mystery. The charem of the khan has been preserved in its original state, without the slightest alteration. Potemkin passed his nights there during the visit of the empress, and was much amused with the idea of sleeping in a charem. It consists of a set of very indifferent apartments of a square form, opening one into another, which have neither magnificence nor comfort. They are detached from the palace, and surrounded by a garden with high walls. Owing to the latticcs which cover the windows, and the trees planted before them, the miserable prisoners doomed to reside there, could hardly have obtained a view even of the sky; the only object granted to their contemplation. Having no literary resource, the women shut up there passed their time, as ladies informed me who were in the habit of visiting them, in embroidery, and in drinking very bad coffee, with sometimes sherbert, and a poor sort of lemonade. In the Turkish charems the women are allowed the greater luxury of smoking, which to human beings so situated must become one of the most important blessings of life. The most remarkable part of the seraglio is the entrance, by a winding passage so narrow, that one person only could pass at the same time, who was under the absolute necessity of stepping so close to the guard as to wake him, even if he were asleep. Into this passage the khan descended by a private staircase appropriated solely to his use.

The Armenian merchants of Naktshivan, who, with almost all the Christians of the peninsula, emigrated from

* Pronounced *Harem*, with a guttural aspirate, as in the Greek Χ.

the Crimea, were originally inhabitants of Baktcheserai;* and their loss has been severely felt ever since the conquest of this country by the Russians. The present population, including male and female, amounts to near six thousand souls.† In this number are included above eleven hundred Jews, four hundred and twenty of which are registered as merchants. The number of Tartars does not exceed three thousand; of which number, twenty belong to the class of nobles, two hundred and thirty seven are merchants, one hundred and seventy three priests, and seventy eight students of divinity.

The morning after our arrival, colonel Richard Dunant, a native of Smyrna, and an officer in the Russian service, residing in Baktcheserai, accompanied us on horseback to climb the steep defile which leads from the city to the Jewish colony of *Dschoufoutkalé*,‡ situated on a mountain, and distant about five versts. These Jews are of the sect called *Karïa;* they inhabit an ancient fortress originally constructed by the Genoese, upon a very lofty precipice. Passing up the defile which leads to this fortress, we observed Tartar women creeping about among the tombs and ruined mosques in snowwhite veils, which made them appear like so many ghosts, sometimes covering all the face, except the eyes, at others, concealing the whole of the head. Their beautiful flowing drapery, and the interesting groups they formed among the ruins, would have furnished a noble subject for an artist's pencil. As if their veils were not a sufficient screen, no sooner do they behold a man, than they hang their heads, and often endeavour to get out of sight by running away. An English servant, whom Admiral Mordvinof brought into the Crimea, observing this aversion in the Tartar women from being seen, deemed it an act of rudeness to give them the trouble of hiding their faces, and of running away on his account; therefore, whenever he encountered them, he used to cover his face and take to his heels, to conceal himself in the first place that presented. This passed unnoticed for some time; but at length, the

* The number of emigrants amounted to 75,000, all of whom, excepting 7,000, perished from cold, hunger, and other causes in the steppes, on the western side of the sea of Azof.

† Five thousand seven hundred and seventy six, according to Pallas, [Travels, vol. II. p. 29] including Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Tartars.

‡ *Dschoufout* is a name, originally of reproach, bestowed upon the Jews; and *Kalé* signifies a fortress.

Tartar women, struck with the singularity of seeing a man always avoid them, and endeavour to conceal himself from their observation, let fall a portion of their veils when they next met him, which only caused him to run faster than before. This excited their curiosity to such a degree, that at length they fairly hunted him; and after following him in parties to his hiding place, with their veils off, were resolved to see the man, who, for the first time concealed his face at the approach of a woman, and actually demanded an explanation of his extraordinary conduct.

Advancing along the defile, and always ascending, we passed above the remains of that part of the city which I before mentioned as belonging to the Greeks. It is nothing but a heap of ruins, with scarcely one stone upon another. As we proceeded, they showed us in the very highest part of the rocks an iron ring, to which, according to their traditions, vessels were formerly fastened; although they must have rode many hundred feet above the present level of the Black Sea. The tradition, however, is, or ought to be, set aside, by a much more rational account given of this ring; viz. that a rope was fastened to it upon festival days, which being carried across the defile to a similar ring on the opposite side, the khans amused themselves by seeing a man cross over the valley, from one precipice to the other, after the same manner as at Venice, where, during the carnival, a hired rope dancer was drawn up to the top of the tower of St. Mark, whence he descended by another rope, with a boquet of flowers in his hand, to present to the doge. This is the account the best informed give of the marvellous ring near Baktcheserai; but Baron de Tott very credulously admitted the original tradition, with all its absurdity. The only objection belonging to the more rational account arises from the difficulty of conceiving how any rope, so extended, could support a man's weight without breaking.

Farther up the defile is a very remarkable example of the power of human labour, in a Greek monastery, or chapel, hewn in the very side of the precipice, and in such a manner that nothing of it is visible but the small perforated cavities through which light was communicated to the interiour. The Greeks of the Crimea were forbidden by the Tartars the use of any publick church, nor were they allowed to exercise, publickly, the functions of their religion; in consequence of which, like the persecuted Arians, they fled to rocks and precipices, secretly excavating the

most inaccessible caverns, and ascending to their subterraneous shrines by small, winding staircases concealed from the most prying observation. This result of their labour and piety remains among the few things which the Russians have not found it easy to destroy; offering one of the most singular curiosities in the Crimea; and to all appearance, being suspended like a Martin's nest upon the face of a lofty precipice beneath stupendous rocks.

We now came to the lower verge of some steep cliffs, and beheld on the summit, the walls of Dschoufoutkalé. In a recess, upon our right hand, appeared the cemetery, or "*field of dead*," belonging to the Karaïte Jews. Nothing could be imagined more calculated to inspire holy meditation. It was a beautiful grove, filling a chasm of the mountains, rendered dark by the shade of lofty trees and overhanging rocks. A winding path conducted through this solemn scene. Several tombs of white marble presented a fine contrast to the deep green of the foliage, and some female figures in white veils were offering pious lamentations over the graves. An evening or a morning visit to the sepulchres of their departed friends, is, perhaps, the only airing in which the Jewish women indulge themselves, as they seldom leave their houses; and in this respect their customs are similar to those of Tartars and Turks.* If the belief these nations entertain, that the souls of the dead hover about their earthly tabernacles and hold communion with the living, could be admitted by the followers of Christ, it would not be possible to direct the human mind to any exercise more consolatory, or more sublimely affecting. I never saw Mohammedans or Jews so circumstanced, without feeling something very like a wish to share at least with them this article of their faith.

The ascent from the cemetry to the fortress, although short was so steep, that we were forced to alight from our horses, and actually climb to the gateway. Several slaves however, busied in conveying water upon the backs of asses, passed us in their way up. The spring which supplies them is below in the defile; and a very copious reservoir, cut in the rocks above is prepared for the use of the colony.

* This little valley of Jehoshaphat is so highly valued by the Jews that, whenever the ancient khans wished to extort from them a present, or to raise a *voluntary* contribution, it was sufficient to threaten them with the extirpation of those sacred trees, under the plausible pretence of wanting fuel or timber." *Pallas's, Travels* vol. II. p. 35.

As we passed the gateway, and entered the town, we were met by several of the inhabitants. Colonel Dunant inquired for a Jew of his acquaintance, one of the principal people in the place. We were conducted to his house, and found him at noon sleeping on his divan. He rose to receive us, and presently regaled us with various sorts of confectionary, among which were conserved leaves of roses, and preserved walnuts; also eggs, cheese, cold pies and brandy. A messenger was dispatched for the rabbi, whom he invited to meet us, and who soon after made his appearance. This man was held in very high consideration by them all, and with good reason; for he was exceedingly well informed, and had passed a public examination with distinguished honour in Petersburgh, after being sent for expressly by the empress Catherine. We were highly interested by their conversation, as well as by the singularity of having found one Jewish settlement, perhaps the only one upon earth, where that people exist secluded from the rest of mankind, in the free exercise of their ancient customs and peculiarities.* The town contains about twelve hundred persons of both sexes, and not more than two hundred houses. The Tartars left here a stately mausoleum, erected for the daughter of one of their khans, now a ruin. The principal part of each dwelling belongs to the women; but every master of a family has his own private apartment, where he sleeps, smokes, and receives his friends. The room in which we were entertained was of this description: it was filled with manuscripts, many in the hand-writing of our host; others by those of his children; and all in very beautiful Hebrew characters. The Karaites deem it an act of piety to copy the Bible, or copious commentaries upon its texts, once in their lives. All their manuscript copies of the Old Testament began with the book of Joshua; and even the most ancient did not contain the Pentateuch. That part of the Bible was kept apart, but only in a printed version for the use of schools.† In the syn-

* It seems singular that such fortresses should have been possessed by such a people; yet in Abyssinia the *Falasha* appear similarly situated; and Jackson mentions a Jew's Rock in Morocco." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

† The reason given by the rabbi for the omission of the books of Moses in their manuscript copies was, that the Pentateuch being in constant use for the instruction of their children, it was reserved apart, that the whole volume might not be liable to the injuries it would thus sustain.

synagogues, with the exception of the books of Moses, every thing was in manuscript. The rabbi asked if we had any of the Karaïte sect in England—a question we could not answer. He said there were few in Holland: and, I believe as a sect it is very rare. These Jews call themselves KARAI. The etymology of the name is uncertain. The difference between their creed and that of Jews in general, according to the information received from the rabbi, consists in a rejection of the Talmud; a disregard to every kind of tradition; to all rabbinical writings or opinions; all marginal interpolations of the texts of scripture; and, in a measure of their rule of faith by the pure letter of the law. They pretend to have the text of the Old Testament in its most genuine state. Being desirous to possess one of their Bibles, the Rabbi, who seemed gratified by the interest we betrayed, permitted me to purchase a beautiful manuscript copy written upon vellum, about four hundred years old; but having left this volume in the Crimea, to be forwarded by way of Petersburgh, it was never afterwards recovered. It began like the others which were shown to us, with the book of Joshua.

The character of the Karaïte Jews is directly opposite to that which is generally attributed to their brethren in other countries; being altogether without reproach. Their honesty is proverbial in the Crimea; and the word of a Karaïte is considered equal to a bond. Almost all of them are engaged in trade or manufacture. We were surprised to see vine leaves sold in the streets, particularly as they are abundant in the country; But this article is in very great demand, to use in cookery. Their minced meat is rolled up in vine leaves, and sent to table in the form of sausages. They observe their fasts with the most scrupulous rigour, abstaining even from snuff and smoking for twenty-four hours together. In the very earliest periods of Jewish history, this sect separated from the main stem. This, at least is their own account; and nothing concerning them ought to be received from rabbinists, who hold them in detestation. For this reason, the relations of Leo of Modena, a rabbi of Venice, are not to be admitted. Their schism is said to be as old as the return from the Babylonish captivity. They use very extraordinary care in the education of their children, who are taught publickly in the synagogues; and in this respect the Tartars are not deficient. I rarely entered a Tartar village in the day-time without

seeing the children assembled in some publick place, receiving their instruction from persons appointed to superintend the care of their education; reciting with audible voices passages from the koran; or busied in copying manuscript lessons placed before them. The dress of the Karaïtes differs little from that worn by the Tartars. All of them, of whatsoever age, suffer their beards to grow; but among Tartars the beard is a distinction of age, the young men wearing only whiskers. The Karaïtes wear also a very lofty thick felt cap, faced with wool, which is heavy, and keeps the head very hot. The Turks and Armenians often do the same; and in warm climates this precaution seems a preservative against the dangerous consequences which result from obstructed perspiration.

From this interesting colony we returned, by a different road along the tops of the mountains, to Baktcheserai;* concerning which place I hope not to have omitted any thing the reader might deem worthy of his attention.

* "Batchiserai is entirely inhabited by Tartars, Jews, and Armenians, and is the most populous place we saw in the Crimea. It has several mosques besides a very fine one in the seraglio, with two minarets the mark of royalty. There are some decent cutlers' shops, and some manufactories of felt carpets, and one of red and yellow leather. The houses are almost universally of wood and ill-baked bricks, with wooden piazzas and shelving roofs of red tile. There is a new church dedicated to St. George; but the most striking feature is the palace, which, though neither large nor regular, yet, by the picturesque style of its architecture, its carving and gilding, its Arabick and Turkish inscriptions, and the fountains of beautiful water in every court interested me more than I can express. The apartments, except the hall of justice, are low and irregular. In one are a number of bad paintings, representing different views of Constantinople; and, to my surprise, birds were pictured flying, in violation of the Mohammedan prohibition to paint any animal. It is kept in tolerable repair; and the divans in the best rooms are still furnished with cushions. One apartment, which was occupied by the empress Catherine, is fitted up in a paltry ball-room manner, with chandeliers, &c. and forms an exception to the general style. The harem is a mean building, separated, from the other apartments by a small arched garden, and containing a kitchen, with six or eight small and mean bed-rooms, each of which (as we were told by our guide, who was a Jew, and remembered it in the time of the khans) was usually occupied by two ladies. In the garden is a large and delightful kiosk, surrounded by lattice-work, with a divan round the inside, the centre paved with marble, and furnished with a fountain. The word *serai* or *seraglio*, which is given to this range of buildings, seems, in the Tartar and Turkish language, to answer to all the significations of our English word *court*; being applied indifferently to the yard of an inn, or the enclosure of a palace." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

CHAPTER XX.

FROM THE CAPITAL OF THE CRIMEA TO THE HERACLEOTICK CHERSONESUS.

Tarantula Spider—Departure from Backtcheserai—Ctenus of Strabo—Aktiar—Caverns of Inkerman—Mephitick Air—Cippus of Theagenes—Ancient Geography, and Antiquities of the Minor Peninsula—Eupatorium—Chersonesus—Parthenium of Formaleoni—Monastery of St. George—Balaclava—Genoese Fortress—Geology of the Crimea—Remarkable Phenomena—Form of an ancient Greek Town—Manners of the People.

UPON our arrival at the house where we had lodged, we found the servant endeavouring to secure a very large Tarantula, which he had caught in one of the outhouses. Some utility may follow even our imperfect entomological researches, if they cause future travellers to avoid the dangerous consequences of an attack from such animals. Observations more at large will be found in a preceding chapter;* nor would the subject have been again introduced, but with a view to contradict notions propagated concerning the harmless nature of these animals. Both from my own experience, and the very extensive knowledge of professor Pallas, I am authorized to assert, that in warm countries the wounds they occasion sometimes prove fatal. The amputation of the part affected was the only method of saving our soldiers in Egypt who had been bitten by the scorpion; and Pallas had noticed the most dangerous consequences from the attacks of the *Scolopendra*, the *Phalangium*, and the *Tarantula*.

The evening after we descended from the fortress belonging to the Jewish colony, we left Baktcheserai, and reached the great bay of Aktiar, upon which place the Russians, in the time of Catherine the Second, bestowed the fantastick name of *Sebastopole*. We had a passage of about two versts to make across the water to the town. Prince Viazemskoy, the governour, had stationed a sentinel with a boat, who

* See pp. 289—291, of this volume.

told us he had waited four days in expectation of our coming; and, according to the orders he had received, a gun was fired, to give notice to the garrison of our arrival. The great bay of Aktiar also bears the name of *The Roads*; and here the Russian fleet is frequently at anchor. It is the Ctenus of Strabo*. The harbour, upon which the town of Aktiar was built about twenty years ago, has been appropriated to the reception of Russian ships of war. There are other ports, such as the Careening Bay, the Bay of Quarentine, &c. The Crimea does not afford timber for building ships, although there is always a sufficient supply for repairs. The fleets of the world might ride secure, and have convenient anchorage, in the great harbour; and in any of the ports, vessels find from twenty one to seventy feet depth of water, and good anchorage. To the Russian navy it is one of their most important possessions; yet such was the surprising ignorance or carelessness of their government, that for some time after the capture of the Crimea the advantages of this place were not discovered. The plan of the harbour somewhat resembles that of Malta.†

Aktiar contains two churches, one of which is a handsome building. The principal street is broad, and the stairs of the quay are spacious and magnificent. For the rest, with the exception of its magazines and barracks, it can boast only a few shops.† Other objects demand the attention of the traveller, and call for all his activity. Landing at Aktiar, he arrives in the very centre of some of the most interesting antiquities of the Crimea. The country included within the isthmus formed by the principal harbour of Aktiar, or Inkerman, that is to say, by the *Ctenus* of Strabo,

* Strab. Geog. lib. vii.

† Had the English fleet made a visit to Aktiar during the expedition to Egypt, which I have reason to believe was a part of the instructions given to the commander in chief, they might have struck a blow which would have prevented all the subsequent treachery experienced from Russia, almost without firing a gun: such was, at that time, the state of the peninsula. I presented, both to the British ambassadour in Constantinople, and to lord Keith, an accurate survey of the coast, with all the soundings in the ports of Aktiar, and the entrance to the roads; as well as the situation and quality of the magazines, artillery, and storehouses. This document was confided to my care by one who wished well to the British interest; and I brought it from the Crimea at the hazard of my life. Such a stroke at that time had been amply merited on the part of Russia; but the affairs in Egypt did not terminate soon enough to allow of its being carried into effect. I have therefore deposited the papers in the admiralty office, and only engraved the principal chart as a communication for the subject of these pages.

and the port of Balaclava or *Portus Symbolorum*, is the HERACLEOTICK CHERSONESUS, so accurately described by that author as a portion of the *Peninsula major*, or TAURICA CHERSONESUS. On this small district stood the cities of the *old* and *new Chersonesus*, and *Eupatorium*; the *Temples of Diana*, and promontory *Parthenium*, celebrated by the story of Iphigenia; the famous *Chersonesian Mole*; with numerous ramparts, tombs, canals, and other works, the memory of which historians preserve, but the last traces of whose magnificence the Russians daily labour to annihilate.

Prince Viazemskoy had prepared apartments for us in a palace belonging to the crown, similar to that already noticed at Stara Crim; but there was at that time resident in Aktiar* a countryman of ours in the Russian service, an illiterate man, whose vanity we found would be piqued if we did not take up our abode with him. He was originally employed as servant to the astronomer in Cooke's second voyage; and by the powerful interest made in his behalf, by professor Pallas and other persons of high respectability, obtained the command of an expedition to the northwest coast of America, of which Sauer has published a narrative. He had the rank of commodore; and his claim as a country-

* "Aktiar, so called, from its *white rocks*. The old town stood, as we were told, on the north of the harbour, where there are no remains of any consequence. No vessels are built here, as the timber must all be floated down the Bog or Dneiper. A regulation had been made prohibiting merchant vessels the entrance into the harbour, unless in positive distress; a strange way of proceeding, when compared with the general policy of European governments. The reason assigned was *the embezzlement of the publick stores, which were sold to the merchants by the government officers, almost without shame.* The effect has been to check entirely the prosperity of the town, and to raise every foreign commodity to a most extravagant price. Even provisions cannot be brought by sea without a special license. This information I derived from the port admiral Bandakof, and from an English officer in the Russian service. The natural advantages of the harbour are truly surprising; and the largest vessels lie within a cable's length of the shore. The harbour is divided into three coves, affording shelter in every wind, and favourable situations for repairs, building, &c. On a tongue of high land, between the two southern creeks, stand the admiralty and storehouses, and on the opposite side is the town. The principal arm of the harbour runs east, and is terminated by the valley and little river of Inkerman. There are some formidable batteries and the mouth of the harbour is very easy of defence. The old and unserviceable cannon are broken into small pieces, by being raised to a great height, and suffered to fall on a bed of masonry; and then sent, as we were told, to Lugan, to be new cast. To build a ship in the Black Sea costs half as much again as to construct it at Cronstadt, the wood coming from so great a distance." *Huber's MS. Journal.*

man, added to his other pretensions, induced us to accept his offers of accommodation. We had reason afterwards to regret our folly; for, in addition to the privations we endured beneath his roof, we found ourselves thwarted in every undertaking by his interference, and very often by his actual misrepresentations to the governour and police officers. He would not allow the prince to grant us permission for the removal of any article of antiquity we had purchased, although they were all condemned to serve as building materials; and we had soon reason to apprehend, that we were accompanied, wherever he went, by as dangerous a spy as the jealous police of that country could possibly place over us. The room allotted to our use was a kind of antichamber, destitute even of the meanest article of furniture, in which we slept upon the bare floor; nor should we have noticed the rigour of our fare, if it had not born the respectable name of English hospitality.

The prince prepared his shallop for us on the next day, with twelve oars, to visit the ruins and caverns of *Inkerman*,* at the extremity of the principal harbour. This commodore and the metropolitan bishop accompanied us. Before we reached Inkerman, some very remarkable excavations appeared in the rocks by the side of the bay, which were visible at a considerable distance. Upon examination, they proved to be chambers with arched windows, cut in the solid stone with great care and art. The bishop represented them to have been the retreats of Christians in the earliest ages. But to give an idea of what we saw at Inkerman would baffle every effort of pen or pencil. The rocks all round the extremity of the harbour are hewn into chapels, monasteries, cells, sepulchres, and a variety of works which confound and astonish the beholder. A river flows here into the bay, after leaving, perhaps, the most beautiful valley in Europe. At the mouth of this river, the remarkable antiquities are situated, which it is my present endeavour to describe, the excavations appearing on both sides of it. Those which first appear to persons approaching from Aktair are on the south side, and have been converted into magazines for holding gunpowder. It was with great difficulty we could prevail upon the sentinels to suffer us to enter the caves in which the ammunition is kept. These caves seem to have constituted an entire monastery;

* *In Kerman*, according to Pallas, means, *the Town of Caverns*.

as the rock has been so wonderfully perforated, that it now exhibits a church, with several chambers and long passages leading off in various directions. Passing along these, the fine prospect of the valley of Inkerman is seen through the wide, open arches, together with heaps of ruins on the opposite side of the river. The principal cavern appears to have been the church. We found several stone coffins cut in the rock, which had been laid open; and we noticed some Greek inscriptions above them, but the characters were too faint and imperfectly engraven, to be legible. The difficulty of copying or deciphering them was increased by the obscurity which prevailed. It was now evening; and night coming on, the full moon rose in great splendour over the long valley of Inkerman, and presented a landscape, through the arches of these gloomy caverns, which, perhaps, it is not possible for imagination to conceive. On the opposite side of the river the excavations were still more frequent, and somewhat more distant from the bay. Crossing an ancient bridge, whose fair proportioned arch and massive superstructure indicated masonry of some remote age, we found the caverns so numerous as to occupy one entire side of a mountain, on the summit of which were the towers and battlements of a very large fortress, supposed to have belonged to the Genoese, but, perhaps, originally a part of the fortifications erected by Diophantus, one of the generals of Mithradates. From the appearance of the staircases which conduct to it, and which lead also to the very caverns before mentioned, it is evident that a fortress was erected there ever since the excavations were first made, whatever the date of their origin may be. Several chapels, together with the remains of stone sepulchres which seem to have contained the bodies of distinguished persons, are among these chambers, now tenanted by Tartars and their goats. The stone coffins serve as drinking-troughs for the cattle; and the altars, once perfumed with incense, are now filthy receptacles for dung and mud. Pallas, who had paid considerable attention to the subject, believed all these remains, whether of buildings or excavated chambers, to have originated in a settlement of Arians, who, when Christianity met with general persecution, fled to these rocks, and fortified themselves against the barbarian inhabitants of the peninsula. Similar works are found in other parts of the Crimea, particularly at *Schulu* and *Mankoup*; also in Italy, and other parts of Europe; and they have generally

been attributed to the labours of those early Christians who fled from persecution. The air of Inkerman is unwholesome during the months of summer and autumn; and this may be said, in some degree, of the whole peninsula. Even the inhabitants are afflicted with frequent fevers; but strangers rarely escape. The tertian fever is the most common. In the autumn it is very difficult to avoid this disorder, particularly at Akmetchet, Aktiar, Koslof, Sudak, and Karasubazar. Baktcheserai is the most healthy situation, because a constant current of air passes through the defile in which it is situated, and the water is exeellent.*

After returning from our excursion to Inkerman, we endeavoured to investigate the ancient geography of the Heracleotick peninsula. It was a work of some difficulty; yet the materials, indeed, were ample. The ruins, as they still existed, with the assistance of Strabo, and an accurate survey of the country, might be deemed sufficient for the purpose; but the insurmountable difficulties created by the barbarity of the Russians were very intimidating. When they settled in the country, the remains of the city of Chersonesus were so considerable, that all its gates were standing. These they soon demolished; and proceeding in their favourite employment of laying waste, they pulled down, broke, buried, and destroyed whatever they could find which might serve to illustrate its former history; blowing up its ancient foundations; tearing open tombs; overthrowing temples; and then removing the masses of stone and marble to Aktiar, exposed them to sale, by cubick measure, to serve as materials in building. If the Archipelago should fall under the dominion of Russia, the fine remains of ancient Greece will be no more; Athens will be rased, and not a stone be left to mark where the city stood. Turks are men

* In consequence either of the visit to Inkerman, or the air of Aktiar, I caught a violent tertian fever, which afflicted me during all the journey along the south coast: and I afterwards observed at Akmetchet, that it was not possible to walk in the town without meeting persons labouring under similar disorder. The pale Peruvian bark has very little effect in removing the complaint; but the red bark soon cures it; and the last paroxysm is generally followed by a scalding eruption on the lips. This symptom, as an index of returning health, is always hailed by the inhabitants, who, when they perceive it, congratulate the invalid upon the speedy prospect of his recovery. But as the poor, and even many of the rich, are unable to procure the bark, these fevers often generate dropsical habits, and become fatal. There is not a single apothecary in the Crimea. Medicine is, therefore, little known, except those remedies to which the Tartars have recourse, which, with the exception of a few herbs, consist chiefly, as in all barbarous countries, in charms and superstitious practices.

of taste and science, in comparison with Russians. Among other interesting antiquities, which the latter had removed from the city of Chersonesus, was a beautiful bas-relief, of white marble, exhibiting sculpture equal in perfection to some of the most admired productions of the art. It had closed the entrance to the tomb of a philosopher by the name of Theagenes. Any of the inhabitants of Atkiar might have purchased it, together with a ton-weight besides of other stones, for a single rouble. To us the sale was prohibited, because we were strangers; and worse than all, we were Englishmen. Commodore Billings particularly insisted, that the consequences would be serious if it reached the ears of the emperour that Englishmen were allowed to remove any thing of this description: so the Cippus of Theagenes was left to its fate. As a bas-relief, it represented Theagenes and his wife. The drapery of these figures beautifully displayed the perfection to which the art of sculpture had attained among the inhabitants, and thereby illustrated and confirmed the text of Pliny.* The philosopher held in his left hand a scroll, in form and size resembling the manuscripts found in Pompeii. His feet were bound in sandals. His wife, in a Grecian habit, wore a long robe which fell negligently in folds to the ground. They both appeared in the prime of life, and below them appeared the following inscription:

ΘΕΑΓΕΝΗΣΧΡΗΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ·ΚΑΙ
ΗΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥ·ΟΥΑΠΙΑ·ΜΑ
ΚΑΡΙΑΕΤΩΝΖΕΚΝΒΧΑΙΡΕ

From the style of the inscription, the late professor Porson affirmed that the date of it might have been at least two hundred years prior to Christianity. I was afterwards conducted to the sepulchre from the mouth of which they had removed this marble. It was a family vault, hewn in the rock on the outside of the walls of the ancient city of Chersonesus.† Within were recesses for the bodies of the dead. When it was opened, the soldiers found the bones still in a

* "*Præcipui nitoris,*" says the historian, speaking of Heraclea Chersonesus, which had formerly born the name of Megarice, "*in toto contractu, custoditis Græciæ moribus. Plin. Hist. Nat.* lib. iv."

† A line from the Hecuba of Euripides [*Editio Porsoni*] with the following note of the editor, is my authority for writing *Chersonesus* instead

state of preservation,* and they scattered them among the ruins. There were many other sepulchres of the same kind on the side of the rock in which this appeared, hewn in the same manner, and closed by a large stone. Thus, evidently, the custom of the Chersonesus, was to bury, and not to burn. the dead. With the single exception of the vase found at Yenikalé, we observed no where in the Crimea either ashes, urns, or other proof of bodies consumed by fire.

If the reader would follow me in the tour of the Heracleotick peninsula, it is necessary that he should have the maps, which I have caused to be engraved, constantly in his hand. Leaving Aktiar, and following the coast westward, we passed the bay in which the Russian artillery is stationed. Then, arriving upon the bay for the quarantine, on its western side appeared the ruins and sepulchres of a town perfectly distinct from that of Chersonesus, and which answers the situation assigned by Strabo to *Eupatorium*, built by Diophantus. His observations state, that the promontory on which the town stood, inclining towards the city, at the distance of fifteen stadia, formed a considerable bay, beyond which was the *Ctenus*, and that the inhabitants built a mole across, which united the two towns.† The remains of the mole are yet visible, and the distance, allowing for every stadium an English furlong,‡ is precisely that which he describes. A place for the quarantine is now built upon that bay, and divides Eupatorium from Chersonesus; for immemorial *Cherronesus*, although in opposition to the received text of almost every Greek and Latin author.

Ὁς τὴν ἀρίστην Χερσονησίαν πόλιν. v. 8.

"Aldus et Codices Χωρονησίαν, sed alteram formam præuntibus Beckio et Bruneckio, reposui. Iterum v. 33. Γῆ τῆδε Χερσονησία.

* This has been the case in some Grecian sepulchres, perhaps even of more ancient date, that I have seen opened.

† Strab. lib. vij. p. 450. edit. Oxon.

‡ As this rule is generally admitted, and will be adopted throughout this work, it may be proper to insert the following passage, concerning the *Stadium*, from Casaubon's Commentary upon Strabo, as given in the Notes to the Oxford edition, p. 467. "*Stadium*, inquit Plinius, lib. ii. c. 23, *centum viginti quinque nostros, efficit passus*. Quod si est, necesse est miliare unum stadia efficere octo. Plutarchus in Gracchis, p. 838 tom. I. edit F. Furt. τὸ δὲ μίλιον ὀκτὼ σταδίων ὅλων ἐστί. atque hac dimensione usi sunt Plinius, Livius, ut alibi docuimus, et Dionysius Halicarnassensis, atque alii. Polybius quoque, libro tertio, ταῦτα, inquit, βεβηματίστησαι καὶ σεσημείωται κατὰ σταδίους ὀκτὼ δια Ῥωμαίων μιλίους.

diately after passing the quarantine, appears the promontory on which stood the city of Chersonesus, now covered by its ruins. On its eastern side, below the ancient walls of the town, are the sepulchres of the Chersonesians, in great number, ranged in very regular order. The plain between Chersonesus and Eupatorium is also covered by ruined buildings; and to the south of the former city, at the distance of a verst behind the promontory, upon an eminence, is a tumulus of a size so remarkable, that it cannot fail to attract notice. Immediately after passing the promontory of Eupatorium, towards the east, begins the *Ctenus*, or harbour of Inkerman; the entrance to which constitutes *The Roads of Aktiar*, and which exactly corresponds with the account given by Strabo. The old walls, both of the town of Chersonesus and of the buildings which it contained, are extremely thick, being in fact all of them double; that is to say, having a shell on each side constructed with immense masses of stone, and the interval between the two filled with a cement containing fragments of pottery and other coarse materials. Earthenware seemed to have been in great abundance; not only as it was employed among the materials for building, but because the ground was covered with fragments of broken vessels. Two strong towers, one of which stood contiguous to the bay, were entire in 1794.

In the year 1794 was also found, about three feet below the surface of the soil, a large slab of white marble, containing an inscription so imperfectly preserved, that it is not possible to offer any tolerable copy; but it is in the Dorick dialect, and seems to commemorate the gratitude of a people to a citizen or magistrate for the introduction of vineyards. The original stone is still in the possession of admiral Wilson, at Aktiar.

From the little harbour lying between the cities of Chersonesus and Eupatorium, an artificial canal, winding round towards the walls of the former, and hewn in the rock, yet remains very entire. It was calculated to admit small vessels within the suburbs of the city. Towards the extremity it is now dry, although the fishing-boats of the inhabitants still enter its mouth. "In this city;" says Strabo,* "is the temple of a virgin, a *certain demon*, from whom also the promontory is named, a hundred stadia farther on,

* Strab. Geog. lib. vii. p. 446. ed. Oxon.

and called *Parthenium;* having the fane of the demon, and her image. Between the city and the promontory are three ports." Taking, therefore this clue, and following the coast, the three harbours mentioned by Strabo will be found to occur very regularly; but it is not so easy to determine the particular promontory on which the shrine and statue of the demon virgin was said to stand. As the coast inclines towards the south, a very remarkable black rock advances from the cliff into the sea, towards the west, perforated by a lofty, natural arch, through which boats may pass.* The singular appearance of such a scene might furnish a basis for superstition, and above this rock were the remains of a building of an oblong form, constructed with very considerable masses of stone placed together without cement. Near, were also other ruins. Farther on is a promontory still more striking, to which Formaleoni† gives the name of *The Promontory of Parthenium* terminating by a perpendicular precipice of very great height. Then follows the bay in which stands the monastery of St. George, in a picturesque and singular situation, so placed among sloping rocks as to seem inaccessible. The few monks who reside there have formed their little gardens upon terraces one above another. If there be any thing which can strengthen Formaleoni's opinion, it is the circumstance of the foundation of a monastery and chapel so near the spot. The early Christians, in the destruction of pagan edifices, almost always erected new buildings, sacred to their own religion, upon the spot, and often with the materials, of the old. The monks of the monastery, in the ground behind their chapel, had recently found a small stone column, the shaft of which was seven feet eight inches and a half in length, and thirteen inches in diameter. This column, together with a few broken slabs of marble; and other antiquities discovered there, seem to prove, supposing Formaleoni's position of Parthenium to be correct, that in this situation stood the *old* Chersonesus, which Strabo, after speaking of the *new*, describes as in ruins, and as occurring after the promontory.† That there is some reason, however, to dissent from the opinion maintained by Formaleoni, will ap-

* Hist. Philos. et Polit. du Comm. &c. dans la Mer Noire. Ven. 8vo. 1789.

† Μεταξὺ δὲ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἄκρας, λιμένες τρεῖς· εἶθ' ἡ παλαιὰ Χερρόνησος κατεσκαμμένη.

"Inter urbem et promontorium portus sunt tres; sequitur vetusta Cherronesus, diruta." *Strab. lib.* vii. *p.* 446. *ed. Oxon.*

pear in the sequel; as there is a promontory between the monastery of St. George and the harbour of *Balaclava*, which, independent of the tradition concerning it, is, perhaps, more suited to the account Strabo has given of the fane of the demon virgin, as well as to the terrible nature of her rites.* It will be noticed in a subsequent account of a journey we made afterwards along this coast, with Professor Pallas, from Balaclava to the extreme southwestern point of the minor peninsula of Chersonesus.

The whole of this little peninsula is marked by vestiges of ancient buildings. The traces of walls cross it in so many directions, that it is impossible to conceive the purposes for which they were erected. And if we take into consideration the curious remains at Inkerman, the ruins of the cities of Eupatorium and Chersonesus, of the fortresses, and other buildings along the coast, at Balaclava, and other parts of this small district, we shall certainly not find, in any other part of Europe, so much to interest as well as to confound the traveller, in an equal extent of territory. From the monastery of St. George we returned to Aktiar, having promised to spend the remainder of the day with prince Viazemskoy, who, as there were no post-horses, had kindly supplied us with his own; and whose attentions, during the time we remained, demand our acknowledgment.

Afterwards we set out again, by the common road, to Balaclava, with a view to examine that place, and then to traverse the whole coast as far as *Alusta*; which journey would comprehend not only the finest scenery of the Crimea, but also would complete our survey of its southern coast. So

* "On that inhospitable shore," says Gibbon, speaking of the *Taurica Chersonesus*, "Euripides, embellishing with exquisite art the tales of antiquity, has placed the scene of one of his most affecting tragedies. [*Iphigen. in Taur.*] The bloody sacrifices of Diana, the arrival of Orestes and Pylades, and the triumph of virtue and religion over savage fierceness, serve to represent a historical truth, *that the Tauri, the original inhabitants of the peninsula, were in some degree reclaimed from their brutal manners, by a gradual intercourse with the Grecian colonies, which settled along the maritime coast.*" This seems to concede more to allegory, than is consistent with the ancient history of the Greek drama; in which not so much attention was paid to the strict tenour either of record or tradition. It is uncertain to which of the heathen goddesses the *demon virgin* of Strabo may be referred. The editor of the Oxford Strabo [*p.* 446. *in Not.*] suspects that she was of Scythian origin. Her image was believed to have fallen from heaven. Orestes carried it into Greece; but the base of the statue, according to Ovid, remained. In the language of the Tauri, her earliest votaries, she was called *Orsilochæ*. Ovid calls her ORESTEA DEA. *Epist.* I. *Ex. Pont. lib.* i.

much has been said by travellers of the famous valley of Baidar, that the vale of Balaclava, which is hardly surpassed by any prospect in the Crimea, has hitherto escaped notice. Yet the wild, gigantick landscape, which, towards its southern extremity, surrounds the town; its mountains; its ruins, and its harbour; the houses covered by vines and flowers, and overshadowed by the thick foliage of mulberry and walnut trees, make it altogether enchanting. The ruins at Balaclava point out the ΠΑΛΑΚΙΟΝ of Strabo; whence some believe it derived its present name. Others, and perhaps with more reason, suppose the name to have had a Genoese origin; and derive it from *Bella Clava*, the beautiful Port. Its harbour is certainly the ΣΤΜΒΟΛΩΝ ΔΙΜΗΝ, *Portus Symbolorum*; the characteristick entrance to which Strabo so accurately describes.* Nothing can equal the fidelity with which he has laid down the coast of the Crimea; a circumstance which may, perhaps, be attributed to the place of his nativity, Amasia; whose situation enabled him to acquire familiar knowledge of the shores of the Euxine. In his account of the Archipelago and Mediterranean, although always an accurate writer, he by no means evinces the same degree of precision. According to him the port of Balaclava, together with the Ctenus, or harbour of Inkerman, constituted, by their approach, an isthmus, of forty stadia, or five miles; which, with a wall, fenced in the minor peninsula, having within it the city of Chersonesus.† The wall we found afterwards with professor Pallas, and its extent agreed very well with Strabo's account.

The port of Balaclava is certainly one of the most remarkable in the Crimea. From the town it appears like one of the smallest of our northern lakes' landlocked by high precipitous mountains. Though its entrance is so narrow that ships can hardly find a passage, yet it affords excellent anchorage and security in all weather from the dreadful storms of the Black Sea. Ships of war, of any burden, may find sufficient depth of water, and a safe asylum there. The heights around it are the first objects described by vessels in sailing from Constantinople. But if any illfated mariner, driven by tempests, sought a shelter in the port of Balaclava, during the reign of Paul, he was speedily

* Καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν, λιμὴν στενόστομος. Et post hanc portus angusto introitu. *Strab. lib.* vii p. 446. ed. *Oxon.*

† Strab. lib, vii. p. 446. ed. Oxon.

driven out again, or sunk by an enemy as inhospitable as the wind or the waves. The inhabitants had small pieces of artillery stationed on the heights, with the most positive orders, from that insane tyrant, to fire at any vessel who should presume to take refuge there. The town is at present colonized by Greeks from the Morea: a set of daring pirates, to whom the place was assigned by the late empress, for the services they rendered in her last war with the Turks. We found the inhabitants of Misitra, Corinth, of the isles of Cephalonia, Zante, &c. living without any mixture of Tartars or Russians, according to the manners and customs of their own country. We were treated by them as I had reason to think we should be, with every degree of politeness and hospitality. The paroxysms of the fever I had caught in the bad air of Inkerman, perhaps increased by constant fatigue of mind and body, might have induced many a worthy landlord to have denied me admission to his house, through fear of communicating the plague to his family; but the brave Spartan *Feodosia*,* with whom we lodged at Balaclava, not only received me, but attended me with all the solicitude of a Samaritan. We arrived by moonlight: his house was beautifully situated upon a rock near the harbour. The variety of different nations which are found in the Crimea, each living as if in a country of its own, practising its peculiar customs, and preserving its religious rites, is one of the circumstances which renders the peninsula interesting to a stranger. At Baktcheserai, Tartars and Turks; upon the rocks above them, a colony of Karaïte Jews; at Balaclava a horde of Greeks; an army of Russians at Akmetchet; in other towns, Anatolians and Armenians; in the *steppes*, Nagays, Gipsies, and Calmucks; so that in a very small district of territory, as in a menagerie, very opposite specimens of living curiosities are singularly contrasted. Nor is it only with a view to its natural history that the traveller finds ample source of instruction; his attention is continually diverted from such considerations by the antiquities of the country. At Balaclava, they offered for sale several Greek coins of uncommon beauty and rarity; the most remarkable were of silver. I shall only

*A corrupt mode of pronouncing *Theodosia* as *Theodore* is often pronounced *Feodore* and *Theodorick*, *Feodorick*; *Federick* and *Frederick*; thus we have the singular derivation of *Frederick* from *Theodore*.

mention those in the margin which, if not unique, are the least known.*

On the heights above the mouth of the port, are the ruins of a magnificent fortress, built by the Genoese when they possessed this harbour. The arms of Genoa are upon the walls. The mountain on the northeast side is covered by its mouldering towers, and the rock itself has been excavated so as to exhibit stately magazines and chambers, the sides of which were lined with coloured stucco. It is surprising the inhabitants of Balaclava do not use these caves; for they are very habitable, and the stucco is still in the highest preservation. We entered one, which was a spacious oblong chamber lined throughout with stucco, and somewhat resembling the famous *Piscina mirabile*, near the supposed villa of Lucullus, at Baia, in Italy. We could form no conjecture for what purpose this place was intended, except as a granary or store room; it bore no marks of any aqueous deposit upon its sides, and was at the same time dry and in perfect preservation; therefore it could not have served as a reservoir for water. The mountains, which surround the port, are of red and white marble, full of cracks and fissures; but calculated for ample quarries, if worked beyond the surface. The shore is in some parts covered by a fine glittering sand, the particles of which consist wholly of gold-coloured mica, in a state of extreme division; making the most beautiful writing sand that can be used; and as it may be obtained in any quantity, would answer very well as an article of commerce. There has been nothing of the kind yet sold by stationers, which can be compared with the sand of Balaclava; for when scattered over fresh writing it produces an effect as if the

* They were as follow: A silver medal of Heraclea, PRÆCIPUI NITORIS, to use the express words of Pliny concerning the city to which it belonged. Heraclea was, according to that author, the name of the Chersonesian city; and this medal exhibits on one side a bearded head of Hercules, covered by the lion's skin, and on the other within an indented square, the word ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑ, with the letters ΔΑΜ. A second of PHOCIS, of similar size and workmanship, having on each side a bull's face, and for the reverse the head of Apollo, with the letters ΦΟΚΙ. A third in silver, and of the same size, I believe, of ELIS. It has on one side an Eagle's head, and for reverse a thunderbolt. The fourth is of still smaller size, and of the same metal; to me unknown. It has on one side a scorpion, and on the other, within an indented square, a dolphin. The fifth, and last which I shall mention here, was a bronze medal of *Rhœmetalces* king of Bosporus, having in front the regalia sent from Rome for his coronation, with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ, and for reverse the letters ΜΗ in a wreath of laurel.

ink, had been covered with minute scales of polished gold, which it will retain for any number of years.

The appearance of so much mica might induce an opinion, that a foundation of rocks of a formation anterior to those which surround the port, cannot be very remote; but there is no part of the world where geological phenomena are so extraordinary. Pallas often confessed, that in all his travels he had never met with similar appearances.* It is impossible to conjecture the depth at which the primitive foundation of granite lies; there are no traces of any such substance; not even among the pebbles on the coast. The strata of the Crimea have been formed by a process so inexplicable, that no attention to their position will afford matter for any regular systematick arrangement. Advancing from the isthmus of Perecop, towards the chain of mountains which line all the southern coast, the great northern plain of the peninsula, consisting of a soft, calcareous deposit, by an alternate series of depressed surfaces continually sinks towards the south. Almost all the principal elevations of the globe rise from the east, and fall towards the west. The declivities of the Crimea, and the precipitous sides of its mountains, are all opposed to the south. Perhaps a familiar exposition of these geological features may be afforded, by saying that the perceptible elevations of the peninsula, visible even in its plains, resemble, by their alternate order, the teeth of a saw.

*. The small tract which he published at Petersburgh in 1796, and which he extracted from the journal of his travels in the Crimea in 1794, has been before noticed. It is so extremely rare, that the reader will perhaps be gratified by the insertion of a short extract concerning the singular phenomena displayed in the geology of the peninsula. "Dans un pays qui a des montagnes si élevées, que quelqe part la neige et la glace s'y conservent pendant tout l'été, qui d'ailleurs est isolé par la mer, on devroit, selon les loix générales de la nature, s'attendre à trouver *les trois ordres* de montagues: les *primitives* granitiques pour centre d'élévation; les schisteuses *secondaires*; et les *tertiaires* à couches horizontales, melées de petrifactions; ou bien, comme en Sicile, un noyau ou *centre volcanique* et les couches sécondaires et tertiaires sur les contours. Mais en Tauride il n'existe ni l'un ni l' autre de ces arrangements observés dans tous les autres pays de montagne. L'on ne voit, dans l'escarpement maritime de toute la haute chaine des Alpes de la Tauride rien que des couches sécondaires du dernier ordre, inclinées sur l'horizon á un angle plus ou moins approchant celui de 45 dégrés et presque toutes plus ou moins paralléles posées dans une direction qui varie entre le sud-ouest et le nord-ouest. Toutes ces couches sont donc coupée par la direction de la côte, et on le voit toutes á découvert sur l'escarpement maritime des montagnes, *comme les feuillets d'un livre ou les tomes d'une bibliothéque.*" *Tab. de la Taur. pp.* 3, 4, 5.

Towards the south, its highest mountains are all broken off abruptly, as if by the sinking of the main bed in the depths of the Black Sea. Towards the north, a tertiary deposit of calcareous matter, filled with the remains of shells, extends beyond the Isthmus, even to the Dnieper. Thus the exterior, or upper strata, of the peninsula, consist of calcareous matter, of very recent formation, in which there is nothing otherwise remarkable, than the proof they afford by the remains of marine bodies of the draining of the waters from the great plain of Tartary; a subject we shall not now further discuss. But the wonder is, that where mountains have attained an elevation of above twelve hundred feet, no trace, either of primitive granite, or as a leader to it, of any regular schistose deposit should appear. Beneath these enormous, calcareous masses, pillars, if they may be so called, of marble, trap, clay, common limestone, and chistus, make their appearance in parallel and almost vertical veins, propping up the superincumbent strata. Pallas forcibly illustrates their position by observing, that they stand like books upon the shelf of a library.* These veins alternate with each other; and although they are somewhat inclined, leaning from northwest towards the southeast, yet their position, in certain instances, is nearly vertical. These extraordinary phenomena may be discerned all along the southwestern coast; and that the depth to which they extend is very great, is evident from the marble mountains of Balaclava, whose precipitous elevation from the sea bespeaks a corresponding depth below the water. When the veins of clay are washed away by the sea, either vast chasms are left, or the neighbouring veins fall in; as it happened upon the south coast at *Kutchuckoy*, not long ago, when a whole village was buried, which the late empress rebuilt at her own expense. In the clay is sometimes veined slate, and often blocks of wood, so impregnated with bitumen, that it burns like coal. The coast of Balaclava is entirely of marble; more towards the northwest, as at the monastery of St. George, it consists of black slate; further on, the other substances occur, in the order and position already described. To the north of the coast these veins are covered by calcerous matter, extremely full of the remains of organized bodies. The extraneous fossils of the Crimea are very curious; many of them relate to animals now unknown. Of these may be mentioned the *Lapis nummularius*,

* See the note to p. 331.

which is very common here, and rare every where else. It is found about the pyramids of Egypt, and in some parts of France.* The streets of Balaclava, I have reason to believe, are exactly the same now as they were in very ancient times. They resemble what Pompeii would be, if it was again inhabited according to its ancient form. The principal street of Balaclava is as narrow as that which has been exposed at Pompeii, and paved in the same manner; only the materials are variegated red and white marble instead of lava, and their appearance proves that the marble of Balaclava is susceptible of a very high polish. The shops are also like those of Pompeii, and the inhabitants all of them Greeks. Their uniform adherence to the ancient costume of their country, though a little theatrical, supported the illusion. They wore helmets; but these being made of green and red morocco, and not a little greasy with use, might be said to serve rather for a caricature, than a portrait of their progenitors. Their market of fruit is a very good one; particularly for melons. I went into one of their melon shops, which contained about two thousand water melons, piled in a regular square mass, selling for ten copeeks the dozen; less than a halfpenny each. The water melon of the Crimea does not attain half the size in which it is seen at Naples; but the flavour is nearly as fine. At Cherson, which is more to the north, it grows as large as in Italy. Vines cover the porticoes of all the doors in Balaclava; and so rapid is the growth of that plant, that, in two years, if they told us truth, a vine yielded two bushels of grapes. They have no foreign commerce. The rest of their shops were appropriated to the sale of the few necessaries which the inhabitants require; who seem to lead a very

* Strabo noticed this fossil at the pyramids of Egypt, and we afterwards found it there exactly as by him described. He supposed it to have been formed of the lentils petrified, which was given as food to the workmen employed in building the pyramids. Pallas has attempted to account for its origin by an opinion which is entirely his own. "I cannot, on this occasion, omit to express my opinion respecting a fossil, the origin of which has not hitherto been explored. As its external shells have no orifice whatever, and may easily be separated from each other, while its internal cellular texture, consisting of annular divisions, and thin lateral scales, has not the least resemblance to the abode of a testaceous animal, but rather to the inner structure of a cuttle fishbone; I am induced to conjecture that the lenticular stones have originated in the shell or bone of a peculiar gregarious, species of *Doris*, or *Sepia*, which formerly inhabited the deep, has, in process of time, been mixed with the calcareous mire deposited by the sea, and thus at length become completely extinct; so that we possess no account of its living state." *Travels, vol.* II. p. 21.

idle life, smoking, taking coffee, chewing tobacco or opium, lounging about the streets, or playing at chess or at draughts in the coffee-houses, or before the doors of their houses. We observed a game here which was quite new to us: the Greeks called it *Mangala*; and I have since seen it at Constantinople. It is played with a board having two rows of parallel partitions, into each of which was placed a certain number of small shells, such as the natives of Guinea use for money.*

We found it necessary to leave our carriage at Balaclava in order to visit the celebrated valley of Baidar; the passage to which is performed on horseback, over high mountains, covered with wood to their summits, and, on that account, having more of the Appenine than the Alpine character. Those which skirt the coast, and which we shall presently describe, can be compared to neither.

CHAPTER XXI.

FROM THE HERACLEOTICK CHERSONESUS, ALONG THE SOUTH COAST OF THE CRIMEA.

Valley of Baidar—Domestick habits and Manners of the Tartars—Passage of the Merdveen—Kutchuckoy—Plants and Minerals—The Criu-Metopon—*Aloupka—Other Villages on the Coast—Country between Kutchuckoy and Sudack—Vestiges of the Genoese Language—Ruins of a Greek Monastery—Mountain Aijudagh—Partenit—Alusta—Tchetirdagh, or* Mons Trapezus—*Shuma—Position of the Crimean Mountains—Derykeüy—Mahmoud Sultan—Return to Acmetchet—Marriage Ceremony of the Greek Church—Jewish Wedding—Military Force of the Crimea—*Suvarof.

THERE is no part of the Crimea which has attracted the notice of preceding travellers so much as the Valley of Baidar. It has been described under the pompous titles of the *Taurick Areadia*, and *Crimean Tempe*,† with

* The *Cyprœa moneta* of Linnæus.

† See Travels of Lady Craven, Mrs. Maria Guthrie, &c.

much warmth of fancy, and, as might be expected, with some fallacy of representation. If any attempt is here made to dispel the illusion thus excited, it is because those who come after may not meet with disappointment. "Even the vales of Caucasus," says Pallas,* "far surpass this celebrated spot." It will not admit of a comparison with many of the beautiful scenes in Switzerland, nor even with those in Norway and Sweden. A very extensive, cultivated plain, surrounded by high mountains, may be considered as one of those pleasing prospects which call to mind the description given by Johnson of his Abyssinian Vale; but being without water as an ornament, must be deemed deficient in a principal object belonging to picturesque scenery. The valley itself, abstracting the consideration of the mountains around, may be compared to many parts of Britain, particularly the vales of Kent and Surry. It is rather more than ten miles in length, and six in breadth; so beautifully cultivated, that the eye roams over meadows, woods, and rich cornfields, enclosed and intersected by green hedges and garden plantations.† The villages are neat, and the inhabitants healthy. Protected from violent winds, and irrigated by clear streams which fall from the hills imperceptibly through the fields, it seemed a happy retreat; and our ride through it was very pleasing. The mode of enclosure, and the manner of cultivation, resembled those

* Travels in the South of Russia, vol. II. p. 135.

† This famous valley belongs to admiral Mordvinof; but his possession was contested when we were there, and the rents were paid to government in deposit. Many of the Russian proprietors of the Crimea were in the same condition, owing to the following circumstances, as they were represented to me by a young man, named the Count de Rochfort, who was nephew to the duke of Richlieu. Under the terrours of conquest, the Tartar proprietors made little opposition to the grants which were made of their lands; but now that they are again in some measure restored to their rights, such as did not come properly under the description of emigrants have commenced processes to obtain a reversion of their forfeitures, which was a very unexpected blow to their masters. The Russians, since the conquest, have established their abominable code of slavery; but not on so rigid a footing as in their own country. Two days aweek, we understood from Pallas, is all the work a Tartar is obliged to do *gratis* for his lord; and the Russians complain heavily of their idleness. The mountaineers are almost all either entirely freeholders, or on the footing of the peasants of the crown. The number of Russian residents in the Crimea is reduced greatly. Some have taken alarm at the tenure of their lands; others have sustained great losses by their slaves running away, some of whom are received and concealed by the Kuban Cossacks; which, however, is now prevented by the duke of Richlieu's government, which includes the whole country up to Caucasus and the Caspian." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

used in our own country. The mountains, as well as the plain, were thick set with oak, wild pear, crab, and carnelian cherry trees, whose foliage shaded the road, and protected us from the scorching rays of the sun, which dart with uncommon force into this valley. Our lodging at night, and our meals by day, were entirely among Tartars, and this circumstance gave us an opportunity of seeing the domestick habits of that people. When a stranger arrives, they conduct him into the apartment destined for the men, and present him with a basin, water, and a clean napkin, to wash his hands. Then they place before him whatever their dwelling affords of curd, cream, honey in the comb, poached eggs, roasted fowls, or fruit. After the meal is over, the basin and water are brought in as before; because all the Tartars, like the Turks and other oriental nations, eat with their fingers, and use no forks. Then, if in the house of a rich Tartar, a long pipe is presented, with a tube of cherry-tree wood, tipped with amber or ivory. After this, carpets and cushions are laid for the guests, that they may repose. All the houses of the Tartars, even the cottages of the poor, are extremely clean, being often white-washed. The floor is generally of earth; but smooth, firm, dry, and covered with mats and carpets. The meanest Tartar possesses a double dwelling; one for himself and his guests, and the other for his women. They do not allow their most intimate friends to enter the place allotted for the female part of the family. With so much cleanliness we were quite surprised to find the itch a very prevalent disorder; especially among the poor. It was also difficult to escape the attacks of venomous insects and vermin. The tarantula, scorpion, cockroach, different kinds of lice, bugs, fleas, flies, and ants, more or less incommoded us wherever we rested; and we found it was necessary to reconcile ourselves to the appearance, every now and then, of a few large toads crawling near our beds. With all these inconveniences, we nevertheless deemed the change from a Russian palace to a Tartar cottage very desirable. In the houses of Russian grandees, of whatever rank or station, unwholesome filth is ill concealed by external splendour: but the floor and the walls of a Tartar's residence, be it but a cottage, are white and clean. Even the place in which his fire burns is unsullied by smoke; and if the traveller is properly cautioned to avoid the contact of woollen clothes and carpets, he may consider himself secure.

A favourite beverage of sour milk mixed with water, the *yowrt* of the Turks, is found in request with the Tartars as among the Laplanders. They all shave their heads, both young and old; and wear in their houses a sort of skullcap, over which, in winter, is placed a large and loftier helmet of wool; or, during summer, a turban. Their legs in winter are swathed in cloth bandages, like those worn throughout Russia, and their feet covered by the kind of sandal heretofore described. In summer, both legs and feet are naked. Their shirts, like those in Turkey, are wide and loose at the sleeves, hanging down below the ends of their fingers. If they have occasion to use their hands, either to eat or to work, they cast back the sleeve of the shirt upon the shoulder, and leave the arm bare. The jacket or waistcoat is generally of silk and cotton; and the trowsers, being made very large, full, and loose, though bound tight below the knee, fall over in thick folds upon the calf of the leg. In the waistcoat is a small pocket, just below the breast, in which the steel and flint are kept for lighting their pipes. Sometimes in summer they cover the feet by morocco slippers, but these are always taken off when they enter their apartments. Upon similar occasions we took off our boots, which was a troublesome ceremony; but they were evidently uneasy if we sat down without attending to this point of etiquette. They have no chairs in their houses; a single stool may be observed, about three inches high, for the purpose of supporting a tray during their meals. This stool is often ornamented, either by carved work, or inlaid mother-of pearl. The use of a carpet and matting for the floor is universal; sometimes, as a substitute, they employ thick cloths of their own manufacture from goat's hair, and these are exported to Constantinople. Of whatever material the covering of the floor may be, they use great pains to keep it clean, notwihstanding it is apt to swarm with vermin. During the summer months, the men make very little use of that part of the dwelling which is peculiarly set apart for them. Their chief delight consists in the open air; sleeping at night either beneath the shed before their door, or under the shade of the fine spreading trees which they cultivate near their houses. In the principal chamber of a Tartar dwelling, there is a particular part which bears the name of *Sopha*. This is a platform raised twelve inches from the floor, occupying one entire

side of the apartment, not for the purpose of a seat, but as a place for their household chests, the *Dii domestici*, and heaps of carpets, mats, cushions, and clothes. The same customs may be observed in the tents of the Calmucks. Though simplicity is a prevailing characteristick both in the manners and dress of the Tartars, yet some of their customs betray a taste for finery. Their pillows are covered with coloured linen; and the napkins, for their frequent ablutions, which hang upon their walls, are embroidered and fringed. If one of their guests falls asleep, though but for a few minutes, and by accident, during the day, they bring him water to wash himself as soon as they percieve he is awake. In their diet they make great use of honey; and their mode of keeping and taking bees accords with the usual simplicity of their lives. From the trunks of young trees, about six inches in diameter, they form cylinders, by scooping out almost all except the bark; and then, closing their extremities with plaster or mud, they place themselves horizontally piled one upon another in the gardens for hives. They often opened these cylinders to give us fresh honey; and the bees were detached, merely by being held over a piece of burning paper, without any aid of sulphur. The honey of the Crimea is of a very superiour quality; the bees, as in Greece, feeding on blossoms of the wild thyme of the mountains, and such flowers as the country spontaneously affords. Every Tartar cottage has its garden, in the cultivation of which the owner finds his principal amusement. Vegetation is so rapid, that in two years, as I have stated in the account of Balaclava, vines not only shoot up so as to form a shade before the doors, but are actually laden with fruit. They delight to have their houses, as it were, buried in foliage. These, consisting only of one story, with low, flat roofs, beneath trees which spread immense branches quite over them, constitute villages, which, at a distance, are only known by the tufted grove in which they lie concealed. When the traveller arrives, not a building is to be seen; it is only after passing between the trees, and beneath their branches, that he begins to percieve the cottages overshadowed by an exuberant vegetation of the walnut, the mulberry, the vine, the fig, the olive, the pomegranate, the peach, the apricot, the plum, the cherry, and the tall black poplar; all of which, intermingling their clustering produce, form the most beautiful and fragrant canopies that can be imagined.

In every Tartar house they preserve one or more copies of the Koran; these are always in manuscript, and generally written in very beautiful characters. Their children are early taught not only to read, but to copy them. The size of the cap, or bonnet, is all that distinguishes the priests of the different villages from the rest of the community; being made much larger for them, and rising to a greater height from the head. The horses of the country, though not equal to those of Circassia, are remarkable for their high breed, as well as for their beauty and swiftness. They are small and very surefooted; but rather stouter than the Circassian horses, which may be considered the fleetest and most beautiful race of coursers in the world. If travellers be provided with an order from the governour of the district, the Tartars must provide horses, lodging, and even provisions, *gratis*. We had this order, and hope it will ever be superfluous in Englishmen to add, that no use was made of the privilege annexed to its possession; a mode of conduct perfectly consistent with the ordinary course of English customs and opinions, but diametrically opposite to those of Russia; where it is considered a reflection upon the understanding to bestow a thought upon remuneration, unless it is a matter of compulsion.

To avoid the intense heat in the middle of the day, we began our journey towards the coast on Tuesday the fifth of August, at five o'clock in the morning. Leaving the valley of Baidar, we ascended the mountains which close it in towards the south; and by dint of absolute climbing among rocks and trees, through a very Alpine pass, at last attained the heights above the sea. Here the descent began towards the coast; and a prospect opened of vastness and terrour, which possessed the boldest sources of the sublime. Naked rocks rose perpendicular to such an amazing elevation, that even the wide sea, which seemed in another world below, and dashed its waves against their bases, was unheard at the immense distance, and appeared insignificant compared with the grandeur to which it was opposed. Between two of their craggy summits, we were conducted to the *Merdveen*, signifying *stairs* in the Tartar language: the steps of which, in ages past all record, were cut in the natural rock. Here, alighting from our horses, and committing them to the chance of their own caution, we began a laborious and difficult descent. There is a pass of this nature, but less precipitous, in the island of Caprea, near Naples. It leads

from the town of Caprea to Anacaprea; but horses are not seen here. The only beasts of burden are asses, and those are generally laden with faggots. In the Alps there are similar scenes, but not of greater boldness; and they have not the addition of the sea in the perspective. After we had completed the passage of the *merdveen*, being still at a great height above the sea, we continued to skirt the bases of rocks towards the east, until we reached the village of *Kutchuckoy*; which hangs upon a lofty declivity below the great southern range of perpendicular precipices. The doubtful path to this village is so narrow and dangerous that with any other than a Tartar horse few would venture; and even so provided, it is often necessary to alight and walk.

The plants and minerals of the south of the Crimea merit particular attention. With regard to the former, a catalogue of all the vegetable productions collected by us, whether in this interesting tract, or in other parts of our journey in the peninsula, has been reserved for the appendix;* being much too numerous even for a marginal annotation. Appropriated solely to the botanical history of the Crimea, it may there serve as a compendious *Flora Taurica*, for the use of other travellers; and will not interfere with the perusal which readers, not interested in such subjects, may bestow upon the narative of these travels. At the same time if opportunity offers to notice any plant which has not hitherto been described, it may be mentioned in the text without superfluous intrusion. With a very slight knowledge of botany, we possessed, however, the advantage, not only of guidance in our researches, but of every aid and contribution which the labour and liberality of our friend Pallas could afford. The principal spontaneous vegetable production of the rocks and mountains upon the south coast, is the wild sage; and this, as in the islands of the Archipelago, grows to a very great size; becoming, in some instances, almost considerable enough to rank as a shrub. Both the yellow and the red centaury were very common. The black date-tree, the pomegranate, the olive, and the fig-tree, flourished along the coast as in the south of Italy. The rocks and strata, near the village of Kutchuckoy, are composed of schistus, highly impregnated with iron; and in proportion as this metal is more or less combined with aluminous rocks, their tendency

* See Appendix, No. V.

to decomposition, by the action of the atmosphere in the oxidation of the metal, will be observed to exist in a greater or less degree. It may be considered a matter of doubt, whether the prismatick configuration and fracture of trap, basalt, and certain other homogeneous deposits, although, evidently the result of a tendency towards crystallization,* be not owing to the iron which enters into their composition. Wherever the oxide of iron is found as a prominent feature in mineral bodies, will also be observed veins, fissures, and separations of the substance; and *vice versa*, if the external figure of the mass in aluminous rocks be evidently prismatick, there is reason to apprehend the presence of this metal in more than usual proportion. These observations may, perhaps, deserve the consideration of more scientifick geologists; and, in addition to the facts necessary for their confirmation, it should be mentioned, that the phenomena of the Giant's Causeway, on the north coast of Ireland; of the pillars of Trap, at Halleberg and Hunneberg, in Sweden; as well as at the Lake Bolsenna, in Italy, and many other places, are only regular in their prismatick forms where they have been long exposed to the action of the atmosphere. Whenever a considerable part of the exteriour surface has been thrown down, the interiour of the mass presents only an incipient appearance of similar decomposition.

The supposed transitions, or *passages*, as they are called by some French, and many Danish mineralogists, from one mineral species to another, might meet with the semblance of authority upon this coast; so sensible is the apparent boundary between aluminous and siliceous bodies in certain examples; such, for instance, as the transition from yellow, indurated clay to jasper, and from schistus to horn-stone. In the museum at Trönijem, in the north of Norway, they exhibit what they call a *passage* from carbonated lime to silex; and in Copenhagen, entire collections have been formed of such appearances. The Norwegian specimen is nothing more than a flint, part of which has undergone a very high degree of decomposition, similar to those found in the neighbourhood of Paris, called

* Of which a more convincing proof can hardly be offered, than that the Siberian emerald, whose colouring principle is iron, and whose matrix abounds in iron oxide, not only preserves the hexagonal form common to the pillars of the Giant's Causeway, but, when fresh dug, exhibits also the same remarkable alternate convex and concave horizontal fissures. See *Patrin. Hist. Nat. des. Min. tom.* II. *p.* 28. *Par. An.* 9.

Pierre légere, and quartz *nectique*. The French frequently exhibited similar appearances in the same erroneous point of view. The abbé Haüy* has most happily refuted the vulgar notion of transitions in the mineral kingdom; involving the science in a labyrinth of passages which lead to nothing.

Soon after the capture of the Crimea, precisely at the time of terrible earthquakes in Hungary and Transylvania, a large portion of the immense cliff above the village of Kutchuckoy fell down and buried it. The late empress caused the place to be restored at her own expense, indemnifying the inhabitants at the same time for the losses they had sustained.

From this village to Aloupka, still proceeding by a narrow, undulating, and devious track among the rocks, at a considerable elevation above the sea, we enjoyed a prospect of the boldest scenery which can be found in the Crimea. Immediately before us we beheld the stupendous Criû-metopon, mentioned by Strabo, and other ancient geographers; this projecting into the bosom of the deep, together with the opposite promontory of Carambe, upon the coast of Paphlagonia, divides the Black Sea into two parts; so that vessels sailing between the two capes can discern the land on either side. The ancient anonymous geographer, whose writings were chiefly extracted from Arrian and Scymnus Chius, says, that Iphigenia, carried from Aulis, came to this country.† Procopius,‡ speaking of the Taurica Chersonesus, also mentions the temple of Diana, where Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon, was priestess; and according to him, the Tauri were her votaries. It is worthy of note, as we shall soon show, that a promontory and village bearing at this day the name of *Parthenit*, evidently corrupted from *Parthenium*, is found to the eastward of the Criû-metopon, in the vicinity of Aloupka. Thus, while Strabo and Ovid place the promontory of Parthenium in the Heracleotick Chersonesus, other circumstances seem to fix its situation near the most southern point of the Crimea; and should this be admitted, it would only assign, as in the history of other popular superstitions, a difference of locality to the same rites. *Leucate*, in the Ionian Sea,

* Traité de Mineralogie, tom. III. p. 242. Par. 1801.

† Geog. Antiq. ed. Gronov. L. Bat. 1697. p. 144.

‡ Procop. de Bell. Goth. lib. iv. c. 5.

is not the only promontory which has been celebrated for the story of the *Lover's Leap.*

As we advanced, the wide prospect of the Black Sea extended below on our right. Upon our left, towering to the clouds, and sometimes capped by them, appeared lofty, naked precipices; now projecting in vast promontories, now receding, and forming bays, surrounded by craggy rocks, whose sloping sides resemble those mighty theatres of ancient Greece, prepared more by nature than by the art of man.* The upper strata of these mountains, notwithstanding their prodigious elevation, are all of limestone. Not a single fragment of granite is any where to be seen. Beneath the precipices, and extending to the water's edge, appears a bold and broken declivity, covered by villages, gardens, woods, and cultivated spots. Laurels flourished in several places; and these were formerly more abundant: but the Tartars separated in this paradise from all communication with the other inhabitants of the Crimea, believing that strangers came only to see those trees, and dreading a notoriety of their retreat, endeavour to destroy them wherever they appeared.

In the evening we arrived at Aloupka. The inhabitants flocked to visit us, and, as if determined to contradict the story of the laurels, overwhelmed us with hospitality. Each person that entered our little chamber deposited his offering; either of fresh filberts, walnuts, mulberries, figs, pears, or other fruit. "Brandy," they said, "they could not offer us; for abstaining from the use of it, is not kept in their houses." They are less addicted to opium than the Turks, and therefore less slothful: yet they deem it their greatest happiness to sit still, to smoke, or to sleep having nothing whereon to think, and as little as possible to do. They sow only as much corn as may be necessary for their own consumption. Their pipes and their horses are, perhaps objects of as great affection as their wives. We generally found them stretched on the flat roofs of their cottages, lying upon thick mats, beneath the shade of their favourite trees, either asleep, or inhaling the fumes of tobacco. The business of harvest had, however, roused some of them into a state of activity. As we continued our jour-

* The ancient theatres of Greece sometimes consisted of an entire mountain, to the natural form of which the seats were adjusted. Of this description is the theatre at the temple of Esculapius, in Epidauria; at Telmessus, in the gulph of Glaucus; and at Chaerones, in Bœotia.

ney, we found them occupied in collecting it. They beat out their corn as soon as it is gathered; and their mode may rather be called trampling than thrashing. After selecting an even spot of ground, they fix a pole or stake into the earth, placing the corn in a circle round it, so as to form a circumference of about eight or nine yards in diameter. They then attach a horse by a long cord to the pole and continue driving him round and round upon the corn, until the cord is wound upon the pole; after this, turning his head in an opposite direction, he is again set going, until the cord is untwisted. By this process, they do not fail to obtain the whole of the corn clean from the sheaf; but the straw is destroyed. The chaff is afterwards collected and carefully housed for fodder. They carry in all their corn upon horses; but their manner of reaping and mowing exactly resembles ours: and their hedges and gates are made in the same way.

The village of Aloupka is beautifully situated near the shore; but entirely concealed from the view in approaching it, by groves of fruit-trees. The scenery every where along the coast is of a nature which it is difficult to describe by any comparison. Such fertility and rural beauty is, I believe, no where else situated equally near the waters of any sea, nor environed by objects of such excessive grandeur. The descent towards the shore is so steep and rapid, that it seems as if the villages, with their groves and gardens, might one day, by heavy rains, be swept into the deep; at the same time, impending cliffs above them menace fearful ruin by the fall of rocks, which every now and then give way, and whose enormous fragments have occasionally halted where they appear every instant ready to rush forward. High above all are the lofty and rugged summits of those mountains which give such a decided character to the southern coast of the Crimea, that no geographer has neglected to notice them. Strabo forcibly describes their situation and nature.* If by some tremendous earthquake, or the effect of sudden thaw, a portion of these cliffs has been separated from its native bed, and rushing into the Black Sea, has formed a promontory, or towering bulwark, in the midst of the waves, its sum-

* *Strab. lib.* vii. *p.* 446. *ed. Oxon.*

"But from this port of the Symboli [*Balaclava*] unto the city of Theodosia [*Caffa*] extends the maritime Taurican district, about one thousand stadia in length, craggy and mountainous, and teeming with storms."

mit is almost invariably covered by some ancient fortress, the ruins of which still remain in places almost inaccessible. Those works are for the most part attributed to the Genoese; yet some of them are of Grecian origin. The hardihood and enterprise with which they were erected, cannot fail to astonish the traveller, as there seems to be no eminence nor precipice too lofty or too dangerous for the people by whom they were constructed.

On Wednesday, August the sixth, we left Aloupka; and, after journeying entirely in groves, where mulberry-trees shading our road, presented at the same time the largest and most delicious fruit, arrived at the village of *Musghor*. Here we found a few Greeks, established as part of a cordon to guard the southern part of the peninsula, who were busied in distilling brandy from mulberries; a weak but palatable spirit, as clear as water. The scenery rather improved in beauty, and became yet bolder than before, as we drew near to a place called *Derykéuy*, inhabited by a small Greek colony, close to the shore. We found them employed in shipping timber of a very bad quality for *Sudack*, and other ports lying to the eastward. Upon the beach were some hulks of Turkish vessels, quite rotten; yet in such barks they venture across the Black Sea to Constantinople, although, as our interpreter observed, "it would be indiscreet to risk, by their conveyance, the safety even of a letter." Their wretched condition proved that the frequent shipwrecks in the Black Sea, are owing in great measure to their vessels not being *sea-worthy*.

If there exists on earth a spot which may be described as a terrestrial paradise, it is that which intervenes between Kûtchûckoy and Sudack, on the south coast of the Crimea.* Protected by encircling Alps from every cold and blighting wind, and only open to those breezes which are wafted across

* "*Kutchuk-koï* is a village on the most southern point of the Crimea; and is so called to distinguish it from another *Koi*, *Deryk-koï* which stands on the hill above *Hialtá* Near Deryk-kŏï is the fountain represented in my drawing; it lies in the highway between Nikita Bûrûnand Deryk-Koï. Hialta, a miserable village of Greeks, with a small Greek church, lies to the left; and beyond Deryk-koï, in the way which branches off to Baktcheserai, is a village of Russians, belonging, I believe, to admiral Mordvinof. ——Above Kutchuk-koï, the rocks become much more perpendicular and naked; and if this be the *Criû-metopon*, the name may have been derived from their high and bold forehead. It is evident from Strabo, that this famous promontory was eastward of the Συμβολων λιμεν, which, I suppose, is Balaclava, and therefore we have only Kutchuk-koï and Ayondagh to choose between." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

the sea from the south, the inhabitants enjoy every advantage of climate and situation. From the mountains, continual streams of crystal water pour down upon their gardens, in which every species of fruit known in the rest of Europe, and many that are not, attain the highest perfection. Neither unwholesome exhalations, nor chilling winds, nor venomous insects, nor poisonous reptiles, nor hostile neighbours, infest their blissful territory. The life of its inhabitants resembles that of the golden age. The soil, like a hot bed, rapidly puts forth such a variety of spontaneous produce, that labour becomes merely an amusing exercise. Peace and plenty crown their board; while the repose they so much admire is only interrupted by harmless thunder reverberating in the rocks above them, or by the murmur of waves upon the beach below.

At Derykêuy the Tartar children were assembled in the school of the village, learning to read. The eldest boy led the way; pronouncing the lesson distinctly in a loud tone, from a manuscript copy of the Koran. The rest, to the number of twenty, were squatted in the Tartar mode upon little low benches, accompanying with their voices, and keeping time by nodding their heads. It was amusing to observe the readiness with which their little president detected any of them in an errour, in the midst of all the noise they made, although reading himself with the utmost effort of his lungs. In the south of the Crimea, the remains of the Genoese language are not quite extinct. Now and then an expression escapes even from the lips of a Tartar, which may evidently be referred to that people. During their long residence in the Crimea, they not only introduced many of their own terms to the native language of the peninsula, but they also incorporated many Tartar and Greek expressions with the Italian, which may still be observed in use among the inhabitants of Genoa. I collected several examples of this nature, and professor Pallas added to the list. As he has already alluded to the subject in his late work,* it will be unnecessary to mention more than two or three instances. In the Tartar language, *Kardasch* signifies a brother, or bosom friend; and the word *Cardascia* is now used with the same interpretation at Genoa. *Macramé*, a towel, in Tartar, is *Macrami* in the Genoese. *Barba*, uncle, in Tartar, is exactly so pronounced, and with the same signification in

* Travels, vol. II. p. 357.

Genoa. Again, *Mangia*, to eat, among the Genoese, is also *Mangia* with the Tartars. *Savun*, soap, is *Sabun* in the Crimea; *Fortunna*, a sea storm, *Fortuna*; with many others, in which the affinity is less striking. The most remarkable instance is, that *Bari*, which signifies a cask or barrel, in Genoa, is pronounced by the Tartars *baril*; so as to bring it very near to our English name for the same thing. The Tartars, moreover, call a barber, *berber*; which they may have derived from the Genoese word *barbé*, I have already mentioned the swarms of locusts, which, from causes quite unknown, have visited the Crimea of late years in very unusual and extraordinary numbers. These have proved destructive to all the vineyards of the new settlers; but as the Tartars only cultivate the vine for the pleasure of eating its fruit, they disregard the visitation, which proves so mournful a scourge to the natives of other countries who have establishments upon the coast.

Soon after leaving Derykêuy, we arrived at the ruin of an old monastery, most delightfully situated on the side of the mountains which slope towards the sea, with a rapid rivulet of the purest crystal water running close to its walls. All that now remains of the original building is a small chapel, containing images of the saints, in *al fresco* paintings, upon stucco, although nearly effaced. Here my unfortunate friend and predecessor in the journey, the late Mr. Tweddell, of Trinity College, Cambridge, now buried in the Temple of Theseus, at Athens, had left the tributary offering of his Athenian muse to the genius of the place, in some verses written with a pencil, and the addition of his name upon the stucco.

Among the trees, at the time we arrived, were the pomegranate in full bloom, the spreading mulberry, the wild vine, creeping over oaks, maples, and carnelian cherry trees, and principally the tall, black poplar, which, every where towering among the rocks above the shrubs, added greatly to the dignity and graceful elegance of the scene.*

* "The forests in this tract are not of a very lofty growth; firs, however, and some oaks are found, and magnificent walnut trees. The Tartars, in the spring, when the sap is rising, pierce the walnut trees, and put in a spiggot for some time. When this is withdrawn, a clear sweet liquor flows out, which, when coagulated, they use as sugar. In different places we saw a few cypress trees growing in the burial grounds; they were pointed out to us as rarities, and brought from Stamboul. On the

The tertain fever, which I had caught among the caverns of Inkerman, had rendered me so weak after leaving this beautiful spot, that it was with the greatest difficulty I could sit upon my horse; and one of its violent paroxysms coming on afterwards at *Yourzuf*, I remained for some time extended upon the bare earth in the principal street of the village. Its peaceful and hospitable inhabitants regarded me as a victim of the plague, and, of course, were prevented from offering the succour they would otherwise gladly have bestowed. My companions were far advanced upon the journey; for I had fallen insensible in the rear of our party; and they believed me employed in collecting plants. When they returned towards evening, in search of me, our interpreter prevailed on an old woman to allow us a miserable hovel for the night's accommodation: and having also begged a small piece of opium in the village, I was soon rendered insensible of the misery and wretchedness of my situation. Yourzuf, called *Yourzova*, by the Russians, is the *Gorzubitai* of Procipius. The fortress which he describes as built by Justinian, still remains, though in ruins, upon the high rocks above the beautiful little bay of the town.

Being unable to continue my journey on horseback, I engaged with the master of a Turkish boat laden with timber, and bound to Sudack, for a passage to Alusta. Mr. Cripps, with the rest of our party, continued the tour of the coast as before. As soon as our vessel had cleared the bay of Yourzuf, I observed an immense promontory towards the east, which it was necessary for us to double; and having done this, we discerned the whole coast eastward, as far as Sudack,* which place the mariners pointed out for me as then within view, although barely visible. The lofty promontory we had passed is called by the Tartars the Mountain *Aijudash*. Mr. Cripps's route on shore led directly over it; and he observed upon the top the remains of an ancient monastery, which may have stood on the site of one of those temples dedicated to the Taurican Diana, as the village to which he descended immediately afterwards still retains, in the name *Partenak*, or *Partenit*; an evident

plains above the seacoast are some fine olive trees. Lombardy poplars abound every where, and are very beautiful." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

* The original name of this place seems preserved in the Periplus of Scylax Carrandensis, in the word ΚΥΔΑΙΑ, Vid. p. 71. ed. Gronov. L. Bat. 1697. Vossius reads ΚΥΤΑΙΑ.

etymology of PARTHENIUM. A few years ago, four columns two of green and two others of white marble, were found lying on the site of the monastery and among its ruins.* Prince Potemkin sent away two of them to decorate a church then building in or near Cherson. When Mr. Cripps arrived, he found only one column remaining, which was of white marble, near twelve feet in length, and eighteen inches in diameter. Stretching out somewhat farther from the shore, we had a fine view, east and west, of the whole coast of the Crimea, from the Criû-metopon to Sudack. Mr. Cripps, being on the heights, enjoyed a prospect still more extensive, and observed our little bark like a speck upon the waves. He halted during the heat of the day, according to the usual custom observed by the Tartars in travelling, at a place called *Lambat*, the *Lampas*† of the ancients; and in the evening, a little before sunset, arrived at Alusta, as our boat was coming to an anchor off the shore.

From this place we had a fine view of the mountain *Tchedirdagh*, the TRAPEZUS of Strabo, whose lofty summit appeared above a range of clouds which veiled all the lower part. Its perpendicular height does not exceed 1300 feet;‡ but it rises so rapidly from the coast about Alusta, that its seeming altitude is much greater. Almost all the Crimea may be seen from its summit in clear weather. The Tartars affirm, that a great extent of country beyond the isthmus of Perecop may be discerned from this mountain. There is no-

* The monastery was dedicated to St. Constantine and St. Helen. See *Pallas's Travels, vol.* II. *p.* 179.

† "Lambat is situated amidst some of the grandest scenery in the Crimea; having Chatyr Dag on the right, and in front a beautiful promontory called Ayoudag, or *Bear Hill*. This is connected with the range of Chatyr Dag by a rocky isthmus covered with wood, and is itself a peninsula; resembling, though on a grander scale, Orme's Head in Caernarvonshire. At the foot of the isthmus, in a beautiful wood of walnut-trees stands Partenak, a village with a good harbour for small vessels formed by a high rocky island. Here we found an old Tartar, who was in great practice as a boat-builder, and had, with his own hand, and the assistance of his two sons just finished a beautiful schooner, of thirty tons, for a merchant at Kaffa. The usual vessels of the country are like the Turkish, with lateen sails, and high prows and poops, very much curved. I was so much struck with Ayoudagh, that I could not help fancying that it was the *Criû-metopon* of Strabo. A steep and narrow path leads over the neck of the mountain from Partenak. From the summit we saw, as we fancied, and as the Tartars assured us the whole way from Kutchuk-koi to the Bosphorus. The people of Lambat complained that they were not allowed to cut down nor sell their timber. I never could learn the reason of this restriction. In the neighbourhood of Aktiar not even a shrub had been left for miles." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

‡ Pallas states it as about 1200 feet. See *Travels, vol.* II. *p.* 193.

thing to interrupt the view as far as human vision can possibly extend; since the whole district to the north is as flat as the rest of the great oriental plain. The village of Alusta was once a place of considerable importance, and still exhibits some marks of its ancient consequence. The ruins of the citadel, which, according to Procopius, was erected by Justinian, together with the fortress of Yourzuf, are still seen upon the heights contiguous to the sea.* Three of its towers remain, and a stone wall, twelve feet in height, and near seven feet in thickness. At present, the place consists only of a few Tartar huts; and in one of these we passed the night; having observed nothing remarkable, except a very small breed of buffaloes, the females of which were little larger than our market calves.

At Alusta† we terminated our journey along the coast,

* "Somewhere between Sudak and Lambat [*Lampas*] is a rock; believed, from its fancied resemblance to a ship, to have been a vessel which, with its crew, was turned into stone." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

† In order to avoid separating Mr. Heber's journal into a greater number of short, unconnected notes than may be necessary for its insertion in the margin, I have reserved the result of his observations, during the whole of his journey from Taman to Alusta, to be introduced here at one view. From Taman he proceeded across the Straits to Kertchy; or, as he perhaps more properly writes it, *Kerch*; and from thence to Caffa and Stara Crim; where he turned off to visit professor Pallas at Sudack. His route along the south coast of the Crimea was made in a direction opposite to ours, and will be the more interesting, as it includes that part of it which we did not examine.

"On the 22d of April we found we had exhausted all the curiosities of Taman, and determined to proceed directly to Kertch, and wait for our carriage at Kaffa. We were induced to take this step by understanding that Yenicalé offered nothing remarkable either in antiquities or situation, and by our desire to give as much time as possible to Kaffa. The regular ferry-boat was then at Yenicalé, and the wind directly contrary. For this boat our carriage was obliged to wait; we ourselves obtained a fishing-boat from the point nearest Kertch. From Phanagoria to this point is reckoned twelve versts: it is a long, narrow spit of sand, evidently of recent formation, and marked, in Guthrie's map, as an island. Even where this terminates, is a range of sand reaching like a bar across almost half the Bosphorus, and hardly covered with water, which bids fair, in time, completely to block up the navigation. An immense quantity of sea fowl are seen on every part of the Straits. The prospect is perfectly naked and desert; on one side the bare downs and long sand Kossas of Taman, and on the other a bleak and rocky coast, without verdure or inhabitants; and the miserable fishermen, who rowed us over, were a very fit group for such a scene. From the Kossa, where we embarked, to Kertch, is reckoned twelve versts. Immediately opposite is a round, shallow bay, where was a hut in which the fishermen occasionally slept. Behind the northern point of this bay opens a much larger; where a few miserable houses, a small church, and a jetty of piles, point out Kertch. The most conspicuous object is a conical, green hill, either entirely or in part artificial, on

and on Friday morning, August the eighth, set out, by a route across the Tchetirdagh, for Akmetchet. We rode some time in the dale of Alusta, a delightful valley, full of apple, pear, plum, and pomegranate trees, with vineyards

the top of which is a seat and a flagstaff. The Russian officer, who took us there, fancied it was erected in honour of Mithridates, or some of his family. The shore is very shelving and shallow; and we had the greatest difficulty to get our boat within a reasonable distance of the land. The commandant of Kertch, a Georgian by birth, told us that many places had been given for a harbour and quarantine at this place; but the present scheme of making Kaffa the emporium, would probably prevent them. Immediately on landing, we were accosted by a Russian priest with the salutation Χριστὸς ἀνέστη. We had before observed, that the Cossacks used at this season to salute foreigners in Greek. The town of Kertch is very small and miserable; it is chiefly inhabited by Jews. There is one tolerable watchmaker and two shops in the Bazar, where we saw some English cotton stuffs. The country around is all bare of trees, and their fire-wood is brought from the neighbourhood of Eski-Krim, a distance of perhaps 120 versts. There is a spacious fortress, and a garrison of a lieutenant-colonel, a major, and four companies of light infantry. The men were distinguished by wearing no swords, which most Russian soldiers do; the non-commissioned officers carried rifles. I had made some drawings and memoranda of the antiquities, which I have lost, but which differed in no material point from the account published by Pallas. The most interesting are in the wall of the church. It is, perhaps, worth mentioning, as illustrative of national character, that the Russian major, who agreed to furnish us with horses and an open kibitka to Kaffa, insisted on such usurious terms, that the other officers cried out shame, and that the same man afterwards squeezed some further presents out of Thornton's servant. A Cossack would have disdained such conduct.

"We left Kertch on the twenty third. From thence the road winds among swampy, uncultivated savannahs, having generally a range of low hills to the south, and the sea of Asoph at some distance to the north. These plains are covered with immense multitudes of bustards, cranes, and storks. I saw no pelicans after landing in Europe. I never saw an English bustard; but those of the Crimea appeared to be a stouter bird than what is generally represented in prints. There are many ruins in this part of the country, and other vestiges of population. We passed two or three small, but solid and well built, bridges over rivulets, which appeared to be of Mohammedan workmanship; and there were many tombs distinguished by the turban. The number of barrows near Kertch is surprising. We passed two villages still standing, and recognised at once the grotesque dresses of the Nagay herdsmen represented by Pallas. At night we reached another village sometime after dark, and, after a furious battle with the dogs, obtained a lodging. I have forgotten its name. The next day we found several patches of cultivation, and the country improving, though still full of ruins. On our right hand lay the sea of Asoph, and on our left the Black Sea was now visible. A ruinous mosque was before us. We found, on inquiry, that our driver had mistaken his way; that we had passed the turn to Kaffa, and were in the road to Karasubazar. Kaffa now lay on our left hand, and presents a most dismal prospect as it is approached on the side. There is a striking ruin on the northeast point of the bay, which was formerly a mint; and the walls and towers, though dismantled, are very fine. The tower rises like a theatre from the water's edge, and is of considerable extent, but almost entirely

and olive-grounds; and, beginning to ascend the mountain, arrived at the village of *Shuma*. Here the Tartars brought for our breakfast that enormous kind of cucumber before mentioned, the seed of which, since brought to England,

ruinous. On the land side it is defended by a high wall, with loop holes and battlements; the loop holes communicate with a sort of gallery, and are contrived in the thickness of the wall with large internal arches, which give it the appearance of an aqueduct. These arches support the upper walk and parapet. The towers are semicircular. On one of them, in which is a gateway, are many shields with armorial bearings, not much defaced, which ascertain the Genoese to have been its founders. There are some noble Mohammedan baths entire, but now converted into warehouses; many ruined mosques; and one which is still in good order, though little used. There are also the remains of several buildings which, by their form and position east and west, appear to have been churches. Turkish and Armenian inscriptions abound; but I could find, in several days' search, *no vestige which I could rely on as having belonged to the ancient Theodosia.* [See p. 298, and Note] The northwest quarter of the town is peopled by Karaïte Jews, and the narrow bazar, nearest the water, swarms with those of Europe. These are the two most populous parts of the town. There are some Armenians, but not exceeding thirty families, and hardly any Tartars. The remainder of the population consists of the garrison, five or six Italian and German merchants (no French when we were there) and some miserable French and Swabian emigrants. General Fanshaw has constructed a very good quay: and by pulling down some ruinous buildings, and a part of the wall, has made a good cut from the north, which he has planted with trees. They were building a very large and convenient place of quarantine. I could find no aqueduct; nor did there appear any need of one, as there are many beautiful springs bursting out of different parts of the higher town, which, excepting the northeast quarter, where the Karaïtes live, is entirely waste and ruinous. The springs have all been carefully preserved in cisterns, some of them ornamented and arched over, with Turkish inscriptions; and one of them in particular, which is near the southwest angle of the walls, is a delightful bath, though small, being surrounded by picturesque ruins, and overhung with ivy and brushwood. The ruins of Kaffa are mostly of freestone; the greater part of the houses were, I understood, of mud and ill-baked bricks; but of these hardly any traces are left. None of those still standing have flat roofs, but are all tiled, with very projecting eaves, and in the same style of architecture as the palace at Bâtchiserai. The best of these adjoin to the quay, and are inhabited by the merchants. There are a few buildings lately erected, one a tavern, by a French emigrant; and another a house intended for the governour Fanshaw. All these are of slight timber frames covered with plaster.

"Kaffa was called by the Tartars, in its better days, Kutchuck Stamboul [Little Constantinople.] I often asked different persons what its former population was; particularly an old Italian, who had been interpreter to the khans; but the answers I obtained were not such as I could credit. Yet he and the Tartar peasants were in the same story, that it had formerly consisted of sixteen thousand houses. All the Tartars attributed its desolation to the calamities brought on it by the Russian garrison, who tore off the roofs of the houses, where they were quartered, for fire wood. I was told by a Swabian settler, that wood was chiefly brought from Old Krim, and was very dear. The winters he complained of as very cold. Corn is very dear, and comes chiefly from the Don. Animal

has not thrived in our country. The fruit is as white as snow, and, notwithstanding the prodigious size and length to which it attains, has all the crispness and fresh flavour peculiar to a young cucumber. It would become a valuable plant for the poor, if we could contrive to naturalize it. This, and other sorts of the same vegetable, together with a variety of melons, and the *cucurbita pepo*, or pumpkin, cover the borders of a Tartar garden. The custom of boiling, for their meals, the tendrils and young fruit of the pumpkin, is common not only in the Crimea, but over all the Turkish empire. We were often treated with this vegetable, and found it very palatable.

food is not so plentiful as I should have supposed. A young man, who was employed to buy stores for Mr. Eaton, the contractor, stated the price of beef in the market of Kaffa, to be ten or fifteen copeeks the pound, or sometimes more, and the supply irregular. About three miles from Kaffa is a small village of German colonists, who were very poor and desponding; the number might be twelve families, who were then on their farms, the rest having gone into service or to sea. General Fanshaw, to whom we had a letter, was at Petersburgh, so that I am unable to give so good an account of Kaffa as if I had the means of deriving information from him. His object was to establish a bank at Kaffa, and finally to arrange the intercourse with the Don, by way of Arabat. The merchants of Kaffa, were, as usual, excessively sanguine, and confident of the success of their scheme; and we heard a direct contrary story to the one we were taught at Taganrock. We could not learn whether Arabat had a safe harbour, the road from Kaffa thither is level, and, if necessary, a rail road might be put up at no great expense, as it would come by water from Lugan. The bay of Kaffa is rather exposed to the southeast; but we were assured they had very seldom high winds from that quarter, and that accidents had been never known to happen. A small vessel, of the kind which Russia fitted out in numbers during the Turkish war, with one mast and a vast lateen sail, was lying in the harbour, to take a Scotchman, named Macmaster, to Immeratta, where, and at Trebizond, he was to act as a sort of consul to an association which had just opened a trade there. At Kaffa we obtained an order from the government for horses from the Tartar villages at the rate of two copeeks a verst, per horse. The order was in Turkish, the date was explained to us, 'from our *healthy* city of Kaffa;' which, I conclude, was its ancient distinction. The elder, or constable, of each village is named 'Ombaska;' but I write the Tartar words from ear only. The road is not interesting till after you have past Old Krim; though there is a gradual improvement in the cultivation. Old Krim, we were told, is so called, because the Tartars believe it to have been the ancient capital of the peninsula. It is now a village of fifty houses at most, inhabited entirely by Armenians; but the Mohammedan ruins are extensive; there are three mosques, and what appears to have been a bath. The neighbouring peasants are all Tartars.

"In the first stage towards Sudak, a building presents itself on the left hand, in a beautiful situation among woods, on the side of a steep hill which our Tartar guide said had been an Armenian convent. We conversed with the Tartars by an interpreter whom we hired at Kaffa; he was a Polish Jew, but had resided several years at Constantinople. No-

The very weak state of my health would not allow me to ascend the summit of the Tchetirdagh; but Mr. Cripps left me at Shuma for that purpose. The road I followed conducted me along the western side of the mountain, and, after all, at no great distance from its top; as my companion having gained the highest point, called to me and was distinctly heard. He collected some rare plants; and confirmed, by his own observation, what has been before related concerning the mountains of the Crimea. They skirt only the southern coast of the peninsula, beginning at Caffa, and extending as far as Balaclava. The town of Akmetchet appeared to him as immediately beneath his view; and towards the north, the whole territory exhibited an uninterrupted plain. On the west, the chain of moun-

thing could be more interesting, and to us novel, than the prospect and appearance of every one we met; a mirza, or noble, one of the few who still remain in the country, overtook us, and I was delighted at being addressed for the first time, by the oriental *salam*, by which we were afterwards saluted by all the passengers. In this part of the country I only saw one camel, a she one, and kept for her milk: the roads are too steep and rocky for them. The common cart had two wheels, and was drawn by two oxen abreast, like a curricle; it was light, but spacious. This is only seen as far as Sudak, afterwards, the hills are too steep for any wheel carriage. We passed a day with Dr. Pallas at Sudak, who asked much about Messrs. Clarke and Cripps. The beauty of this celebrated valley rather disappointed us, except as far as the vineyards are concerned, which are more extensive and finer than any we saw besides. Dr. P. said, that the wine made by the Tartars was spoiled by the over irrigation of their vineyards, which increased the size of the grapes, but injured their flavour. The wine we tasted was all poor and hungry. Sudak, or, as it was explained to me, *The Hill of the Fountain*, is a small village, peopled by a few families of Greeks, with a very small and insecure harbour. The castle, which is ruinous, stands on a high, insulated rock on the east of the town; and at the foot is a beautiful spring preserved in a large cistern; with a metal cup chained to it. I suppose this is the harbour mentioned by Arrian, as possessed by Scythian pirates, between Theodosia and Lampat. There is a small but handsome mosque still entire in the castle. I saw nothing which could be referred to a higher antiquity than the Genoese, nor any thing which I could rely on as even so old as their erections. It is only after Sudak that the real mountaineer features and habits appear to begin. In the vale of Oluz, or Sudak, very few of the cottages are flat roofed, and all the better sort of farm-houses are tiled.

"At Kuya, the next stage, and from thence to Baydar, the buildings have flat roofs, except the mosques, which are tiled, generally with gable ends, and surrounded by a wooden portico. This distinction between the roofs of private and public buildings is mentioned by Aristophanes as existing in Athens.

——— ὥσπερ ἐν ἱεροῖς οἰκήσεις
Τὰς γὰρ ὑμῶν οἰκίας ἐξέλομεν ΠΡΟΣ ΑΕΤΟΝ. Εqu.

The houses are generally piled up one above another, half under ground,

tains seemed to terminate at Baktcheserai; so that a geographical line may be traced for the map of the Crimea, from Caffa to Stara Crim; thence, south of Karasubazar on to Akmetchet, and to Baktcheserai. To the north of this line the whole territory, not only of the Crimea, but beyond the isthmus, over all the Ukraine, is one vast *steppe*, consisting of a calcareous deposit, containing the remains of marine animals. All the higher parts of the Tchetirdagh exhibit a mass of limestone very compact, and of a gray colour. Pallas says, that upon friction it is slightly fetid, a character I neglected to notice. The mountain probably received its ancient name of *Trapezus* from th table-form of its summit. Its lower district is covered by groves impenetrable to the rays of the sun; where the only blossom seen decking the soil was the *Colchicum autumnale*, or *common meadow-saffron*. Through these groves I continued to skirt the whole of its western side until I came out upon a spacious table of naked limestone towards the north; immediately under a frightful precipice of the same nature, on the top of which I could plainly discern my companion with his guides. From this spot I was sufficiently elevated to look down upon the summits of almost all the neighbouring mountains, which appeared below me, covered with wood; and in the fertile valleys between them was abundance of corn and pasture lands. So fertile are those valleys, that after descending into them, single ears of wild barley, and wild rye, are seen growing in all situations. About two hours of continual descent brought me from this spot to the village of Derykeüy, to which place professor Pallas had sent his carriage in order to conduct us once more to his comfortable and most hospitable mansion in Akmetchet.

About two miles from Derykeüy, a Turkish nobleman, at a village, called, I believe on account of his residence, *Mahmoud Sultan*, sent to request that we would visit his house upon the banks of the *Salgir*. He

along the sides of hills; they are composed of clay, and the villages resemble rabbit warrens. Irrigation is practised universally, and with apparent skill, where the vineyards are planted. Very little corn is grown, but the valleys are literally woods of fruit trees. Water is abundant; and near many of the best wells seats of earth are made, and bowls left for the wayfaring men to drink. There are wolves and foxes, and of course the other game is not very plentiful; but there are hares, and a few partridges. Between Lambat and Aliuschta is the way to ascend Chatyr Dag, which we missed seeing by the blunder of our Jewish interpreter." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

came out to meet us, attended by his dragoman and other menials, as Turks always are, and invited us to return with him and drink coffee. Every thing about his dwelling, which stood in the midst of gardens, had an air of peace and repose. A martin had built its nest within his chamber, and he had made holes in the window for it to pass in search of food for its young. This practice is not uncommon in the cottages of the Tartars, who consider such a visit from the martin a favourable omen. I have also since observed the same superstition in many parts of Turkey; and it is needless to describe its prevalence among the lower order of people in England.* Upon the tombs both of Turks and Armenians are often seen two little cavities, which the relations of the deceased have scooped in the stone, and continually supply with water; considering it to be of good omen for departed friends, that birds should come and drink upon their graves. Such Armenian tombstones, beautifully wrought in white marble, and covered with inscriptions, may now be almost classed among the antiquities of the Crimea. They bear very remote dates; and, like others seen in Turkey, express, by certain symbols, the former occupation of those whose memorials they bear. Thus, for a money-changer, they express in carved work the sort of shovel used by bankers; for a tailor, a pair of shears; or for a gardener, a spade.

We arrived at Akmetchet as professor Pallas was preparing to celebrate the marriage of his daughter, according to the rites of the Greek church, with baron Wimfeldt, a Hungarian general in the Russian service. The wedding took place on the following day, Saturday, August the 9th after a superb dinner. We accompanied the parties to church. At the door they were met by the priest; the general was asked, if he was already related to the lady by any tie of blood, on his answering in the negative, the same question was again put to the intended bride, and was answered in

* This cannot be more forcibly illustrated than with reference to notions derived by Shakspeare from our most ancient chronicles, and preserved in his tragedy of Macbeth:

> ——— "This guest of summer,
> The temple-haunting martlet, does approve,
> By his lov'd mansionry, that the heav'ns breath
> Smells woolingly here: no jutty, frieze, buttress,
> Nor coigne of vantage, but this bird hath made
> His pendent bed, and procreant cradle. Where they
> Most breed and haunt, I have observ'd, the air
> Is delicate." *Macb. A.* 1. *S.* 6.

the same way. They were then asked, whether the engagement they were about to form was voluntary on their part; and having answered in the affirmative, were permitted to enter a few paces within the church. A bible and crucifix were then placed before them, and large lighted wax tapers, decorated with ribands, in their hands; after certain prayers had been read, and the ring put upon the bride's finger, the floor was covered by a piece of scarlet satin, and a table was placed before them with the communion vessels. The priest having tied their hands together with bands of the same coloured satin, and placed a chaplet of flowers upon their heads, administered the sacrament; and afterwards led them, thus bound together, three times round the communion-table, followed by the bride's father and the bride-maid. During this ceremony the choristers chanted a hymn; and after it was concluded, a scene of general kissing took place among all present, and the parties returned to the house of the bride's father; here tea and other refreshments were served to all who came to congratulate the married couple.

We remained a month at Akmetchet before my health was again established; during this time I had an opportunity of seeing so remarkable a ceremony at a Jew's wedding, that a short account of it will, perhaps, be thought not out of place at the conclusion of this chapter.

For two or three days prior to the wedding, all the neighbours and friends of the betrothed couple assembled together, to testify their joy by the most tumultuous rioting, dancing, and feasting. On the day of marriage, the girl accompanied by the priest and her relations, was led blindfolded to the river Salgir, which flowed at the bottom of a small valley in front of professor Pallas's house; here she was undressed by women who were stark naked, and, destitute of any other covering except the handkerchief by which her eyes were concealed, was plunged three times in the river. After this, being again dressed, she was led, blindfolded as before, to the house of her parents, accompanied by all her friends, who were singing, dancing, and performing musick before her. In the evening her intended husband was brought to her, but, as long as the feast continued she remained with her eyes bound.

The garrison of Akmetchet paraded every morning from seven o'clock until ten; but troops in a worse state of discipline, or more unfit for service, were, perhaps, never seen.

The whole military force of the Crimea amounted, at this time, to fifteen thousand men, of which number fifteen hundred were in garrison at Akmetchet. There were seven complete regiments in the peninsula, besides two companies of invalids, and a Greek battalion at Balaclava. At Perecop there was a garrison of invalids; and garrisons were also established at Yenikalé. Kertchy, Caffa, Karasubazar, Akmetchet, Baktcheserai, Koslof, and Aktiar, where there were two regiments. Yet, notwithstanding the reputed rigour of the emperour, his attention to the minutiæ of discipline, and his passion for military pursuits, a system of somnolency and stupidity existed in all publick affairs, which rendered the force of the Russian empire a mere puppet show. It was punch with all his family; or a herd of swine in armour, who endured hard blows, kicks, and canes, with perfect patience, but were incapable of activity or effect. Such was the disposition of the guard along the coast, and such the nature of the country, that an army might have been landed and marched up to the sentinels at Akmetchet before they were observed. Detested as the Russians are by every description of inhabitant in the Crimea, their expulsion from the peninsula, if it had pleased Great Britain to restore it to the Turks, would have been a work of ease and amusement. The harbour of Nymphæum was entirely open, and unguarded both by sea and land. To the west, at Sudack, Alusta, or Yourzuf, invaders would have found the Tartars greeting their arrival with tears of joy. A small band of Morean Greeks upon the coast, would be ready to join the invaders, or to fly at their approach.* Arriving in the garrison towns, a few snoring soldiers, hardly out of drill, or a party of bloated officers labouring under indigestion and ague, could not offer even a semblance of opposition. Any experienced general from the armies of England, France, or Germany, might pledge his reputation for the capture of the Crimea with a thousand men.† Such an event throughout the peninsula would be celebrated as a signal delivery from the worst of tyrants, and every honest heart would participate in the transports of an injured people thus emancipated.

* Though some years have elapsed since this journal was written, the changes which have taken place in Russia, rather tend to facilitate than to obstruct the capture of the Crimea.

† A survey of the ports of Aktiar, with all the soundings, we had the satisfaction to bring to England.

This account may not seem to accord with the descriptions which were published of the conduct of the Russian troops in Italy, under field-marshal count Suvarof. But where will Russia find another Suvarof? He was created to be a Russian general; possessing all the qualifications, and the only qualifications which can entitle a Russian chief to the hope of victory. Among his troops, he was *generally* their commander; *individually*, their comrade and their friend. To the highest military rank in Russia, he joined the manners and the taste of a private soldier; one moment closeted with his sovereign, the next drinking *quass*, with his troops, eating raw turnips, devesting himself of vermin, or sleeping upon straw. He partook every interest of the privates; entered into all their little histories; mediated in their disputes; shared in their amusements; was at once their counsellor and example; in short, the hero who planned and then led the way to victory. The *Catechism*, as he strangely termed that extraordinary composition, which he drew up for the instruction of every soldier in his army, will show more of his real character than the most studied description. It possesses a portion of all his characteristicks; somewhat of his buffoonery, inconsistency, barbarity, military skill, his knowledge of the disposition of his countrymen, and of his anxiety and precaution for the welfare of his troops, as well as of his remarkable talent for directing even their vices to advantage: in a word, it offers a key to those counsels which directed all his military operations. This singular document fell into my hands; it was sent by order of the crown, while we were in the country, to every regiment in the Russian service, in order that each soldier might learn to repeat it from memory, and is presented to the English reader in the Appendix,* literally translated, word for word from the original Russian, as faithfully as the idioms of the two languages will admit.

* See the Appendix, No. II.

CHAPTER XXII.

SECOND EXCURSION TO THE MINOR PENINSULA OF THE HERACLEOTÆ.

Professor Pallas accompanies the author—Mankoop—Ruins of the Fortress—Cape of the Winds—Shulu—Fuller's Earth-Pitts—Manufacture of Keff-kill—Isthmian Wall—Aya Bürün—Coins of Vladimir—Alexiano's Chouter—Point and Bay of Phanari—Ruins of the old Chersonesus of Strabo—Valley of Tchorgona—Danger of the Climate—Tartar Nobles—Russian Recruit—Salvia Hablitziana—Return to Akmetchet.

AS we had not been able to ascertain the true situation of the most ancient of the two cities of the Chersonesians, which Strabo describes as in ruins within the Heracleotick peninsula, and professor Pallas maintained that it must have stood on, or near the point of land which forms the most western territory of the Crimea, now called Point Phanari, we determined to make a second excursion, and to traverse the minor peninsula in all directions. The professor himself resolved to accompany us; and accordingly we left Akmetchet* in a light, open carriage belonging to him, on Saturday, September the seventh. The road passing through a deep ravine, we collected several specimens of the *salvia hablitziana*, and the *centaurea myriocephala*; which latter, as the favourite food of the Crimean sheep, is supposed to give that beautiful gray colour to the wool of the lambs, so highly prized both in Turkey and Tartary, as an ornament of the *calpack*, or cap worn by Tartar gentlemen, in lieu of the turban. The professor instructed us to search for the rarest plants, in deep sands, salt marshes, and upon chalky hills. We purposely avoided entering again the town of Baktcheserai in order to escape the interruption of ceremonial visits, passing by *Eski Yourst*,

* "Akmetchet, or *White Mosque* now *Simpheropol*, though the seat of government, is a wretched and ruinous place, formerly extensive, as appears from its three mosques, which stand at a considerable distance from each other. There is here a good view of the mountain Chatyr Dag." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

the ancient mausoleum of the Khans, and changing horses at *Katcha*. Soon after leaving this last place, we turned towards the southern chain of mountains, and passed *Kara Ilaes*, the most pleasing village in the Crimea, beautifully situated in the entrance of a romantick defile, which leads to Shulu. On the right hand, soon after entering this defile, and upon the summits of the high mountains which form its southern side, are seen the remains of the ancient fortress of Tcherkesskerman, once possessed by the Genoese, and in remoter periods by the Circassians, as its name implies. When the former made themselves masters of the strong holds in the Crimea, they erected fortresses upon the most precipitous and inaccessible places, in the wildest retreats of the peninsula. Tcherkesskerman was one of the citadels thus constructed, and the scattered ruins of its battlements still cover the heights I have mentioned. Yet even these remains are less remarkable than those of Mankoop on the other side of the defile; on this account we preferred making a visit to the latter, and turning off to a village on the left hand, were provided with beautiful Tartar horses and guides for that purpose.

The fortress of Mankoop is of very extraordinary magnitude, and may be described as literally in the clouds. It covers the summit of a semicircular, insulated mountain. This, from its frightful aspect, its altitude, and craggy, perpendicular sides, independent of every other consideration than as a surprising work of nature, fills the mind with wonder upon entering the defile. In that singular situation, where there were no visible means of ascent towards any of the heights, much less of conveying materials for the astonishing work they completed, did the Genoese construct a citadel, perhaps without a parallel in Europe, the result of their wealth, address, and enterprise. History does not mention for what especial purpose those works were carried on by the Greeks or Genoese in the interiour of the country, at such a distance from the coast; but it is natural to conjecture their use in curbing the hostile spirit of the natives towards the maritime, colonial possessions.* The last possessors of Mankoop were Jews.

* Some curious memorials of this remarkable citadel [Mankoop] are found in Broniovius, who describes it as, "*Arx et Civitas quondam antiquissima.*" He also says, "Mancopia civitas ad montes et sylvas magis porrecta, et mari non jam propinqua est; arces duas in altissimo saxo et peramplo conditas, templa Græca sumptuosa et ædes, &c. habuit. . . . . Ac in eo monte saxoso, in quo sita est, in saxo miro admodum opere domus

Ruined tombs of marble and stone were lying in the cemetery of their colony beneath the trees we passed in our ascent. The whole of our passage up the mountain was steep and difficult; nor was it rendered more practicable by the amazing labours of its original possessors, whose dilapidated works rather served to impede than to facilitate our progress. The ascent had once been paved the whole way, and stairs formed, like those of the *Merdveen*, described in the last chapter. These still remain entire in many places.

When we reached the summit, we found it entirely covered with ruins of the citadel. Caverns and gloomy galleries perforated in the rock, whose original uses are now unknown, presented on every side their dark mouths. On the most elevated part of this extraordinary eminence, is a beautiful plain, covered with fine turf, among which we found the *Rosa Pygmæa* of Pallas, blooming in great beauty. This plain, partly fenced in by the mouldering wall of the fortress, but otherwise open to surrounding precipices, appeared to me as lofty as the cliffs along the Sussex coast, near Beachy Head. All the other mountains, valleys, hills, woods, and villages, may be discerned from this spot. While with dismay and caution we crept upon our hands and knees to look over the brink of those fearful heights, a half-clad Tartar, wild as the winds of the north, mounted, without any saddle, or bridle, except the twisted stem of a wild vine, on a colt equally unsubdued, galloped to the very edge of the precipice; and there, as his horse stood prancing upon the borders of eternity, amused himself in pointing out to us the different places in the vast district which the eye commanded. We entered one of the excavated chambers; a small, square apartment, leading to another on our right hand. On our left, a narrow passage conducted us to an open balcony with a parapet in front formed in the rock, upon the very face of one of the principal precipices, whence the depth below might be contemplated with less danger. Vultures beneath the view were sailing over the valleys; not seeming larger than swallows. Below these, the tops of undulating hills, covered by tufted woods, with villages amidst rocks and defiles, appeared at a depth so intimida-

excisas habet, quæ etsi ille locus nunc sylvosus est, integræ tamen plurimæ reperiuntur. Phanum marmoreis et serpentinis Columnis ornatum *humi* jam prostratum et corruptum, insignem et clarum quondam eum locum extisse testatur." *Descrip. Tartar.* pp. 262, 264.

ting, that the blood chilled in beholding it. We afterwards found the remains of churches and other publick buildings among the ruins, and in a more perfect state than might be expected in the Russian empire; but this is easily accounted for, by their difficulty of access. At length, being conducted to the northeastern point of the crescent, which is the shape of the summit on which the fortress of Mankoop was constructed, and descending a few stone steps, neatly hewn in the rock, we entered by a square door into a cavern, called by the Tartars *The Cape of the Winds.* It has been chisselled, like the rest, out of the solid stone; but it is open on four sides. From the amazing prospect here commanded of all the surrounding country, it probably served as a post of military observation. The apertures, or windows, are large arched chasms in the rock; through these, a most extensive range of scenery over distant mountains and rolling clouds forms a sublime spectacle. There is nothing in any part of Europe, to surpass the tremendous grandeur of the place. Below the cavern is another chamber leading to several cells on its different sides; these have all been cut out of the same rock.

We pursued a different road in descending; passing beneath an old arched gateway of the citadel, once its principal entrance.* This road flanks the northern side of the mountain; and the fall into the valley is so bold and profound, that it seems, as if a single false step would precipitate both horse and rider. By alighting the danger is avoided; and the terrour of the descent compensated in the noblest scenery the eye ever beheld. It was dark before we reached the bottom; we had some difficulty to regain the principal road which leads through the defile, owing principally to the trees which project over all the lanes in the vicinity of Tartar villages, and so effectually obstruct the passage of persons on horseback, that we were in continual danger of being thrown; one of our party nearly lost an eye by a blow he received from a bough, which stretched quite across the path we pursued. The defile itself is not without danger in certain seasons of the year; immense masses of limestone detach themselves from the rocks above, carrying all

* Future travellers who may visit Mankoop are advised to choose this road for their ascent; as it will afford them the sublimest scenery perhaps ever beheld. The Tartars, for what reason cannot be explained, call it *The Carriage-way*, although we were unable to sit even upon our horses in going down.

before them in their passage. Some, from the northern precipices, had crossed the river at the bottom, and, by the prodigious velocity acquired in their descent, had actually rolled nearly half way up the opposite side. We passed some of those fragments in our way to Shulu, where we passed the night. This village belongs to professor Pallas, and consists of a forest of Walnut trees, beneath which every dwelling is concealed. One of those trees yielded him, as he informed us on the spot, in a single season, sixty thousand walnuts. The ordinary price of the fruit throughout the Crimea is from eighty to a hundred copeeks for a thousand.* The professor had built himself a very magnificent seat at Shulu, but owing to his disputes with the Tartars concerning the extent of his territory, the completion of the work had been delayed when we arrived. The building is placed on the northern side of the defile, commanding a fine prospect of the valley; but, from the chalky nature of the soil in the surrounding hills, every thing had a white glare, painful to the eye, and wholly destructive of picturesque appearance. Near this hill, on one side of the eminences opposite to the professor's house, is a series of excavations similar to those of Inkerman, exhibiting the ancient retreats of Christians in cells and grottoes. One of those cavernous chambers is not less than eighty paces in length, with a proportionable breadth, and its roof is supported by pillars hewn in the rock; the stone, from the softness of its nature, did not oppose the difficulty encountered in similar works which are seen in other parts of the Crimea.

From Shulu we proceeded once more to Balaclava. In our road we passed several pits, in which the Tartars dig that kind of fuller's earth called *Keff-kil*,† or *Mineral Froth*; and, by the Germans, *Meerschaum*. This earth, before the capture of the Crimea, was a considerable article of commerce with Constantinople, where it was used in publick baths to cleanse the hair of women. It is often sold to German merchants for the manufacture of those beautiful tobacco pipes, which bear the name of *Ecume de Mer* among the French, and sell at such enormous prices, even in our own country, after they have been coloured by long use. The long process necessary to the perfection of one of those

* The copeek is equal to our halfpenny.

† Literally *foam earth*, but often erroneously supposed to derive its name from the town of Caffa; whence this mineral was exported to Turkey.

pipes, with all its circumstances, is really a curious subject. Since the interruption of commerce between the Crimea and Turkey, the substance requisite in their manufacture, has been dug near the site of the ancient *Iconium*, in Anatolia. The first rude shape is given to the pipes on the spot where the mineral is dug, where they are pressed in a mould, and laid in the sun to harden; then they are baked in an oven, boiled in milk, and rubbed with soft leather. In this state they go to Constantinople, where there is a peculiar bazar, or khan, for the sale of them; they are then brought up by the merchants, and sent by the caravans to Pest, in Hungary. Still the form of the pipe is large and coarse. At Pest the manufacture begins which fits them for the German markets. They are there soaked for twenty four hours in water, and then turned on a lathe. In this process many of them prove porous, and are good for nothing. Sometimes only two or three out of ten succeed. From Pest they are conveyed to Vienna, and ultimately to the fairs of Leipsick, Franckfort, Manheim, and other towns upon the Rhine; where the best sell from three to five, and even seven pound sterling each. When the oil of tobacco, after long smoking, has given them a fine porcelain yellow; or, which is more prized, a dark tortoiseshell hue, they have been known to sell for forty or fifty pounds of our money. Their manner of digging *keff-kil* in the Crimea, is merely by making a hole in the ground, and there working till the sides begin to fall in, which soon happens when they open a new pit. A stratum of marl generally covers the keff-kil; through this they have to dig, some times, to the depth of from eight to twelve fathoms. The layer of keff-kil seldom exceeds twenty-eight inches in thickness, and, beneath it, the marl occurs as before. At present, the annual exportation of this mineral from the whole peninsula, does not exceed two tons; the consumption of it in the Crimea is inconsiderable, although it is sold in all the markets at the low price of twenty copeeks the pood.*

At the distance of about two miles from Balaclava, as we proceeded to that place, we discovered the traces of an ancient wall, extending from the mountains eastward of the harbour towards the west, and thus closing the approach to Balaclava on the land side. As it offered a clue to the discovery of the other wall mentioned by Strabo, which ex-

* The Russian poud, according to Hanway, equals 36lbs. of our weight; or forty Russian pouds.

tended across the Isthmus from the *Ctenus* to the *Portus Symbolorum*, we determined to pursue it, and continued on horseback guided by its remains; professor Pallas choosing to follow more carefully on foot, with a mariner's compass in his hand. Presently we encountered the indentical work we so much wished to find; it will serve to throw considerable light upon the topography of the minor peninsula. It meets the wall of the Portus Symbolorum at right angles, and thence extends towards Inkerman, where it joined the Ctenus. We traced it the whole way. The distance between the two ports is very erroneously stated, and exaggerated, in all our maps. It agrees precisely with Strabo's admeasurement of forty stadia, or five miles, from sea to sea. All that now remains of this wall, is a bank or mound; upon this the marks and vestiges of turrets are still visible. The stones of which it consisted, have, for the most part, been carried off by the inhabitants; either to form enclosures for the shepherds, or to construct the Tartar houses. Those which remain are sufficient to prove the artificial nature of the work; as they are not natural to the soil, but foreign substances evidently brought for the purpose of fortifying the rampart. Having determined the reality and position of this wall, we resolved to lose no time in further examination of the territory here, but ascended the steep mountains upon the coast towards the west; to visit the stupendous cape, called by the Tartars *Aya Bûrûn*, or the Sacred Promontory; lying between Balaclava and the monastery of St. George. The Parthenium of Strabo was within the Heracleotick Chersonesus, as the plain text of that author undoubtedly demonstrates; and, if there be a spot well calculated for the terrible rites said to have been celebrated in honour of the Taurican Diana, as well as for the consonance of its position with the distance Strabo has assigned it from the city of Chersonesus, it is the *Aya Bûrûn*. In the perplexity necessarily arising from an endeavour to reconcile ancient and modern geography it would be the height of presumption to speak positively with regard to any peculiar situation, concerning which we have no positive evidence; yet something beyond mere conjecture, seems founded on the coincidence of its present name, with the pristine history of the Parthenian Promontory; and Pallas seems willing to admit their identity.* The contemplation of objects described so many ages ago, and to which, in barbarous countries, we

* Pallas's Travels, vol. II. p. 63.

are guided solely by the text of the Greek or the Roman historians, is always attended with uncertainty; but when barbarians themselves, unconscious of the tenour of their traditions, by their simple and uncouth narrative, confirm the observations of the classick writer, and fix the wavering fact, there seems little reason to doubt. On this account, the *Aya Bûrûn* has, perhaps, as good a title to be considered the *Parthenium* of Strabo,* as the harbour of Balaclava his *Portus Symbolorum*. The same remarkable epithet occurs in the appellation *Ayudagh*, given to a promontory mentioned in the preceding chapter, probably from circumstances connected with the ancient worship to which Strabo alludes, because the word *Partenit* it still retained in the name of a contiguous village. The different promontories of the Tauride, which bore aciently the name of *Parthenium*, must necessarily perplex an inquiry tending to ascertain the exact position of any one of them. In the language of the Tauri, who were the earliest votaries of the Diana of the country, that goddess was called *Orsiloche*; and perhaps in the Caucasian mountains, whence this nation was derived, the signification of such an appellation might be obtained. It was in Caucasus that Pallas discovered the use of the word *Ardauda*; once, in the dialect of the Tauri, a name of Theodosia; signifying *The seven-fold Divinity*; or ἑπτάθεος; according to the author of the anonymous Periplus of the Euxine.†

The Aya Bûrûn has been by some authors erroneously denominated the *Criû-metopon*. It is a wild and fearful scene; such as Shakspear has described in Lear a perpendicular and tremendous precipice, one of the loftiest in the Crimea; consisting of a mountain of marble, terminating abruptly in the sea. Towards the west it borders on a valley, in which the village of Karany is situated, now inhabited by Greeks. After we had passed it, and were within two versts of the monastery of St. George, we fan-

* The decision of this point will be left for future travellers, who may take the pains of measuring its exact distance from the ruins of the city of the Chersonesians. It has been here stated, merely from conjecture, to agree with Strabo's account, who makes it equal to a hundred stadia, or twelve miles and a half. If the distance to the *Aya Bûrûn* should prove more than this, they will do well to direct their attention in the next instance, to that part of the coast mentioned in p. 329, as having the natural arch.

† Ed. Gronov. Lug. Bat. 1697. p. 143.

cied we had found the actual fane of the demon virgin, which Strabo describes as situated at the Parthenian promontory; for we came to the remains of an ancient structure, bearing every character of remote antiquity; the stones, of a most massive nature, being lain together without cement. Part of the pavement and walls was still visible.

Soon afterwards, we arrived for the second time at the monastery of St. George; of this place our friend Pallas afterwards published an engraving in the second volume of his travels through the southern provinces of the Russian empire. The anniversary, mentioned by Broniovius, is still celebrated here.* Some peasants brought us a few copper coins of Vladimir the Great. These are very interesting, inasmuch as they evidently refer to the era of his baptism; an event which took place near the spot. They have in front a Russian V, and for reverse a cross; symbolical of his conversion to the Christian religion. It has been already mentioned, that he was baptised in the Crimea, and the ceremony took place, according to Heberstein, † at the city of Chersonesus, called *Cherson* or *Corson*;‡ a name easily now confounded with Cherson on the Dnieper; an appellation bestowed by the Russians, with their usual ignorance of ancient geography, upon a modern town near the mouth of that river. About five versts from the monastery, following the coast, we came to some extensive ruins in a small wood, on the right hand side of our road. In their present state it is impossible even to trace a plan of them; for the Tartar shepherds, in moving the stones to carry off materials of enclosure for their flocks, have confused all that remains. From hence we continued our journey towards the extreme southwestern point of the Crimea, and came to a place called *Alexiano's Chouter*, just as it grew dark. The barking of dogs announced the comfortable assurance of human dwellings, and excited a hope

* "Est in eo loco unde rivulus ille delabitur Pagus quidam non ignobilis, et non procul in ripa maris, in monte saxoso, *Græcum minasterium, Sancti Georgii solemne*; anniversaria devotio Græcis Christianis, qui nunc in Taurica sunt reliqui, in magna frequentia ibi fieri solet." *Martini Broniovii Tartaria. Lug. Bat.* 1630.

† Apud Pagi, tom. IV. p. 56.

‡ See the additional notes at the end of the volume for a very interesting account of this once magnificent city by *Broniovius*; an account very little known, but preserving, perhaps, the only description of it which exists. *Broniovius*; states, that Vladimir was baptised by the Greek Patriarch, in the principal monastery of the city of Chersonesus.

of some asylum for the night, after severe fatigue. We found, however, that what we supposed to be a village, consisted of four or five wretched fishing-huts. A few Greeks quartered there offered to stow us all into a hole recently dug in the earth, scarcely capable of containing three persons, the stench of which was abominable; it was moreover filled with sheep's hides, swarming with vermin. Having procured a little oil in a tin pan, we made it serve us for a lamp, and, searching about, at last found a small thatched hovel, with an earth floor, and a place to light a fire. Here, notwithstanding the extreme heat, we kindled some dried weeds in order to counteract the effects of miasmata from the marshes and stagnant waters of the neighbourhood. By the light of our fire, a bed was prepared for professor Pallas, upon a sort of shelf; this, as it supported only half his mattress, caused him to glide off as often as he fell asleep, and at last reconciled him to a quiet, though more disgusting couch upon the damp floor. For our own parts, having procured some long wooden benches about eight inches wide, we contrived to balance our bodies, between sleeping and waking, in a horizontal posture, until the morning. When daylight appeared, the professor left us, to examine *the point of Phanari*, or the *Light Tower;* and, returning before we were yet roused from our somnolency, assured us the whole of that neck of land was covered with ancient ruins. We rose with great eagerness to follow him: and, as we approached the water's edge, were immediately struck by the appearance of a very small peninsula advancing into the bay of Phanari, entirely covered by the remains of an ancient fortress. The plan of it is given by the professor in the work to which I have before alluded. It seemed to have been once an island, connected with the main land by an artificial mole, now constituting a small isthmus. From this peninsula the shore rises, and all the land towards its utmost western extremity is elevated. Ascending the sloping eminence thus presented upon the top of it occur the walls, streets, dilapidated buildings, and other ruins of the old Chersonesus.* The appearance of oblong pavements, mouldering walls, scattered fragments of earthen vessels, broken amphoræ, tiles and bricks of aqueducts, and other indications of an ancient city, prevailed over the whole territory quite to the sea.

* Ἐνθ' ἡ παλαιὰ Χερρόνησος κατεσκαμμένη. "Sequitur vetusta Cherronesus diruta." *Strab. lib.* vii. *p.* 446. *ed. Oxon.*

After tracing the extent of those ruins the whole way to the point of Phanari, we discovered on the western side of the bay of that name, upon the sea shore, close to the water's edge, and upon a very low point of land almost level with it, the remains of a building, which we supposed to have served formerly as a *light-house*; and to have given the name of *Phanari*, to the western point, as well as to the bay. An arched entrance, with two of the walls, and a square opening for a window, of very massive and solid construction, is still visible.

Fatigued by a laborious investigation of ruins, which, after all, did not gratify us by the disclosure of a single inscription, medal, or bas-relief, we hastened to enjoy the beauties of nature in the delightful valley of Tchorgona; whither the professor conducted us to pass the night in the mansion of his friend Hablitz, whose name he has commemorated by the *Salvia Hablitziana*, and whose good offices he so often and so pathetically mentions in his writings.* Perhaps there is not a spot in the whole Crimea so distinguished by its natural perfections. Though comprised in a smaller scale, it far surpasses in beauty the boasted valley of Baidar. The seat of Mr. Hablitz was originally the residence of a Turkish pacha, and preserves the irregular structure and strange magnificence of Turkish architecture. It is shaded by vines, tall fruit trees, and poplars; standing among rocks and mountains covered with woods and gardens, watered by numerous fountains. Near the house is a large, ancient tower, covered by a dome. This was a place of refuge for the inhabitants when the Black Sea swarmed with corsairs, who invaded the coast and ransacked the peaceful valleys of the Crimea. We found in its upper chambers a few swivels and other small pieces of artillery; yet the building itself appeared to have been erected in an age anterior to the use of gunpowder in the peninsula. The Tartars in the valley of Tchorgona are reckoned among the richest of the country. From their vicinity to Aktiar, they find a ready market for the produce of their lands; carrying thither honey, wax, fruit, and corn. Their sequestered valley seemed the retreat of health and joy; not a Russian was to be seen; the pipe and tabor sounded merrily among the mountains; and these, thick set with groves, closed them in on every side. The morning after our arri-

* See particularly, Travels through the Southern Provinces, &c. vol. II. p. 99.

val, we were roused by a wild concert, from the hills, of such instruments as perhaps animated the dances of uncivilized nations in the earliest periods of society.

The performers were a party of *Tzigankies*, or gipsies, who, as mendicant artificers, musicians, and astrologers, are very common over all the south of Russia. They had a wind instrument, something like a hautboy, made of the wood of cherrytree; and carried the large, Tartar drum, noticed before as characteristick of the *Cimbri* in the time of Strabo.*

Early in the morning of this day, professor Pallas rode with Mr. Galena, who came by appointment to Inkerman;† to show him some marine plants proper in the preparation of kelp. The bad air of that place, before injurious to me, added to the fatigue he had encountered the preceding day, threw him into a violent fever; from this, however, we had the happiness to see him recover before we left the Crimea. Fevers are so general, during summer, throughout the peninsula, that it is hardly possible to avoid them. If you drink water after eating fruit, a fever follows; if you eat milk, eggs, or butter—a fever; if, during the scorching heat of the day, you indulge in the most trivial neglect of clothing—a fever; if you venture out to enjoy the delightful breezes of the evening—a fever; in short, such is the dangerous nature of the climate to strangers, that Russia must consider the country a cemetery for the troops sent to maintain its possession. This is not the case with regard to its native inhabitants, the Tartars; the precautions they use, added to long experience, ensure their safety. Upon

* See page 291 of this volume.

† In the dearth of intelligence which prevails among historians concerning Inkerman, the brief account preserved by *Broniovius*, is interesting and valuable. As an author, he was not only cited but transcribed by *Thuanus*; yet, otherwise, his writings appear to have escaped observation. "*Ingermenium milliaribus* XII. *vel amplius à Coslovia distat. Arcem lapideam, templum, et specus sub arce, et ex adverso arcis miro opere ex petra exisos, habet; nam in monte maximo et altissimo sita est, ac inde à specubus à Turcis cognomon retinet. Oppidum quondam non ignobile, opibus refertum, celeberrimum, et natura loci maxime admirandum, capiosissimumque extitit . . . . . Ingermen arcem sat is et magnificam à Principibus Græcis extructam fuisse apparet: nam portæ et ædificia adhuc nonulla integra Græcis characteribus exornata, et cum insignibus eorum insculpta conspiciuntur. Ac per universum illum isthmum quondam ibi usque ad urbis mœnia ædificia sumptuosa extitisse, puteos excavatos infusitos, qui ad huc fereplurimi sunt integri; ad extremum vero duas vias Regias grandes lapidibus stratas esse, certo apparet.*" Martini Broniovii Tartaria. Lug. Bat. 1630.

the slightest change of weather, they are seen wrapped up in sheep's hides, and covered by felts, nearly an inch in thickness, while their heads are swathed in numerous bandages of linen, or guarded by warm stuffed caps, fenced with wool.

The Tartar nobles of the Crimea, or *Moorza*, as they are called, by a name which answers to the Persian word *Mirza*, so common in oriental tales, amount in number to about two hundred and fifty. Their dress is altogether Circassian; except that the cap is larger than the sort of covering worn on the head by the princes of mount Caucasus. Their figure on horseback is in the highest degree stately; and among all the Crimean Tartars, of whatsoever rank, an elegance of manners may be remarked. This, although, perhaps, common to oriental nations, affords a striking opposition to the boorish figure of a Russian. It is diverting to see them converse together: the Tartar has, in common with the Russian, an impetuosity and eagerness in uttering his expressions; but it is zeal very differently characterized. The Tartar may be said to exhibit all the playful flexibility and varying posture of the leopard; while the Russian, rather resembling the bear, is making an awkward parade of his paws. The dress of a Tartar nobleman displays as much taste as can be shown by a habit necessarily decorated with gold and silver lace. It is neither heavily laden with ornament, nor are the colours tawdry. They delight sometimes in strong contrast, by opposing silver lace to black velvet for their caps; scarlet or rose-coloured silk to dark cloth for their vest or pelisse; but in general, the dress of a Tartar of distinction is remarkable for its simple elegance, as well as cleanliness. Their favourite colour in cloth is drab; and the gray or white wool for their winter-caps, is of all other ornaments most in esteem. The Russian peasant, being of a diminutive race, connected only with the Laplander, as the next link in the chain between him and the pigmy, is naturally of a lively disposition, and never completely awkward except when metamorphosed to a soldier. The moment he enters the ranks, all the brisk and cheerful expression of his countenance is gone; and he appears a chop-fallen, stupid, brow-beaten, sullen clown. Their commanders answer precisely the same description, with this difference, that they are more profligate. A Russian in power, whatever be his rank, or wherever he may

be placed, is still the same moral example of national character.*

Upon the rocks behind the house of Mr. Hablitz, we found the identical plant which Pallas distinguished by the name of his friend, *Salvia Hablitziana*, growing in great abundance. Hitherto no account of it has been published. The plant is uncommonly rare. It is a perennial, which may be sown in common garden soil in the open air, and increases annually in size, until it becomes a fine, tall shrub of very great beauty. We afterwards brought it to the Botanick Garden in Cambridge, where it also succeeded, although it has never attained the size to which it grows in Russia.

From Tchorgona we returned again to Shula, and from thence to Kara Ilaes, where we passed the night in the palace of a Tartar nobleman; and, being couched upon a sort of sofa called the Divan, surrounding the principal apartment, were covered by bugs and fleas of the most enormous size, which came upon us like ants from an anthill. The next day we drove pleasantly to Akmetchet, and once more shared the comforts of the professor's hospitable mansion; regretting only the fever with which he was afflicted in consequence of an excursion, otherwise considered by us the most agreeable journey we had ever made.

* Butler, with singular felicity of delineation, has afforded, in his Hudibras, so faithful a portrait of a Russian general, that no person acquainted with the country will read it without acknowledging the representation to be as accurate as if Potemkin himself had sat for the picture.

"He was by birth, some authors write,
A Russian, some a Muscovite,
And 'mong the Cossacks had been bred,
Of whom we in diurnals read,
That serve to fill up pages here,
As *with their bodies ditches there*.*
Scrimansky was his cousin-german,
With whom he served, and fed on vermin;
And when these failed, he'd suck his claws,
And quarter himself upon his paws.
And though his countrymen, the Huns,
Did stew their meat between their bums
And the horses' backs, o'er which they straddle,
And every man eat up his saddle:
He was not half so nice as they,
But eat it raw when it came in the way."

Hudib. Part. 1. Cant. 2.

* *Potemkin died in a ditch near Yasa.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

FROM THE CRIMEA, BY THE ISTHMUS OF PERECOP, TO NICHOLAEF.

Journey to Koslof—Result of the Expedition—Return to Akmetchet—Marshal Biberstein—Departure from Akmetchet—Perecop—Salt Harvest—Nagay Tartars—Rana variabilis—General Survey of the Crimea—Country North of the Isthmus—Facility of travelling in Russia—Banditti of the Ukraine—Anecdote of a desperate Robber—Intrepid Conduct of a Courier—Caravans—Biroslaf—Preparation for receiving the Grand Duke—Cherson—Burial of Potemkin—Recent Disposal of his Body—Particulars of the Death of Howard—Order of his Funeral—Tomb of Howard—Nicholaef.

WE left Akmetchet for Koslof on the twenty eighth of September, in the hope of obtaining a passage to Constantinople, on board a Turkish brigantine, captain Osman Rees. By whatever port of the Russian empire our escape might be effected, we knew it would be attended with considerable hazard. We had no passport from government to that effect, and we had every reason to be convinced that none would be granted. However, after waiting many months in vain expectation of a release from the oppressive tyranny then exercised over Englishmen by every Russian they encountered, female interest in Petersburgh accomplished our delivery. A forged order from the sovereign was executed and sent to us, by means of which, in spite of the vigilance of the police, we contrived to leave the country. It is necessary to state this circumstance, lest any of those, by whom we had been so hospitably entertained, should hereafter be considered accessary to our flight. Koslof was fixed upon, as the place least liable to those researches from spies and custom-house officers, which might impede our departure; and, having crossed the *steppes* which led to it, we arrived there in the middle of the night. Such a tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, wind, hail, and rain, came on before we reached the place, that the

horses refused to proceed, and we were compelled to halt, opposing our backs to its fury, until the violence of the tempest subsided.*

As soon as morning dawned, we had our baggage sealed at the custom-house, and agreed for our passage, at the enormous rate of two hundred and fifty roubles; this was deemed by us a moderate sum, as the original demand had been six hundred. The common rate of a passenger, from Koslof to Constantinople, is not more than ten; but it was evident the Turks, suspecting the nature of our situation, wished to make a booty of us. When all was settled, the inspector of the customs, to our great dismay, accompanied by several officers, came to assure us that the town would not be responsible for our safety if we ventured to embark in the brigantine; this they described as so deeply laden, that she was already nine inches below her proper poise in the water. The captain had, moreover, two shallops of merchandise to take on board, and sixty four passengers. Some Armenians had already removed their property from the vessel; and we were assured she was so old and rotten, that her seams would open if exposed to any tempestuous weather. The captain, a bearded Turk, like the mariners of his country, was a sincere predestinarian; which circumstance, added to his avarice, rendered him perfectly indifferent as to the event. As commander of the only ship in the harbour, bound for Constantinople, he had been induced to stow the cargoes of two ships into his single vessel. This often happens with Turkish merchantmen in the Black Sea, and is one of the causes of the numerous disasters which befal them. To prove the extent of the risk they will adventure, we heard, upon our return to Akmetchet, that captain Rees had filled the cabin we were to have occupied, with four hundred *cantars* of honey, and a friend of ours was offered a thousand roubles to obtain the governour's acquiescence in an additional counterband cargo of two thousand bulls'

* The consequence of sleeping in this situation, exposed to the miasmata of salt marshes, which cause a somnoleney it is impossible to resist, brought on again, with renovated force, the quartan fever, I had so long combated. Mr. Cripps was also attacked, but with a different effect; a sore throat, attended by cutaneous eruptions covering his whole body, and from which he was soon relieved, was all the consequence to him of the vapours to which he had been exposed. These observations cannot be reconciled to the account Pallas afterwards published of the exhalations from the stagnant lakes near Koslof; as he says [vol. II. p. 489.] they contribute greatly to the salubrity of the town, and that intermitting fevers are less frequent there, than at other places.

hides, the exportation of which, at that time, was strictly prohibited.

Koslof* takes its name from a Tartar compound *Güs, ove*, the origin of which cannot be distinctly ascertained. *Güs* signifies an eye, and *ove* a hut. The Russians, with their usual ignorance of ancient geography, bestowed upon it the name of *Eupatorium*. It has been already shown that Eupatorium stood in the minor peninsula of the Heracleotæ, near the city of Chersonesus. As to the present state of the place itself, it is one of those wretched remnants of the once flourishing, commercial towns of the Crimea, which exemplify the effects of Russian dominion. Its trade is annihilated, its houses in ruins; its streets desolate; the splendid mosques, by which it was adorned, are unroofed, and their minarets thrown down; its original inhabitants are either banished or murdered; all that we found remaining were a few sneaking officers of the police and customs, with here and there a solitary Turk or Tartar, smoking among the ruins, and sighing over the devastation he beheld. Its commerce was once of very considerable importance. Its port contained fifty vessels at a time; which number was great, considering that the other ports of the Crimea had each their portion. We found that number reduced to one accidental, rotten brigantine, the precarious speculation of a few poor Turkish mariners, who, although common sailors on board, shared equally with the captain the profit of the voyage. In better times, Koslof, from her crowded shores, exported wool, butter, hides, fur, and corn. The corn has now risen to such a price that it is no longer an export; the wool, fur, and hides, are prohibited. In short, as a commercial town it exists no longer. The only ship, which had left the port previous to our arrival, sailed with a determination to return no more; not only on account of the length of time which

* "At Koslof, or Eupatoria, I remember nothing interesting; but, in the desert near it, we saw some parties of the Nagay Tartars, and had an opportunity of examining their Kibitkas, which are shaped something like a brakin, consisting of a frame of wood, covered with felt, and placed upon wheels. They are smaller and more clumsy than the tents of the Kalmucks, and do not, like them, take to pieces. In the Crimea, they are more used for the occasional habitation of the shepherd than for regular dwellings. We saw a great many buffaloes and camels; several of the latter we met drawing in the two-wheeled carts, described before, a service for which I should have thought them not so well adapted as for bearing burdens; and, although '*a charriot of camels*' is mentioned by Isaiah, I do not remember having heard of such a practice elsewhere. The plain of Koslof is hardly elevated above the sea, and fresh water is very scarce and bad." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

had been required in procuring a cargo, but from the bribery and corruption it was necessary to support and countenance in order to get away.*

In returning to Akmetchet, we stopped to water our horses in the *steppes*, where the dwellings were entirely subterranean. Not a house was to be seen; but there were some holes, as entrances, in the ground, through one of which we descended to a cave, rendered almost suffocating by the heat of a stove for dressing the victuals of its poor owners. The walls, floor, and roof, were all of the natural soil. If such retreats were the original abodes of mankind, they borrowed the art of constructing habitations from badgers, foxes, and rabbits. At present, such dwellings are principally, if not solely, tenanted by shepherds of the Crimea; who dig them to serve as places of residence during winter.

Having failed in the object of our journey to Koslof, we prepared to leave the peninsula by another route, and attempt a journey by land to Constantinople. For this purpose we despatched letters to our ambassadour at the porte, requesting an escort of Janissaries to meet us at Yassa. The evening, before we took our final leave of Akmetchet, was enlivened by the company and conversation of marshal Biberstein, a literary friend of the professor's, who had been recently travelling along the Volga, the shores of the Caspian, and in Caucasus. He was two years an exile in the isle of Taman, where he had amused himself with the study of botany, and the antiquities of the country. He brought several new plants to the professor; and confirmed the observations we had before made upon the Cimmerian Bosporus. I had, moreover, the satisfaction to find, that the map I had prepared to illustrate the ancient geography of the Crimea, agreed with his own observations upon that subject. In answer to our inquiries concerning the relative height of the Caucasian chain of mountains, he said, that the Alps are no where so elevated; and mentioned *Mount*

* Pallas's account of Koslof is only applicable to its former state. "In the year 1793, for instance, one hundred and seventy six vessels were freighted with corn, salt, and leather; and the short route, by which goods are conveyed hither by the Nagays, and the Tartars inhabiting the banks of the Dneiper, affords the greatest facility to the corn trade." *Travels, vol.* II. *p.* 491. This town is thus mentioned by Broniovius: "*Coslovia oppidum ad dextram Perecopiæ ad mare situm milliaribus septem distat. Emporio non ignobili, præfectum arcis et oppidi Chanus proprium et perpetuum ibi habet.*" Descriptio Tartariæ, p. 256 Lug. Bat. 1630.

Chat,* as higher than *Mont Blanc*. Being questioned about the tribe of the *Turcomanni*, now called by the Tartars *Turkmen*, and *Truckmenzi*; he described them as a race of very rich nomades, still numerous in the *steppes* near Astrachan; remarkable for the beauty of their persons, as well as for their patient endurance of the unjust taxes, and heavy exactions by which the neighbouring governours oppress them.

The equinox brought with it a series of tempestuous weather, which continued until the tenth of October. On that day, the violence of the wind having subsided, and a second summer ensuing, we took final leave of our friends; quitting for ever their hospitable society. Professor Pallas set out for his vineyards at Sudak,† and we took our route across the *steppes* towards Perecop. The late storms had destroyed even the small produce of the vines upon the coast, which the locusts had spared. Some fruit trees put forth a premature blossom; and we found the plains covered with the gaudy and beautiful flowers of the autumnal crocus. Their bulbs were very deep in the soil, which consists of a rich, black, vegetable earth. The Taurican chain of mountains, with the summit of Tchetirdagh towering above the rest, appeared very conspicuous towards the south. Towards the north the whole country exhibited a boundless flat plain, across which caravans passing, laden with watermelons, cucumbers, cabbages, and other vegetables, were, with the exceptions of ancient *tumuli*, almost the only objects we encountered. Some of the vehicles were drawn by camels, and principally destined for Koslof. We travelled all night, and in the morning, at sunrise, were roused by our interpreter, a Greek, who begged we would observe an animal half flying and half running among the herbs. It was a jerboa, the quadruped already noticed in a former chapter.‡ We caught it with some difficulty, and should not have suc-

* Now called *Elborus* by the Circassians, according to its ancient name. It has two points at its summit, and is visible from the fortress of Stavropole, on the Caucasian line, a distance of three hundred verats. Its base descends into a swampy, impassable plain; and this plain equals, in elevation, the tops of the neighbouring mountains.

† Anciently Σιδάιος, *Sogdai*, *Sudagra*, and *Sugdaia*. This city rose to such celebrity by its commerce, that all the Greek possessions in the Crimea were called *Sugdania* [*Storch. tom.* I. *p.* 172.] It had a triple fortress, and is noticed by Broniovius and Thuanus. *See the additional notes at the end of the volume.*

‡ See p. 305, of this volume.

ceeded, but for the cracking of a large whip, the noise of which terrified it so much that it lost all recollection of its burrow. Its leaps were extraordinary for so small an animal; sometimes to the distance of six or eight yards, but in no determinate direction; it bounded backwards and forwards, without ever quitting the vicinity of the place where it was found. The most singular circumstance in its nature is the power it possesses of altering its course when in the air. It first leaps perpendicularly from the ground to the height of four feet or more; and then, by a motion of its tail, with a clicking noise, strikes off in whatever direction it chooses.

By the appearance which Perecop* makes in all the maps it might be expected that a tolerable fortress would be found there to guard the passage of the isthmus. Yet nothing more

* "At Perekop are only one or two houses, inhabited by the post-master and custom-house officers, and a little barrack. The famous wall is of earth, very lofty, with an immense ditch. It stretches in a straight line from sea to sea, without any remains of bastions or flanking-towers that I could discover. The *Golden Gate* is narrow, and too low for an English wagon. *Golden*, among the Tartars, seems synonymous with *royal*; and thus we hear of the *Golden* horde, the *Golden* tent, &c. Colonel Symes mentions the same manner of expression in Ava; so that I suppose it is common all over the east. There is only one well at Perekop, the water of which is brakish and muddy. A string of near two hundred kibitkas were passing, laden with salt, and drawn by oxen; they were driven by Malo-Russians, who had brought corn into the Crimea, and were returning with their present cargo. White or clarified salt is unknown in all the south of Russia; it appears, even on the best tables, with the greater part of its impurities adhering, and consequently quite brown. Kibitkas laden with this commodity form a kind of caravan. They seldom go out of their way for a town or village, but perform long journeys, the drivers only sheltered at night on the lee-side of their carriages, and stretched on the grass. During the independence of the Crimea, an old officer told me these people were always armed, and travelled without fear of the Tartars, drawing up their wagons every night in a circle, and keeping regular sentries. We here, with great regret, quitted the Crimea and its pleasing inhabitants; it was really like being turned out of Paradise, when we abandoned those beautiful mountains, and again found ourselves in the vast green desert, which had before tired us so thoroughly, where we changed olives and cypresses, clear water, and fresh milk, for reeds, long grass, and the drainings of marshes, only made not poisonous by being mixed with brandy; and, when instead of a clean carpet at night, and a supper of eggs, butter, honey, and sweetmeats, we returned to the seat of our carriage, and the remainder of our old cheese.

"Pallas has properly distinguished the two distinct races of Tartars, the Nogays and the mountaineers. These last, however, appeared to me to resemble in their persons the Turks and the Tartars of Kostroma and Yaroslaf. They are a fair and handsome people, like the Tartars in the north of Russia, given to agriculture and commerce, and here as well as there decidedly different from the Nogays, or other Mongul tribes. The Nogays, however, in the Crimea, appear to have greatly improved their

wretched can be imagined than the hamlet which supplies a few worn-out invalids with quarters. A very inconsiderable rampart extends from sea to sea, the distance across the isthmus in the narrowest part scarcely exceeding five miles, the water being visible from the middle of the passage on either side. On the north side of this rampart is a fosse twelve fathoms wide, and twenty five feet deep; but it is dry,

breed by intermarriages with the original inhabitants; being much handsomer and taller than those to the north of The Golden Gate. The mountaineers have large, bushy beards when old; the Tartars of the plain seldom possess more than a few thin hairs. The mountaineers are clumsy horsemen, in which they resemble the northern Tartars. Their neighbours ride very boldly and well. I had an opportunity of seeing two Nogay shepherd-boys, who were galloping their horses near Koslof, and who showed an agility and dexterity which were really surprising. While the horse was in full speed they sprung from their seats, stood upright on the saddle, leapt on the ground, and again into the saddle, and threw their whips to some distance, and caught them up from the ground. What was more remarkable, we ascertained that they were merely shepherds, and that these accomplishments were not extraordinary. Both mountaineers and shepherds, are amiable, gentle, and hospitable, *except where they have been soured by their Russian masters.* We never approached a village at night-fall, where we were not requested to lodge; or in the daytime, without being invited to eat and drink: and while they were thus attentive, they uniformly seemed careless about payment even for the horses they furnished; never counting the money, and often offering to go away without it. They are steady in refusing Russian money, and it is necessary to procure a sufficient stock of usluks, paras, and sequins. This is not their only way of showing their dislike to their new masters. At one village we were surprised at our scanty fare, and the reluctance with which every thing was furnished, till we learnt *they had mistaken us for Russian officers.* On finding that we were foreigners, the eggs, melted butter, nardek, and bekmess, came in profusion. General Bardakof told us they were fond of talking politicks; when we addressed them on this subject they were reserved, and affected an ignorance greater than I thought likely or natural. Pallas complained of them as disaffected, and spoke much of their idleness. Yet their vineyards are very neatly kept, and carefully watered; and, what is hardly a sign of indolence, their houses, clothes and persons, are uniformly clean. But his account seemed to me by no means sufficiently favourable. They are, I apprehend, a healthy race; but we met one instance where a slight wound had, by neglect, become very painful and dangerous. On asking what remedies they had for diseases, they returned a remarkable answer: "*We lay down the sick man on a bed, and, if it please God, he recovers. Allah Kerim!*" Their women are concealed: even more (the D. of Richelieu said) than the wives of Turkish peasants; and are greatly agitated and distressed if seen, for a moment, without a veil. Like the men, they have very fair and clear complexions, with dark eyes and hair, and aquiline noses. Among the men were some figures which might have served for models of a Hercules; and the mountaineers have a very strong and nimble step in walking. An Imaum, who wears a green turban, and who is also generally the schoolmaster is in every village. Not many, however, of the peasants could read or write; and they seemed to pay but little attention to the regular hours of prayer." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

and destitute of any means by which it may be inundated. The rest of the fortification, which was originally a Turkish work, is in a state of neglect and ruin. The air of the place is very bad; in consequence of which the inhabitants of the neighbouring hamlets, who are chiefly disbanded soldiers, suffer materially from intermitting fevers.* Strabo, with that extraordinary accuracy which characterizes every page of his writings that relate to the Crimea, states the breadth of the isthmus as equal to forty stadia;† and it is, as has been stated, rather more than five miles, which would exactly accord with his description. That the waters of the Black Sea and the sea of Azof do annually sustain a certain diminution, may be proved by the phenomena observable on all the northwestern shores: it is, therefore, natural to conclude the isthmus has increased proportionally since the time in which Strabo wrote. By reference to documents of yet higher antiquity, it might be made to appear that the peninsula itself was once an island; and it is to such historical passages, in the writings of the ancients, that Pliny refers in his account of the Chersonesus, by the following passage;‡ "*From Carcinites begins Taurica, once surrounded by the sea, which covered all the champaign part of it.*" The constant draining of the great eastern flood at length left visible the vast calcareous deposit, accumulated during so many ages, and which now constitutes those extensive plains in the south of Russia, joined by the isthmus of Perecop to the *steppes* of the Crimea. If we suppose the waters of the Black Sea to be restored only to the level of those layers of marine shells, which may be traced all the way from the mouths of the Dnieper to those of the Don, still retaining their perfect forms, and modified only by a mineral process, the Crimea will appear again an island, visible only amidst an expanse of ocean, by those loftier masses of calcareous rocks upon its southern coast.

* I confess myself much at a loss to explain the remarks made by Pallas [vol. II. p. 469] concerning the air of this place, and of Koslof. He says the saline effluvia from the *Sivash* correct the otherwise unwholesome nature of the atmosphere; yet the bad health of the inhabitants is directly in contradiction of that statement. And again, in p. 9, of the same volume: "During the prevalence of east winds, a disagreeable smell from the *Sivash*, or *Putrid Sea*, is strongly perceived at Perecop. It is, nevertheless, believed that these vapours preserve the inhabitants from those intermittent fevers, which were formerly very frequent in the Crimea."

† Strab. Geog. lib. vii. p. 445. ed Oxon.

‡ Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. c. 12.

Throughout the whole summer, Perecop* is a scene of great bustle and commerce. The shores of the isthmus, and all the neighbouring *steppes*, are covered with caravans coming for salt, consisting of wagons drawn sometimes by camels, but generally by white oxen, from two to six in each vehicle. Their freight is so easily obtained, that they have only to drive the wagons axle-deep, into the shallow water on the eastern side of the isthmus, and load as fast as they please, the salt lying like sand. The sight of so many hundred wagons, by fifties at a time in the water, is very striking; they appear like fleets of small boats floating upon the surface of the waves. The driver of each wagon pays a tax of ten roubles to the crown. There are various reservoirs of salt in the Crimea: but those of Perecop, used from time immemmorial, are the most abundant, and they are considered as inexhaustible. Tauriea was the emporium of this commodity in the earliest periods of history; and it was then sent as it is now, by the Black Sea to Constantinople, and to the Archipelago, by land to Poland and over all Russia, to Moscow, to Petersburgh, and even to Riga. The oxen, after their long journey, are sometimes sold with the cargoes they have brought, and sometimes they return again, the whole of that immense distance, with other merchandise. The caravans halt every evening at sunset, when their drivers turn the oxen loose to graze, and lie down themselves, in the open air, to pass the night upon the *steppe*. We noticed one, among many groups of this kind, which was remarkably interesting, because it possessed the novelty of a female,† whose features we were allowed to contemplate. She was preparing with her child to pass the night upon the grass of the *steppe*, preferring the canopy of heaven to that of the *Madjar*.‡ Her companions were of a wild, but equivocal race, in

* "*Perecop* is a Russian word signifying An Intrenchment of the isthmus: the Tartar name of this place is *Or-Kapy*, denoting The Gate of the Fortification." *Pallas's Travels, vol.* II. *p.* 5. Upon this subject Broniovius is also very explicit. "*Nomen Præcopenses à fossa habent; nam* PREZECOP *ipsorum linguâ fossam significat.*" *Descript. Tartar. p.* 224. *ed. Lug. Bat.* 1630. See also his further observations in the additional notes at the end of the volume.

† "*Tartari suas mulieres in abditis semper tenent locis.*" Michal. Lituan. Fragment. de Morib. Tartarorum. Lug. Bat. 1630.

‡ The Tartar wagon, called *Madjar*, or *Maggiar*, is always of the same form and materials; a long, narrow vehicle, supported by four wooden wheels, without any iron attire.

which the Tartar features appeared to predominate, and were clothed in goat skins. Nothing can be more striking than the spectacle afforded by those immense caravans slowly advancing, each in one direct line by hundreds at a time, and presenting a picture of the internal commerce carried on by Russia throughout all parts of her vast empire.

Another singular appearance at Perecop is afforded by the concourse of Nagay Tartars frequenting the market for the sale of water-melons; a kind of fruit seen there of extraordinary size and perfection. They are a very different people from the Tartars of the Crimea, and may be instantly distinguished by their diminutive form, and the dark, copper colour of their complexion, which is sometimes almost black. They have a very remarkable resemblance to the Laplanders, although their dress and manner has a more savage character. It is probable the Nagay Tartar and the Laplander were originally of the same colony, difficult as it now is to deduce the circumstances of their origin.* The Crimean Tartar is a person of much more stately demeanour, farther advanced in civilization, of a better figure, and often very engaging manners. A number of them annually leave the Crimea on a pilgrimage to Meca and Medina; so that continual intercourse with other nations has contributed to their superior station in the general scale of society. A Crimean Tartar must either make this journey himself, once in his life, or send his representative, and defray his expenses. Those pilgrims go first to Constantinople, where the main body divides; a part choosing the shortest route to Alexandria, where they join the Egyptian caravan, and the rest proceeding by the way of Syria to Damascus, &c. The first route is liable to the greater inconvenience, as they sometimes suffer, two or three days on their march, from the want of water. The Syrian route is therefore, generally preferred; in their way they visit Jerusalem, the river Jordan, the Dead Sea,

* The subject of their relationship might, however, have received considerable illustration, had the learned writings of Porthan, professor of history at the university of Abo, in Finland, found their way to the rest of Europe. Excluded by his situation from all intercourse with more enlightened seminaries, his labours and his name have hardly reached the ears of any literary society; yet, should his lucubrations survive the present desolating scourge, with which those remote provinces of Sweden are afflicted by the Russians, a brighter light may beam upon the pages of history, and the annals of mankind derive additional lustre from a native of Finland, skilled in the language, the traditions, and the mythology of his countrymen.

and other parts of the Holy Land; the Mohammedans entertaining great veneration for the memory of Christ, whom they regard as a prophet, although not the Son of God. Persons who have completed this pilgrimage are dignified, on their return, with the title of Hadjy.

In the isthmus we observed again the disgusting presence of the sort of toad, *Rana variabillis*, which has been before noticed, and which swarms in all the territory bordering on the *Sivash or Putrid Sea*, to the east of the peninsula. They crawl even to the tops of the hills, near the Straits of Taman and generally indicate unwholesome air; for, wherever the air is better than usual in the Crimea, this animal is proportionally rare. It burries itself in the earth, forming little holes, like the jerbo or rabbit.

In the departure from Perecop, as well as in the approach to it, the sea is visible on both sides of the isthmus. A canal might easily be formed so as to insulate the Crimea, and render it very difficult of approach on the Russian side. We took a direction towards the Dnieper, and, as before, over plains exhibiting no particular trace in the soil which might be called a road. Our different journeys in Taurica had made the whole peninsula familiar to our recollection; and we were amused by reflecting on the probable surprise a traveller would experience, who, after reading the inflated descriptions which have been published of its scenery, should pass the Isthmus of Perecop, and journey, during a day and a half, without seeing any other symptoms of a habitable country, or any object throughout a flat and boundless desert, except the miserable peasants placed at the different relays to supply horses for the post. So narrow is the tract of cultivated land upon the southern coast, that it may be compared to an edging of lace upon the lower rim of a large apron. Without the isthmus the plains were covered by the caravans of salt, and every route filled by them. For the rest; the appearance of the country was precisely the same as in the north of the Crimea. Our journey resembled that of De Rubruquis, in the thirteenth century, and might be fully described in very few of his own words:—"*Nulla est sylva, nullus mons, nullis lapis.*" The later flowers of autumn occasionally drew our attention from an endeavour to get over it as fast as possible, and we collected several; * among others, an *Arabis* and a *Euphor-*

* *Achillea pubescens*, the Wooly Milfoil; *Campanula Sibirica*, or Siberian Bell-flower; *Chrysocoma villosa*, or Downy Goldilocks; *Euphrasia odontites*, Red Eyebright, &c.

bia, which marshal Biberstein had exhibited at Akmetchet, from his own collection, as a new species found by him in Caucasus, and in the neighbourhood of Sarepta. The roads were, as usual, excellent, and throughout all the south of *Russia*, excepting after heavy rain, the traveller may proceed with a degree of speed and facility unknown in any other country. A journey from Moscow to Zaritzin, Astrachan, and from thence, along the whole Caucassian line to the straits of Taman, might be considered a mere summer excursion, and, for the most part, easier and pleasanter than an expedition through any part of Germany. The horses are always ready, of a superior quality; and the turf, over which the roads lie, quite without parallel. The still greater expedition that may be used in the same country, *in* winter, by travelling upon sledges, is already well known.

Those roads which lead from the Crimea towards the north of Russia, are supposed to be infested with bands of desperate robbers, who inhabit the extensive deserts north of that peninsula. Stories of this kind rarely amount to more than idle reports. If credit were given to all that is related of the danger of journeying by this route, it would be madness to risk the attempt; but few instances have occurred, well attested, of any interruption or hazard whatsoever. Perhaps, before the Crimea was subject to Russia, here was more real foundation for alarm, because the country, in which the banditti are said to dwell, then constituted the frontier of Little Tartary; and, in all parts of the *lobe*, frontiers are most liable to evils of this description, om the facility of escape which they offer to the plunerer or the assassin. From my own experience in almost ery part of Europe, after all the tales which I have heard the danger of travelling in this or that country, I know place so full of peril as the environs of London, where ny persons, who traverse the roads at all hours of the y and night, with perfect indifference, would shrink from e thoughts of an expedition across the deserts of Nagay, the territory of the Don Cossacks. The Nagay Tars, from their nomade life, are a wilder and more savage king people than those of the Crimea, being altogether nsettled and as barbarous as the Calmucks; but their upations are pastoral; and a pastoral state of society is lom characterized by cruelty or acts of open violence. , while it is asserted that their whole attention seems n to the care of their flocks and herds, it must be ac-

knowledged some facts are related, respecting the road from Moscow to Perecop, which are too well authenticated to admit of any dispute. About four years before we left the Crimea, the lady of admiral Mordvinof, who was travelling that way, attended by a proper escort, especially provided to secure her from danger, and a very numerous suite of domesticks, was stopped by a formidable party of banditti who plunderd her equippage of every thing they considered worthy taking away. General Michelson, governour-general of the Crimea, showed to me, at Akmetchet, a dreadful weapon which had been seized in the hands of a robber, who was lurking even in that neighbourhood. It consisted of a cannon ball, a two pounder, slung at the extremity of a leather thong, which had a handle like that of a whip, by which it might be hurled with prodigious force. But, after all, it may be proved, that none of these deeds are the work of Tartars. The particular district said to be most dangerous in all the road from Moscow to Perecop, is that which lies between Kremenchük and Ekaterinoslaf upon the frontiers of Poland. The robbers hitherto taken were invariably from that neighbourhood, and were inhabitants of the *Tcherno Laës*, or *Black Forest*, generally from the village of *Zimkoia;* they are the remnant of the *Zaporagztsi*,* originally deserters and vagabonds from all nations; a tribe from which Potemkin selected those brave Cossacks, now known under the appellation of Tchernomorski, who inhabit Kuban Tartary. Many of them are Polish Jews, and among those, who were afterwards apprehended, of the party which had robbed admiral Mordvinof's lady, were certain Jews of this description. The house of admiral Mordvinof, situated among the mountains of the Crimea, near Sudack, was also attacked during the time we resided at Akmetchet; but, as the admiral himself assured me, evidently with no other view than to carry off some of his poultry. The admiral had been engaged in frequent litigations with the Tartars concerning the limits of his estate, and, as this conduct rendered him unpopular among them, it perhaps exposed him to depredations he would not otherwise have encountered. Having thus related a few facts which came to my knowledge, affecting the character of the Tartars, and the danger of their country, it may be amusing to add some examples of the stories

* See p. 229, of this volume.

current in the country; these, though perhaps less authentick, are implicitly believed by Russians and other strangers, and constitute a favourite topick of conversation. The first was related to me by a general officer in the Russian service, the second I heard upon the road.

The chief of a very desperate gang of banditti, who had amassed considerable wealth, was taken by a soldier, and conducted to the governor of the province at Ekaterinoslaf. Great reward had been offered for the person of this man, and it was supposed he would, of course, be immediately *knouted*. To the astonishment of the soldier, who had been the means of his apprehension, a few days only had elapsed when he received a visit from the robber, who had been able to pay the governour a bribe sufficient to procure his release, in consequence of which he had been liberated from confinement. "You have caught me," said he, addressing the soldier, "this time; but before you set out upon another expedition in search of me, I will accommodate you with a pair of *red boots** for the journey." With this terrible threat he made his escape, and no further inquiry on the part of the police was made after him. The undaunted soldier, finding the little confidence that could be placed in his commander, determined to take the administration of justice into his own hands, and once more adventured in pursuit of the robber, whose flight had spread terrour through the country. After an undertaking, full of danger, he found him in one of the little subterranean huts in the midst of the *steppes;* and, entering with his pistols in his hand, "you promised me," said he, "a pair of red boots; I am come to be measured for them!" With these words he discharged one of his pistols, and killing the robber on the spot, returned to his quarters. The picture this offers of the corruption prevailing among governours and officers of justice in Russia, is correct; as for the story itself it may be also true: it is given as it was received, from those who considered its veracity indisputable.

The next anecdote relates to a circumstance which happened in the road between Kremenchuk and Ekaterinoslaf, and affords an instance of remarkable intrepidity in one

* To give a man a pair of *red boots*, according to the saying of the Tartars, is to cut the skin round the upper part of his legs, and then cause it to be torn off by the feet. This species of torture the banditti are said to practise, as an act of revenge; in the same manner the American Indians scalp the heads of their enemies.

of the *Feldlêgers*, or couriers of the crown. A person of this description was journeying from Cherson to Kremenchük, by a route much infested with banditti. He was cautioned against taking a particular road, on account of the numerous robberies and murders which had lately taken place; and the more so, in consequence of a report that the robbers were actually there encamped, plundering all who attempted to pass. Orders had been given, that, wherever these banditti were found, they should be shot without trial. The courier, however, proceeded on his journey in a *Pavoysky** and presently observed four men hastily entering a tent near the road. Almost at the same instant the driver of the pavoysky declared there was a fifth concealed in a ditch by which they passed; but, as it was dusky, and the object not clearly discerned, they both left the pavoysky to examine it. To their surprise and horrour, they found the body of a man, who had been murdered, still warm. A light appeared within the tent, and the courier, desiring the postilion to remain quiet with the vehicle, walked boldly towards it. As soon as he entered, he asked the men within if he might be allowed a glass of brandy? being answered in the affirmative, he added: "Stay a little, I will just step to the pavoysky and bring something for us to eat; you shall find the drink. It was now quite dark, and the courier, who had well observed the number and disposition of the men within the tent, returned to the pavoysky, when, having armed the postilion and himself by means of a blunderbuss, two pistols, and a sabre, he took the bleeding carcase, on his shoulders, and advanced once more towards the tent. The unsuspecting robbers had seated themselves round the fire, with their pipes lighted, and their arms suspended above their heads. The courier, in the very instant that he entered, cast the dead body into the midst of them, exclaiming: "There's the sort of food for your palates!" and, before a moment was allowed them to recover from the surprise into which this had thrown them, a discharge from the blunderbuss killed two of the four; a third received a pistol-shot, with a cut from the sabre, but survived his wounds, and was taken bound to Kremenchük, where he suffered the *knout*. The fourth made his escape. Of such a nature are the tales which a traveller, in this country, may expect to hear continually

* A small four-wheeled wagon; used, during summer, as a substitute for the Kibitka.

related by new settlers in the Crimea and the Ukraine. I cannot give much credit to any of them; and must confess I should not be surprised to hear the same stories repeated in other countries, as having happened wherever banditti are supposed to infest the publick roads.

Being unacquainted with the topography of Biroslaf, and having no map in which it was laid down, I find it impossible to give an accurate description of the different streams and lakes of water, which we passed in order to reach that place. The inhabitants were even more ignorant than myself. Before we arrived, we traversed an extensive tract of sand, apparently insulated. This, we were told, was often inundated, and boats were then stationed to conduct travellers. Having crossed this sandy district, we passed the Dnieper by a ferry, and ascended its steep occidental banks to the town. The conveyance of caravans upon the sands I have mentioned, was effected with great difficulty; each wagon requiring no less a number of oxen than eight or twelve, and even these seemed hardly adequate to the immense labour of the draft. All the way from Perecop to Biroslaf, the line of caravans continued almost without intermission. The immense concourse of wagons, the bellowing of the oxen, the bawling and grotesque appearance of the drivers, and the crowd of persons, in the habits of many different nations, waiting a passage across the water, offered one of those singular scenes to which, in other countries, there is nothing similar, and convey, at the same time, notions of the internal commerce of Russia, which otherwise might scarcely be credited.

Biroslaf, upon the western side of the Dnieper, is a miserable looking place, and owes its support entirely to the passage of the salt caravans from the Crimea.* It might be

* "Berislav is a small town, founded on a regular plan by the empress Catherine, on a fine, sloping bank near the Dnieper, with a floating bridge, which is removed every winter. The river, like the Don, is navigated in double canoes, composed of two very narrow ones, often hollowed out of trees, and united by a stage. The town has wide streets, at right angles to each other, but the houses are mostly miserable, wooden huts. The country around is all good land, but destitute of water. There are, however, many villages, and many acres of cultivated land along the banks of the river; and wherever there is a well, is generally a small cluster of houses, attracted by such a treasure. On this side of the Dnieper begins the regular series of Jews' houses, which are the only taverns or inns from hence all the way into Austria. Jews, in every part of Little and New Russia, abound. In Muscovy they are very uncommon." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

suspected that its situation, upon so considerable a river, affording it an intercourse with Kiof and Cherson, would entitle it to higher consideration; but we could obtain no information, worth repeating, upon the existence of any such commerce. We observed the Polish costume very prevalent here; the men, in every respect, resembling the Cossacks of the Don. The appearance of boatmen, stalking in the mud with boots of Morocco leather, was quite new to us; although the Tartars of the Crimea frequently appear with the same covering upon their feet.

To describe the road between Biroslaf* and Cherson, would put the reader's patience to a very unnecessary trial, by a repetition of observations already, perhaps, too often made; and would give to these pages a monotonous character of the *steppes*, over which it was made. Before we reached the last post, we passed a considerable surface of stagnant water, whether derived from the Dnieper or not, we could not then learn; neither would any map we carried with us inform us. The very sight of it was sufficient to convince us of the dangerous nature of the situation; and our servant was attacked by a violent fever in consequence of the unwholesome air. We preserved ourselves by smoking; but this will not always serve as a preventive.

However unexpected an obligation might be conferred upon English travellers by any of the imperial family of Russia, we were certainly indebted to the grand duke Constantine for the excellent accommodations we found in Cherson; although we are ready to acquit his highness of any intention favourable to our reception there, or any where else. Arriving in the night we were conducted to an inn, where, to our astonishment, we beheld a degree of cleanliness, and a display of luxury, wholly unaccountable. The master of the house, an Italian, observing the surprise we manifested, told us that his rooms were prepared for a masquerade, for the celebration of which he expected orders upon the arrival of his highness, notwithstanding the alarm which the mere report of his coming had spread throughout the country. The arrival of a Tiberius, a Nero, or any

* At Biroslaf we collected the following plants: *Achillea nobilis*, or common camomile; *Artemisia pontica*, hoary wormwood; *Asperula longiflora*, long flowered squinancy-wort [waldstein.] *Scabiosa leucantha*, white-flowered scabious; *scutellaria galericulata*, skull-cap; *aisymbrium Columnæ* Italian hedge-mustard; *Stipa capillata*, hair-like feather-grass; *Potentilla argentea*, silvery goose-grass; *Anchusa officinalis* common bugloss *Centaurea paniculata*, branching knapweed.

other more detestable tyrant of ancient Rome, never diffused more general panick than was felt in Cherson at this time.

Cherson, founded in 1778, was formerly a town of much more importance than it is now.* Potemkin bestowed upon it many instances of patronage, and was partial to the place. Its fortress and arsenal were erected by him. We found its commerce so completely annihilated, that its merchants were either bankrupts, or were preparing to leave the town, and establish themselves elsewhere. They complained of being abandoned by the emperour, who refused to grant them any support or privilege. Without the smallest inclination to write an apology for the emperour Paul, I cannot possibly admit that Cherson, by any grant of the crown, could become a great commercial establishment; and it is quite incomprehensible how such a notion was ever adopted.†

* "Cherson is gradually sinking into decay, from the unhealthiness of its situation, and still more from the preference given to Odessa. Yet timber, corn, hemp, and other articles of exportation, are so much cheaper and more plentiful here, that many foreign vessels still prefer this port, though they are obliged by government first to perform quarantine, and unload their cargoes at Odessa. Corn is cheap and plentiful, but timber much dearer than in the north, as the cataracts of the Dnieper generally impede its being floated down. There is a noble forest which we saw in Podolia, not far from the Bog, a beautiful river, unincumbered by cataracts; but as some land-carriage would be necessary, it is, as yet, almost '*intacta securi.*" The arsenal at Cherson is extensive and interesting. It contains a monument to Potemkin, its founder. Two frigates and a seventy four were building; on account of the bar, they are floated down to the Liman on camels, as at Petersburgh. Nothing can be more dreary than the prospect of the river, which forms many streams flowing through marshy islands where the masts of vessels are seen rising from amid brush-wood and tall reeds. In these islands are many wild boars, which are often seen swimming from one to the other. No foreign merchants, of any consequence, remain here; those who transact business at this court, do it by clerks and supercargoes. My information respecting Cherson was chiefly from a Scotchman named Geddes. The tomb of Howard is in the desert, about a mile from the town; it was built by admiral Mordwinof, and is a small brick pyramid, whitewashed, but without any inscription. He himself fixed on the spot of his interment. He had built a small hut on this part of the *steppe*, where he passed much of his time, as the most healthy spot in the neighbourhood. The English burial service was read over him by admiral Priestman, from whom I had these particulars. Two small villas have been built at no great distance; I suppose also from the healthiness of the situation, as it had nothing else to recommend it. Howard was spoken of with exceeding respect and affection, by all who remembered, or knew him; and they were many." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

† Scherer's promising view of its importance might have led to other hopes; but that author's prognostication of the advantages which Russia might derive from the possession of the Crimea, has proved equally fallible; speaking, however, of the commerce of Cherson, in 1786, he says: "*Dans le cours de l' année* 1786, *sa navigation occupoit cent trente-un bâtimens;*

The mouth of the Dnieper is extremely difficult to navigate; sometimes northeast winds leave it full of shallows, and, where there happens at any time to be a channel for vessels, it has not a greater depth of water than five feet; the entrance is, at the same time, excessively narrow. The sands are continually shifting, which renders the place so dangerous, that ships are rarely seen in the harbour. But the last blow to the commerce of Cherson, was given by the war of Russia with France. Before that event, the exportation of corn, of hemp, and canvass, had placed the town upon a scale of some consideration. All the ports of Russia, in the Black Sea, were more or less affected by the same cause; and particularly Taganrock, which had received a very serious check in consequence of the state of affairs with France.†

The architecture visible in the buildings of the fortress, showed a good taste; the stone used for their construction resembled that porous, though durable limestone, which the first Grecian colonies in Italy employed in erecting the temples of Pæstum; but the Russians had white-washed every thing, and by that means had given to their works the meanness of plaster. One of the first things we asked to see was the tomb of Potemkin. All Europe has heard that he was buried in Cherson, and a magnificent sepulchre might naturally be expected for a person so renowned. The reader will imagine our surprise, when, in answer to our inquiries concerning his remains, we were told that no one knew what was become of them. Potemkin, the illustrious, the powerful, of all the princes that ever lived the most princely, of all imperial favourites the most favoured, had not a spot which might be called his grave. He, who not only governed all Russia, but even made the haughty Catherine his suppliant

savoir, quatre-vingt-douze. Ottomans, trente-deux Russes, et sept Autrichiens. L' importation consistoit en fruits, vins, cabéliau, meubles, &c. Et l' exportation, en froment, savon, chanvres, farine. fer, laines, lin, cordages, tabac, bois," &c. Histoire raisonnée du Comm. de la Russ. par Scherer. tom. II. p 33. Paris, 1788.

† Upon and near the banks of the Dnieper were the following plants; *Alyssum montanum,* mountain alysson; *Anchusa officinalis,* common bugloss; *Andropogon Ischæmum,* beard-grass; *Antirrhinum Genistifolium,* broom-leaved snap-dragon; *Aster punctatus,* dotted star-wort [See Wildenow] *Cucubalus Catholicus,* branching campion; *Delphinum Consolida,* branching larkspur; *Euphorbia segetalis,* field spurge; *Phyteuma canescens,* hoary rampion, with large purple flowers; it was growing among the rocks, near the river [See Waldstein] *Polycnemum arvense; Silene baccifera,* berry-bearing catch-fly.

poorest of the human race. The particulars respecting the ultimate disposal of his body, as they were communicated to me upon the spot by the most credible testimony, merit a cursory detail.

The corpse, soon after his death,* was brought to Cherson and placed beneath a dome of the small church belonging to the fortress, opposite to the altar. After the usual ceremony of interment, the vault was merely covered by restoring to their former situation the planks of wood which constituted the floor of the building. Many of the inhabitants, of Cherson, as well as English officers in the Russian service, who lived in its neighbourhood, had seen the coffin which was extremely ordinary; and the practice of showing it to strangers prevailed for some years after Potemkin's decease. The empress Catherine either had, or pretended to have an intention of erecting a superb monument to his memory; whether at Cherson or elsewhere, is unknown. Her sudden death is believed to have prevented the completion of this design. The most extraordinary part of the story remains now to be related; the coffin itself has disappeared. Instead of any answer to the various inquiries we made concerning it, we were cautioned to be silent. "*No one*," said a countryman of ours, living in the place, "*dare mention the name of Potemkin!*" At last we received intelligence that the verger could satisfy our curiosity, if we would venture to ask him. We soon found the means of encouraging a little communication on his part; and were then told, that the body, by the emperour's command, had been taken up and thrown into the ditch of the fortress. The orders received were, to take up the body of Potemkin, and cast it into the first hole that might be found. These orders were implicitly obeyed. A hole was dug in the fosse, into which he was thrown with as little ceremony as a dead dog; but, as this procedure took place in the night, very few were informed of the fate of the body. An eye-witness assured me that the coffin no longer existed in the vault where it was originally placed; and the verger was actually proceeding to point out the place where the body was abandoned, when the bishop himself happening to arrive, took away my guide; and, with menaces which were but too likely

* Potemkin died Oct. 15, 1791, aged 52, during a journey from Yassy to Nicholaef; and *actually expired in a ditch*, near the former place, in which the attendants placed him, that he might recline against its sloping side; being taken from the carriage for air.

to be fulfilled, prevented our being more fully informed concerning the obloquy which at present involves the remains of Potemkin. Let me now, therefore, direct the reader's attention to a more interesting subject; to a narrative of the last days, the death, and burial of the benevolent Howard; who, with a character forcibly opposed to that of Potemkin, also terminated a glorious career at Cherson. Mysterious Providence by events always remote from human foresight, had wonderfully destined, that these two men, celebrated in their lives by the most contrasted deeds, should be interred nearly upon the same spot. It is not within the reach of possibility to bring together, side by side, two individuals more remarkably characterized by every opposite qualification; as if the hand of destiny had directed two persons, in whom were exemplified the extremes of vice and virtue, to one common spot, in order that the contrast might remain a lesson for mankind. Potemkin, bloated and pampered by every vice, after a path through life stained with blood and crimes, at last the victim of his own selfish excesses; Howard, a voluntary exile, enduring the severest privation for the benefit of his fellow-creatures, and labouring, even to his latest breath, in the exercise of every social virtue.

The particulars of Mr. Howard's death were communicated to me by his two friends, admiral Mordvinof, then chief admiral of the Black Sea fleet, and admiral Priestman an English officer in the Russian service; both of whom were eye-witnesses of his last moments. He had been entreated to visit a lady about twenty four miles* from Cherson, who was dangerously ill. Mr. Howard objected, alleging that he acted only as physician to the poor; but hearing of her imminent danger, he afterwards yielded to the persuasion of admiral Mordvinof, and went to see her. After having prescribed that which he deemed proper to be administered, he returned, leaving directions with her family, to send for him again if she got better; but adding, that if, as he much feared, she should prove worse, it would be to no purpose. Some time after his return to Cherson, a letter arrived, stating that the lady was better, and begging that he would come without loss of time. When he examined the date, he perceived that the letter, by some unaccountable delay, had been eight days in getting to his

* Thirty five versts.

hands. Upon this, he resolved to go with all possible expedition. The weather was extremely tempestuous and very cold, it being late in the year, and the rain fell in torrents. In his impatience to set out, a conveyance not being immediately ready, he mounted an old dray horse, used in admiral Mordvinof's family to carry water, and thus proceeded to visit his patient. Upon his arrival, he found the lady dying; this added to the fatigue of the journey, affected him so much, that it brought on a fever. His clothes, at the same time, had been wet through; but he attributed his fever entirely to another cause. Having administered something to his patient to excite perspiration, as soon as the symptoms of it appeared, he put his hands beneath the bed clothes to feel her pulse, that she might not be chilled by removing them, and believed that her fever was thus communicated to him. After this painful journey, Mr. Howard returned to Cherson, and the lady died.

It had been almost his daily custom, at a certain hour, to visit admiral Priestman; when, with his usual attention to regularity, he would place his watch on the table, and pass exactly an hour with him in conversation. The admiral, finding that he failed in his usual visits, went to see him, and found him weak and ill, sitting before a stove in his bedroom. Having inquired after his health, Mr. Howard replied, that his end was approaching very fast: that he had several things to say to his friend, and thanked him for having called. The admiral finding him in such a melancholy mood, endeavoured to turn the conversation, imagining the whole might be merely the result of low spirits; but Mr. Howard soon assured him it was otherwise; and added: "Priestman, you style this a very dull conversation, and endeavour to divert my mind from dwelling upon death: but I entertain very different sentiments. Death has no terrours for me: it is an event I always look to with cheerfulness, if not with pleasure; and be assured, the subject of it is to me more grateful than any other. I am well aware I have but a short time to live; my mode of life has rendered it impossible that I should get rid of this fever, if I had lived as you do, eating heartily of animal food, and drinking wine, I might, perhaps, by diminishing my diet be able to subdue it. But how can such a man as I am lower his diet, who has been accustomed for years to exist on vegetables and water, a little bread and a little tea; I have no method of lowering my nourishment, and therefore

I must die. It is such jolly fellows as you, Priestman, who get over these fevers." Then, turning the subject, he spoke of his funeral; and cheerfully gave directions concerning the manner in which he would be buried. "There is a spot," said he," near the village of Dauphigny, which would suit me nicely: you know it well, for I have often said I should like to be buried there; and let me beg of you, as you value your old friend, not to suffer any pomp to be used at my funeral; nor any monument or monumental inscription whatsoever, to mark where I am laid; but lay me quietly in the earth, place a sun-dial over my grave, and let me be forgotten." Having given these directions, he was very earnest in soliciting that admiral Priestman would lose no time in securing the object of his wishes; but go immediately and settle with the owner of the land for the place of his interment, and prepare every thing for his burial.

The admiral left him upon his melancholy errand, fearing at the same time, as he himself informed me, that the people would believe him crazy, to solicit a burying ground for a man who was then living, and whom no person yet knew to be indisposed. However, he accomplished Mr. Howards wishes, and returned to him with the intelligence: at this his countenance brightened, a gleam of evident satisfaction came over his face, and he prepared to go to bed. Soon after, he made his will, leaving as his executor a trusty follower, who had lived with him more in the capacity of a friend than of a servant, and whom he charged with the commission of bearing his will to England. It was not until after he had finished his will, that any symptoms of delirium appeared. Admiral Priestman, who had left him for a short time, returned and found him sitting up in his bed, adding what he believed to be a codicil to his will; but this consisted of several unconnected words, the chief part of which were illegible, and all without any meaning. This strange composition he desired admiral Priestman to witness and sign; and, in order to please him, the admiral consented; but wrote his name, as he bluntly said, in Russian characters, lest any of his friends in England, reading his signature to such a codicil, should think he was also delirious. After Mr. Howard had made what he conceived to be an addition to his will, he became more composed. A letter was brought to him from England, containing intelligence of the improved state of his son's health; stating the manner in which he passed his time in the country, and

giving great reason to hope that he would recover from the disorder with which he was afflicted.* His servant read this letter aloud; and, when he had concluded, Mr. Howard turned his head towards him saying: "Is not this comfort for a dying father?" He expressed great repugnance against being buried according to the rites of the Greek church; and begging admiral Priestman to prevent any interference with his interment on the part of the Russian priests, made him also promise, that he would read the service of the church of England over his grave, and bury him in all respects according to the forms of his country. Soon after this last request he ceased to speak. Admiral Mordvinof came in, and found him dying very fast. They had in vain besought him to allow a physician to be sent for; but admiral Mordvinof renewing this solicitation with great earnestness, Mr. Howard assented by nodding his head. The physician came, but was too late to be of any service. A rattling in the throat had commenced; and the physician administered what is called the Musk draught, a medicine used only in Russia, in the last extremity. It was given to the patient by admiral Mordvinof, who prevailed on him to swallow a little; but he endeavoured to avoid the rest, and gave evident signs of disapprobation. He was then entirely given over; and shortly after breathed his last.

He had always refused to allow any portrait of himself to be made; but after his death admiral Mordvinof caused a plaster mould to be formed upon his face, which was sent to Mr. Wilberforce. A cast from this mould was in the admiral's possession when we were in Cherson, and presented a very striking resemblance of his features.

He was buried near the village of Dauphigny, about five versts from Cherson, on the road to Nicholaef, in the spot he had himself chosen; and his friend, admiral Priestman, read the English burial service, according to his desire. The rest of his wishes were not exactly fulfilled; for the concourse of spectators were immense, and the order of his funeral was more magnificent than would have met with his approbation. It was as follows:

1.
The Body,
on a Bier, drawn by Six Horses with Trappings.

* Mr. Howard's son laboured under an attack of insanity.

2.

The PRINCE of MOLDAVIA,
in a sumptuous Carriage, drawn by Six Horses, covered with Scarlet Cloth.

3.

Admirals MORDVINOF and PRIESTMAN, in a Carriage drawn by Six Horses.

4.

The GENERALS and STAFF-OFFICERS of the Garrison, in their respective Carriages.

5.

The MAGISTRATES and MERCHANTS of Cherson, in their respective Carriages.

6.

A large Party of CAVALRY.

7.

Other Persons on Horseback.

8.

An immense Concourse of Spectators and People on foot, amounting to Two or Three Thousand.

A monument was afterwards erected over him, which, instead of the sun-dial he had requested, consisted of a brick pyramid, or obelisk, surrounded by stone posts with chains. This, of course, will not long survive the general destruction of whatsoever is interesting in the country. The posts and chains began to disappear before our arrival; and, when Mr. Heber visited the spot, not a vestige of them was to be seen; there remained only the obelisk, in the midst of a bleak and desolate plain, before which a couple of dogs were gnawing the bones of a dead horse, whose putrifying carcase added to the disgust and horrour of the scene. A circumstance came to our knowledge before we left Russia, concerning Howard's remains, which it is painful to relate; namely, that Count Vincent Potocki, a Polish nobleman of the highest taste and talents, whose magnificent library and museum would do honour to any country, through a mistaken design of testifying his respect for the memory of Howard, had signified his intention of taking up the body, that it might be conveyed to his country seat, where a sumptuous monument has been prepared for its reception, upon a small island in the midst of a lake. His countess, being a romantick lady, wishes to have an annual *fête*, consecrated to benevolence; at which the nymphs of the country are to attend, and strew the place with flowers. This design is so contrary to the earnest request of Mr. Howard, and, at the same time, so derogatory to the dignity due to his remains, that every friend to his memory will join in wishing it may never be fulfilled. Count Potocki was ab-

sent during the time we remained in that part of the world, or we should have ventured to remonstrate; we could only, therefore, entrust our petitions to a third person, who promised to convey them to him after our departure.

The distance from Cherson to Nicholaef is only sixty two versts, or rather more than forty one miles. At the distance of five versts from the former place, the road passes close to the tomb of Howard. It may be supposed we did not halt with indifference to view the hallowed spot. "To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible if it were endeavoured, and it would be foolish if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses; whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far be from me, and from my friends, that frigid philosophy which might conduct us indifferent or unmoved over any ground that has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue." So spake the sage, in words never to be forgotten; unenvied be the man who has not felt their force; lamented he who does not know their author!

The town of Nicholaef, covering a great extent of territory, with numerous buildings, interseeted by wide streets makes a splendid and very considerable appearance.* The whole of it is of recent date. The river Bog, by which it stands, flows quite round the place in a broad and ample channel. Ships of the line cannot come close to the buildings on account of a sand bank; but brigs and other small vessels are carried over by the floating machines called Camels, in use at Petersburgh, and many other parts of Russia. The arsenals, storehouses, and other works, are so extensive, that it is evident great efforts have been made to render this place an emporium of high importance for the Russian navy. The admiral-in-chief of the Black Sea, as well as the vice-admirals, reside here; and an office is established for regulating all marine affairs belonging to the three ports, Cherson, Odessa, and Nicholaef. The

* Nicolaeff, on the Bog, is a rising town, very advantageously situated; being without the bar of the Dnieper; it is the station for vessels when built, and here they are laid up to be repaired. Nothing, I should think, but the expense of new dock yards induces government to persevere in their system of building vessels at Cherson, when this neighbouring town has so many superiour advantages. It has a fine river without either bar or cataract; deep, still water, and a healthy situation. Vessels, however, are said to decay sooner than at Sebastopole." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

publick buildings and palaces of the admirals are very stately; and, considering the short time that has elapsed since Nicholaef was a miserable village, the progress made in the place is surprising. There is no town to compare with it in all the south of Russia, nor any in the empire, excepting Moscow and Petersburgh. Its elevated situation, the magnificence of its river; the regularity that has been observed in laying out the streets, and their extraordinary breadth; the magnificence and number of the publick works, with the flourishing state of its population, place it very high in the small catalogue of Russian towns. English officers, and English engineers, with other foreigners in the Russian service, residing here, have introduced habits of urbanity, and cleanliness; and have served to correct, by the force of example, the barbarity of the native inhabitants.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM NICHOLAEF TO ODESSA.

Remains of Olbiopolis—Inscriptions—Medals—Admiral Priestman—Mineralized Shells—Observations upon the Odessa Limestone—Consequences which resulted from the opening of the Thracian Bosporus—Conduct of the Emperour respecting Odessa—Number of discarded Officers—Usurious Practices of the Sovereign—Further Account of Odessa—Barbarous Etiquette observed at Russian Tables—Anecdote of two Englishmen—Precaution to be used in Travelling—Account of the Passage by Land to Constantinople—Preparation for sailing from Odessa.

SOME interesting antiquities have been found in the neighbourhood of Nicholaef. To the south of the town, near the fall of the Bog into the Dnieper, there stood not long ago a fortress, which the traditions of the country ascribed to Alexander the Great. The emperour Paul gave orders for its destruction; and the joyful Russians, ever happy in works of that kind, speedily removed every trace of its existence. Not far from the same place, exactly at the junction of the two rivers about twelve miles from Ni-

cholaef, are the remains of *Olbiopolis*, the only Greek city of European Sarmatia, of which there is any ancient medal, extant. The Russians have discovered there not only medals, but also bas-reliefs, inscriptions, amphoræ, tombs, and many other valuable indications of the site of that city. A view of those ruins would have afforded us the highest gratification; but the circumstances of our situation would not admit of the delay necessary; our liberty, if not our lives, depended upon making the best use of the time allowed us for effecting our escape. We were well aware that, if any intelligence of our intention should reach Petersburgh, all our hopes of quitting Russia would be annihilated. In the church of Nicholaef is preserved a stone brought from thence, which has an inscription, recording the dedication of a golden image of Victory to Apollo, the protector, offered up by the officers, whose names are mentioned, in behalf of the city and their own safety.

The different medals of *Olbiopolis*, representing the head of Ceres; that of a bull; an eagle standing on a dolphin; a bow and quiver; or an ear of corn; have for their legend the word ΟΛΒΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ. They are always exceedingly rare. I obtained one of bronze in high preservation at Nicholaef, which differs from any I have yet seen described. In front it has a bearded head of Pan, with horns. Eckhel describes a medal of the same city as characterized by the *Virile barbatum*; this may, perhaps, have been a similar representation of Pan in an inferiour state of preservation, owing to which the horns of the figure were unnoticed; but the same legend is not found in his valuable work.* Scymnus Chius ascertains with great precision the situation of the city.† "At the confluence," says he, "of the two rivers, Hypanis and Borysthenes, is a city, formerly called Olbia, and since Borysthenes by the Greeks. The Milesians built it during the empire of the Medes." Strabo mentions it under the same name; and describes it as a great emporium, founded by the Milesians.‡ Pliny says that it had formerly born the name of *Miletopolis*, as well as Olbiopolis.§ Casaubon derives the former appellation from the circumstance of its origin;¶ the

* Doctrina Num. Vet. Par. I. vol. II. Vindob. 1794.

† Scymnus Chius, vol. II. p. 46. Oxon. 1703.

‡ Strab. lib. vii. p. 442. ed. Oxon.

§ Plin. lib. iv. c. 12.

¶ Comment. in Strab. Geog. ed. Oxon. p. 442.

latter is, however, that which appears upon the medals of the city. According to Pliny's account, it stood at the distance of fifteen miles from the sea;* but Casaubon, suggesting a different reading, as reconcilable to Strabo, and confirmed by the authority of Dio Chrysostom, makes the distance equal to twenty five miles, which is nearer the truth.† Some have supposed the site of it to have been that of Oczakof; but the appearance of its ruins proves the contrary. As for Oczakof, lately so well known, not a stone now tells where it stood. Without a guide it would be impossible to ascertain its former position; every trace of it having disappeared.

Admiral Vondazen invited us to dinner; and, hearing of our intention to undertake a journey, by land, to Constantinople, offered us permission to sail in a packet belonging to the crown from Odessa. This we readily accepted; but the plan did not suit the views of the vice admiral, count Voinovick, a Sclavonian, who had other intentions with regard to that vessel, and by whose subsequent intrigues we were prevented from using it. Admiral Priestman, who was then at Nicholaef, acted towards us with unbounded hospitality and friendship. It was from that officer I principally received the particulars of Mr. Howard's death, already communicated. In the short acquaintance we had formed with him, the blunt sincerity of his character, his openness and benevolence of heart, had endeared him to us so much, that we deeply lamented the loss of his society. That so distinguished a naval officer should be in the service of our enemies, merely from want of employment at home, cannot be too much regretted. Great Britain has not, perhaps, a better or a braver seaman in her service. When we left Nicholaef, he conveyed us over the Bog, which is here near three miles wide, in his barge, with twelve oars; accompanied by Mr. Young, an engineer, another Englishman of talent in the service of Russia, from whom we also experienced all possible attention and civility. The baron de Bar, and count Heiden, administered every kindness which it was in their power to bestow; and we quitted Nicholaef full of gratitude for acts of benignity, to which, with the exception of the paternal solicitude and favours of professor Pallas, we had long been strangers.

* Plin. Vid. supra.

† Casaubon. Comment. in Strab. Geog. ed. Oxon. p. 442.

Our journey from Nicholaef to Odessa will be best seen by reference to any good map of the south of Russia; as there is not a single object the whole way, which the reader will not find there laid down. The whole is a flat *steppe*, intersected by streams and inlets of water, across which we were conveyed sometimes in boats, and sometimes over shallows, sitting in the carriage.* We noticed some remarkable salt lakes, and, by the last post-house before arriving at Odessa, an aggregation of mineralized sea-shells, used as a material in building the cottages, of such extraordinary beauty and perfection, as to merit a more particular description. I have since annually exhibited a specimen of this singular deposit, in the mineralogical lectures given to the university of Cambridge; and, as it offers a satisfactory example of the change which animal matter undergoes by decomposition, as well as a most striking proof of the draining of the great oriental plain by means of the canal of Constantinople, I shall here beg leave to state the result of my own observations upon the subject.

It is the opinion of the celebrated Bournon, that, whenever the abode of a testaceous animal ceases to conduce to purposes of life, and is abandoned by its inhabitant, it becomes properly a mineral:† that, for example, as a specimen of carbonated lime, it possesses, in an eminent degree, the characters and fracture of that substance when indurated, or crystallized. In proof of this, he once exhibited to me, in the fracture of a common oyster-shell, the obtuse angle of the Iceland spar, accurately corresponding with the geometrical law of the mineral, and having precisely an equal number of degrees ascertained by the goniometer. If Saussure had not discovered limestone lying beneath rocks of the most ancient formation, the French would long ago have established a theory, that all the strata of carbonated lime upon the surface of the globe, have resulted from the

* It was in this *steppe* that I discovered a new species of *Anchusa*, which the Linnæn society have named *Anchusa exasperata*, the rough, bristly, bugloss. I received from my friend, Mr. Aylmer Bourke Lambert, the following description of it: "*Anchusa exasperata. nova species, caule ramosissimo, hispido; foliis linearibus integerrimis, verrucososetigeris; racemis terminalibus, calycibus ciliatis, pedicellis brevissimis.*" Some other plants were also added to our collection from these plains, viz. *Berberis Sibirica*, Siberian Barberry, which also grows near Chersod; *Chelidonium carniculatum*, horned poppy; *Dracocephalum Moldavicum*, Moldavian balm; *Eryngium maritimum*, sea holly; *Plantago psyllium*, flea-wort, or clammy plantain; and *Poa eragrostris*, prostrate meadow-grass.

† Mineralog. de Bournon. pp. 310, 314.

decomposition of animal matter, deposited during a series of ages. Whoever has attended to the appearances left by testaceous animals, particularly in the cavities of the *cornu ammonis*, must have been struck with the remarkable circumstance, that where an escape of the fleshy part of the animal has been precluded by the surrounding shell, pure and perfect crystals of carbonated lime have been the extraordinary result; and must also frequently have remarked that shells alone, independent of the admission of any extraneous substance, have, by their deposit, constituted immense strata of limestone. For the truth of this, it is unnecessary to adduce a more striking example than the instance afforded of the limestone in the neighbourhood of Odessa. It is in a semi-indurated state, but, like the Ketton-stone,* and almost every other variety used for architectural purposes, hardens by exposure to the atmosphere. On this account, and also from its remarkable levity, it is a favourite material for building. When examined closely, it exhibits throughout the entire mass, no other appearance than an aggregate of small cockle-shells, all exactly of the same size, perfect in their forms, but crumbling in the hand, and coloured by the yellow or red oxide of iron. The chymical analysis of this mineral is nearly that of the Ketton-stone; yielding no other ingredients than lime and carbonick acid, except a very small proportion of alumine, and oxide of iron. The stratum, from which it is dug, is of considerable thickness, and lies several yards above the present level of the Black Sea. It may be noticed all along the coast, and especially within the port of Odessa. Similar appearances may be traced the whole way from the Black Sea, towards the north, as far as the forty eighth line of latitude; and, perhaps, over all Asiatick Tartary. Whence it follows, that the level of the waters which appear at intervals between the parallels of French longitude 40 and 80, was not always what it is now: and, that the period of its incipient fall may be traced to an era subsequent to that of the deluge in the time of Noah, seems evident, not only from history, but also by a reference to existing natural phenomena. At the bursting of the Thracian Bosporus, whether in consequence of a volcano, whose vestiges are yet visible, or of

* So called from Ketton, in Northamptonshire. This stone, by a very recent analysis of the Rev. Mr. Holmes, of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, is found to be one of the purest combinations of lime and carbonick acid.

the immense pressure caused by an accumulated ocean against the mound there presented, the whole of Greece experienced an inundation, the memory of which was preserved by the inhabitants of Samothrace, so late as the time of Diodorus Siculus;* and its effects are still discernible in the form of all the islands in the south of the Archipelago, which slope towards the north, and are precipitous upon their southern shores.† Not, therefore, to rely on those equivocal legends of ancient days, telling how Orpheus, with the Argonauts, passed into the Baltick, over the vast expanse of water by which it was then united to the Euxine, we may reasonably conclude, with Tournefort, Pallas, and other celebrated men, that the Aral, the Caspian, and the Black Sea, were once combined; and that the whole of the great eastern plain of Tartary was one prodigious bed of water. The draining, which even now takes place perpetually, by the two channels of Taman and Constantinople, is, by some, deemed greater than the produce of all the rivers which flow into the sea of Azof, and the Black Sea. The former has become so shallow, that, during certain winds, as before related, a passage may be effected by land, from Taganrock to Azof, through the bed of the sea. Ships, which formerly sailed to Taganrock and the mouths of the Don, are now unable to approach either the one or the other: from all which it may not be unreasonable to conclude, that both the Black Sea and the sea of Azof, by the diminution their waters hourly sustain, will, at some future period, become a series of marsh lands, intersected only by the course and junction of the rivers which flow into them. An opposite opinion was, however, maintained by the learned Tournefort, who considered the discharge of water, by the canal of Constantinople, as not comparable to the product of any one of the great rivers which flow into those seas.‡ The same author, surprised, therefore, that the Black Sea does not increase, observes, that it receives more rivers than the Mediterranean; as if unmindful that the Mediterranean contains the sum of all the rivers that flow into the Mæotis and the Black Sea, superadded to those which properly belong unto itself. Other writers also, believing that more water flows into the Black Sea than out of it, endeavour to

* Diodor. Sic. lib. 5. Biblioth. Hist.

† See Sonini's Travels.

‡ Tournefort, Voy. du Levant, tom. II. Lett. XV. p. 404. Lyon. 1717.

account for its present altitude, either by imagining a subterraneous channel,* or explain the cause from the effect of evaporation.† The Russians entertain notions of a subterraneous channel, in order to account for the loss of water in the Caspian; one of whose rivers is full as considerable as any that falls into the Black Sea. As far as my judgment goes, the rivers which fall into the Black Sea, and the sea of Azof, do not communicate more water than flows through the canal of Constantinople; and therefore, admitting the effect of evaporation, the level of the Black Sea insensibly falls. The Don, the Kuban, the Phase, the Dnieper, the Dniester, the Danube, and many other rivers making a great figure in geography, have a less important appearance when surveyed at their embouchures. The greatest of them all, the Danube, is very shallow at the mouth; and its waters, extended over an immense surface, lie stagnating in shallow marshes, among an infinity of reeds, and other aquatick plants, subject to very considerable evaporation, besides the loss sustained during its passage to the sea.

The building of the present town of Odessa, and the construction of the pier for its port, were works carried on entirely under the direction of admiral Ribas, who captured the place from the Turks. The late empress intrusted every thing concerning it into his hands, as a mark of her approbation of his conduct: the emperour Paul, by way of thwarting his mother's benevolent design, dismissed the admiral altogether; leaving him with a large family, destitute of any support. This was exactly the sort of system pursued by that monarch, when we were in Russia, towards every veteran in his service. Never was the remark of Frederick of Prussia more completely verified, who used this saying: "*Officers are as lemons: we squeeze out the juice, and cast away the rind!*" I had an opportunity to examine a catalogue of officers who had resigned, or had been dismissed the service, since Paul's accession. Including the civil list, the persons excluded amounted to the astonishing number of thirty thousand; eighteen thousand dismissed by order; and twelve thousand who had voluntarily resigned. In the list of these, appeared the names of some individuals who had only been in office three days; others a week: thus the whole body of officers in the emperour's service had been

* Voyage d'Anacharsis, tom. I. c. 1.

† Ibid.

changed with such surprising rapidity, that there was hardly a family, in all Russia, unaffected by his caprice. The bad policy of this was even then so evident, that every one knew the number of disaffected persons by far exceeded the list of those whom fear or mercenary consideration kept in subordination, and it was apprehended that the whole empire, in consequence of the slightest emotion, would be thrown into disorder. The first consequence of any such disturbance, would have been the massacre of all the nobles; and regard for their own safety was the only bond, on the part of the nobility, which kept them from betraying their disaffection. Still it was evident that the life of the sovereign would soon atone for his disgraceful tyranny; and the result has proved that his death was even nearer than we then apprehended.

During the time that admiral Ribas held the direction of affairs at Odessa, a plan was projected for the construction of a pier, which would have rendered the port equally an object of utility and grandeur. This project was submitted to the emperour's consideration, who ordered it to be put in execution. It was, therefore, naturally expected that the sovereign, who was to reap every advantage from the proposed undertaking, would so far patronise it, as to advance the money for its completion. Paul, however, hesitated, and the work ceased. In the mean time, the commerce of Odessa languished; the rising prosperity of the town was checked; the buildings were not carried on; the merchants began to leave the place, and the necessity of the undertaking became daily more and more alarmingly visible. At last, petition after petition having been offered in vain, the matter came to a singular issue. The emperour resolved to turn usurer. He proposed to lend them a sum of money, with enormous interest, and upon the strongest security; yet left the inhabitants no option, but compelled them to accept the loan upon his own terms, and ordered the work to be carried on. The inhabitants, finding they could not offer security for the whole charge, which was estimated at five hundred thousand roubles, began to bargain with their sovereign as with a Jew; begging his permission to borrow of him only half the sum proposed, to construct a pier upon a smaller scale. To this Paul consented, and the work so planned was nearly finished when we arrived; but, to those who have seen the original design, the meanness and insufficiency of the undertaking, is lamentably conspicuous.

The town of Odessa is situated close to the coast, which is here very lofty, and much exposed to the winds.* The air is reckoned pure, and remarkably wholesome. Corn is the principal article of exportation. The imports are, dried and conserved fruits from Constantinople, Greek wines, tobacco, and other Turkish merchandise. The villages in the neighbourhood produce butter and cheese; these are rarities at table in the south of Russia. Potatoes, which seldom appear in other towns, are sold in the market, and they are even carried as presents to Constantinople. The melons of the neighbourhood are remarkably fine. They have one sort, which came to them from Turkey, superiour in flavour to any, perhaps, known in the world. The inside of this melon is of a green colour; and the seed, after it is opened, is found in a cavity in the centre, quite detached from the sides of the fruit, in a dry, mealy case or bag, in shape resembling a head of Indian wheat. This remarkable character will serve to distinguish it at any time. The inhabitants, to preserve the seed, pierce those bags with

* "Odessa is a very interesting place; and being the seat of government, and the only quarantine allowed except Caffa and Taganrog, is, though of very late erection, already wealthy and flourishing; too much praise cannot be given to the duke of Richelieu, to whose administration, not to any natural advantages, this town owes its prosperity. The bay is good and secure, but all round is desert; and it labours under the want of a navigable river, and a great scarcity of fresh water. There are two wells in the town, both brackish; and a third, a very fine one, on the opposite side of the bay; a fourth had been just discovered, when I was there, in the garden of an Italian merchant; and was talked of like a silver mine. All commodities are either brought in barks from Cherson, or drawn over the *steppe* by oxen, who were seen lying in the streets or on the new quay, greatly exhausted with thirst, or almost furious in their struggles to get at the water, when it was poured into the troughs. The situation of the town, however, is healthy and pleasant in other respects. The quarantine is large and well constructed.

"As far as I could learn (and I made many inquiries) it was very bad policy to fix their quarantine at Odessa instead of Otchakof, where was a city and fortress ready built in a situation perfectly secure from the Turks, and which, lying at the junctions of the Bog and Dnieper, is the natural emporium of the seas. The harbour, I understand, is perfectly secure; and, even if the Liman were unsafe, the Bog affords a constant shelter. The observations generally made was, the necessity of a secure quarantine; to which it was answered, that the point of Kinburn afforded a situation even more secure than Odessa. If these facts are true, a wise government would, probably, without discouraging Odessa, restore the quarantine to Otchakof, and allow them both to take their chance in a fair competition. This, however, seems little understood in Russia; Potemkin had no idea of encouraging Cherson, but by ruining Taganrog; and at present Cherson is to be sacrificed to the new favourite, Odessa." *Heber's MS. Journal.*

skewers, and hang them up in their houses.* The watermelons of Odessa are sometimes superiour to the finest sold in the markets of Naples, and are nearly equal to those found upon the coast of Syria. The whole country is destitute of wood; for fuel they burn weeds gathered in the *steppes*, as well as bundles of reeds and cowdung; this last they collect and stick upon the sides of their houses; a custom practised in the Isle of Portland, and throughout the county of Cornwall.

Odessa is remarkable for the superiour flavour of its mutton; which, however, does not equal that of the Crimea. Their sheep are slaughtered at a very early age, and brought to table the day they are killed. This circumstance renders animal food unpleasant at a Russian table, because it cannot be eaten unless dressed until it falls to pieces. The same custom prevails with regard to poultry, which are neither killed nor picked until the water of the kettle boils in which they are to be dressed. Of all the dishes known in Russia, there is nothing in such general esteem from the peasant to the prince, as a kind of *Pâtés*, which are called *Piroghi*. These, at the tables of the great, are served with the soup in the first course. In the streets of Moscow and Petersburgh, they are sold upon stalls. They are well-tasted, but extremely greasy, and often full of oil; consisting of minced meat, or brains, rolled up in pancakes, which are afterwards fried in butter, or oil, and served hot. The rolls described by Bruce, with which women, in a certain part of Ethiopia, feed their husbands, are nearly similar; only the meat is raw, and the roll is of dough; yet the mouth of a Russian prince would water at the sight of the Ethiopian *piroghi*. Pigeons are rarely seen at the tables of the Russians; they entertain a superstitious veneration for the animal, because the Holy Ghost assumed the form of a dove. These birds are kept more for amusement than for food, and are often maintained with great care at an enormous expense. The rich employ servants to look after them, and to teach them a number of tricks; among which a very favourite one is, to rise from the hand, whirling in spiral curves to a very great height, and then to fall at once like a stone, until they come within a few yards of the ground. They are taught to whirl with long, white wands,† and to fall by

* We brought some seeds to England; but no plants were produced from them.

† See p. 71, of this volume.

means of a string fastened to them, by which they are suddenly pulled down, until by degrees they acquire the art of falling without being thus admonished.

The etiquette of precedency, so rigorously observed at a Russian table, prevails also in the order of the dishes and bottles arranged for the guests. In barbarous times we had something like it in England. Perhaps the custom is not even now quite extinct in Wales; it is preserved in large farm houses in remote parts of England, where all the family, from the master to the lowest menial, sit down to the same table. The choicest dishes are carefully placed at the upper end, and are handed to those guests who sit near the owner of the mansion, according to the order in which they sit; afterwards, if any thing remains, it is taken gradually to the rest. Thus a degree in precedency makes all the difference between something and nothing to eat; for persons at the bottom of the table are often compelled to rest satisfied with an empty dish. It is the same with regard to the wines; the best are placed near the top of the table, but, in proportion as the guests are removed from the post of honour, the wine before them diminishes in quality, until at last it degenerates into simple *quas*. Few things can offer more repugnance to the feelings of an Englishman, than the example of a wealthy glutton, pouring forth eulogium upon the choice wines he has placed before a stranger merely out of ostentation, while a number of brave officers and dependants are sitting by him, to whom he is unable to offer a single glass. I sometimes essayed a violation of this barbarous custom, by taking the bottle placed before me, and filling the glasses of those below; but the offer was generally refused through fear of giving offence by acceptance, and it was a mode of conduct which I found could not be tolerated, even by the most liberal host. At a Russian table, two tureens of soup usually make their appearance, as we often see them in England; but, if a stranger should ask for that which is placed at the bottom of the table, the master of the house regards him with dismay, the rest all gaze at him with wonder, and when he tastes what he has obtained, he finds it to be a mess of dirty and abominable broth, stationed for those who never venture to ask for soup from the upper end of the table.

A droll accident befel two English gentlemen of considerable property, who were travelling for amusement in Russia. They were at Nicholaef; and, being invited by the

chief admiral to dinner, were placed as usual at the head of the table, where they were addressed by the well known title of *Milords Anglois*. Tired of this ill placed distinction, they assured the admiral they were not lords. "Then pray," said their host, "what rank do you possess?" The lowest Russian admitted to an admiral's table possesses a certain degree of rank; all who are in the service of the crown are noble by their profession; and they cannot comprehend the title of a mere *gentleman*, without some specifick title annexed. The Englishmen replied, however, that they had no other rank than that of English gentlemen. "*But your title? You must have some title!*" No, said they, we have no title; but that of English gentlemen. A general silence, and many sagacious looks followed this last declaration. On the following day they presented themselves again at the hour of dinner, and were taking their station as before. To their surprise they found that each person present, one after the other, placed himself above them. One was a general; another a lieutenant; a third an ensign; a fourth a police officer; a fifth an army surgeon; a sixth a secretary; and so on. All this was very well; they consoled themselves with the prospect of a snug party at the bottom of the table, where they would be the farther removed from ceremony; but lo! when the dishes came round, a first was empty; a second contained the sauce without the meat; a third the rejected offals of the whole company; and at length they were compelled to make a scanty meal upon the slice of black bread before them, and a little dirty broth from the humble tureen, behind whose compassionate veil they were happy to hide their confusion; at the same time being more amused than mortified at an adventure into which they now saw they brought themselves by their unassuming frankness. Had either of them said, as was really the case, that they were in the service of his Britanick majesty's militia, or members of the Associated Volunteers of London, they would never have encountered so unfavourable a reception.

But more serious difficulties frequently follow a want of attention to these prejudices in visiting the interiour of Russia. When a *Poderosnoi*, or order for post-horses, is made out, it will often be recommended to foreigners, and particularly to Englishmen, to annex some title to the simple statement of their names. Without this, they will be considered during their journey as mere slaves, and will be liable to frequent insult, delay, and imposition. The precaution is of

such importance, that experienced travellers have introduced the most ludicrous distinctions upon these occasions, and have represented themselves as barons, brigadiers, inspectors, and professors, in short, as any thing which may enable them to pass as freedmen. For example; "*Monsieur le Capitaine*, A. B. C. *avec le Directeur*, D. E. F. *et la President*, G. H. I. *et leurs domestiques*, K. L. M." So necessary is a due regard to these particulars, that an officer of very high rank in the service, assured us, on leaving Moscow, we should find ourselves frequently embarrassed in our route because we would not abandon the pride of calling ourselves commoners of England; and we had reason to regret the neglect with which we treated his advice, during the whole of our subsequent travels in the country.

It has been already stated, that we left the Crimea with an intention to undertake a journey by land to Constantinople. The route is usually practicable from Odessa, by the way of *Dubosar*, on the frontier, to *Yassy*, Silistria, and Adrianople. On account of the rumoured dangers which might be apprehended from the rebel adherents of Pasvan d'Oglou, we had solicited from our ambassadour at the Porte, an escort of Janissaries to meet us at Yassy. The road is calculated for the conveyance of any kind of wheeled vehicle. Prince Nassau, during his legation to the Porte, had been accompanied by nearly a hundred carriages; and the Turkish guard, stationed at short intervals the whole way, renders the journey secure. This route is also interesting, on account of the mountainous district through which it leads, in parts of which the snow is said to remain during the whole year; and also from the circumstance of crossing the Danube so near its embouchure. Almost immediately after leaving Silistria, the ascent begins of that ridge of mountains anciently called Hoemus, after attaining the summit of which the descent is seldom interrupted the whole way to Adrianople; from this place there is an excellent road to Constantinople. A shorter route, but less frequented, and less convenient, conducts the traveller along the coast of the Black-Sea, to the Thracian Bosporus. These considerations strongly instigated us to pursue our intended expedition by land. Circumstances however occurred, which induced us to a different determination, and though we narrowly escaped the passage of the Black-Sea with our lives, we had ultimately reason to rejoice; for we were afterward informed that an order from the Russian government was actually

expedited to Dubosar, with instructions for our apprehension, and a more particular examination of our papers and baggage, than the nature of their contents would have rendered desirable. By one of those fortunate accidents which sometimes befal adventurers in a boisterous world, we found in the port of Odessa a Venetian brigantine, laden with corn, and bound for the Adriatick, whose master, *Il Capitano Francesco Bergamini*, not only eagerly embraced the opportunity of conveying us to Constantinople, but promised also to assist us in facilitating our escape, by enforcing the validity of the passport we had brought with us. He waited only the arrival of his own order for saling, from the office at Nicholaef, and we made every thing ready for our embarkation.

CHAPTER XXV.

VOYAGE FROM ODESSA, TO THE HARBOUR OF INEADA, IN TURKEY.

Contrast between a Russian and a Greek—Tournefort's erroneous Account of the Black Sea—Extraordinary Temperature of the Climate—English Commerce in the Black Sea—Fortress of Odessa—Departure for Turkey—Island of Luce—Accounts of it by ancient Writers—Mouths of the Danube—White Dolphins—Observations on board the Moderato—Dreadful Tempest—Harbour of Ineada—Plants—Appearance of the Turks—Mountaineers—Basaltick Pillars—Theory of their Origin.

THE contrast which prevails between a Russian and a Cossack, or between a Russian and a Tartar, has, perhaps, already been sufficiently delineated; but there is a third point of opposition, in which a Russian may be placed, even more amusing than either of these; namely, that in which he is contrasted with a Greek. The situation of Odessa is not very remote from the spot, in which, eighteen centuries ago, similar comparisons served to amuse Ovid during his melancholy exile. He found, on either side the Danube, a different race of men. On the south were the

Getæ, whose origin was the same as that of the Greeks, and whose mode of speech he describes as still retaining corrupted traces of the Greek language. On the north were the Sarmatians, the progenitors of the Russians. According to his account, however, both to the Getæ and Sarmatæ belonged the same.*

> "Vox fera, trux vultus, verissima Martis imago.
> Non coma, non ullâ barba resecta manu."

Perhaps we are not authorized in considering the modern Greeks as legitimate descendants of the Getæ. Be that as it may, the former are found, at this day, negotiating with as ferocious a people, on the Euxine coast, as Ovid himself selected for the originals of his picture of the barbarians upon the Ister; and the two people are instantly distinguished from each other by their striking peculiarity of feature. In order to render the contrast as forcible as possible, let us select a Greek from any of the islands or shores, of the Archipelago, and place him by the side of a Russian. The latter, particularly, if in uniform, and of a rank above the peasant, resembles one of those figures which children cut out in wood; requiring considerable address, in poising, to be sustained upon its legs. The Greek, on the other hand, active and lithy as a serpent, twists himself into every variety of posture, and stands in almost every attitude. Firm upon his feet, and generally exhibiting a graceful, waving line of figure, he seems as if he would fall, like a cat, upon his legs, although tossed in any direction. The features of the Greek may be compared to those of the Portuguese and French; having the dark hair and eyes of the former, with the fixed grimace of the latter. Generally speaking, the men among the Greeks are not handsome; their stature is small, although well proportioned. The Russian too has a diminutive person; but his face is, in every thing, the reverse of that of the Greek; offering in profile a concavity, which is very remarkable. This concavity is increased in the line of a peasant's countenance by the projection of the beard from the chin, and a quantity of bushy hair upon the forehead. "*Oraque sunt longis horrida tecta comis.*" The line, which may be traced to express the profile of a Greek, is, on the contrary, convex. A remarkable distance may

* Ovid. Trist. lib. v. Eleg. VII. ed. Lugd. 1680.

be observed from the nose to the mouth, which is never a pleasing character in physiogomy, as it gives a knavish, hypocritical expression to the countenance. The Russian has not this distance on the upper lip. The Greek has, moreover, frequently a wide mouth, thick lips, and very large teeth. His forehead is low, and his chin small. His nose partakes of the convexity of his face, more than of that partial aquiline, which is generally considered as characteristick of the Roman countenance; and when this prevails to excess, the features resemble those of fawns and satyrs seen in ancient sculpture. Of course, a description of this kind, calculated merely for amusement, cannot be without many remarkable exceptions. The inhabitants of Greece often differ from each other; those of Lacedemon, and all the western coast of the Morea, together with the natives of Zante and Cephalonia, are a much finer race of men, with nobler features, and more athletick figures, than any of the inhabitants of the Archipelago.

The anxiety, in which we waited the return of captain Bergamini's messenger from Nicholaef, may easily be imagined. We had nearly done with all that concerned Russia; yet no prisoners, under confinement in a dungeon, ever prayed more earnestly for a jail delivery, than we did to get free from the country. So surrounded with danger was every Englishman, from the Baltick to the Black Sea, and so little certain of being able to put any plan in execution, that we considered it more than even chance in favour of our being again detained, and, perhaps, sent back the whole way to Petersburgh. In the mean time, a number of little Turkish boats were continually sailing in and out of the port of Odessa; and, although they were so small that few would venture in them, even upon the Thames, in rough weather, yet we sometimes fancied they would facilitate our escape, if our scheme of sailing in the Venetian vessel should fail of success. They were laden with merchandise to the water's edge, and carried such enormous sails, that one would expect to see them upset with every gust of wind; yet we were told their owners ventured in them, not only from Constantinople, but almost to every part of the Black Sea. It must be confessed, we did not anticipate, with much pleasure, the necessity of a voyage in one of these bean-cods; for, although Tournefort was induced to publish a description, in refutation of all history and tradition, concerning the nature of the Black Sea, nothing more errone-

ous than his representation has ever appeared.* The darkness which often covers it, particularly during winter, from the thick fogs and falling snow, is so great, that mariners are unable to discern a cable's length from their vessels. The entrance to the canal of Constantinople, always difficult, becomes, in such cases, impracticable. There is no sea in which navigation is more dangerous.† Shallows, hitherto unnoticed in any chart, occur frequently when vessels are out of sight of land; and the dreadful storms which prevail come on so suddenly, and with such fury, that every mast is carried overboard almost as soon as the first symptom of a change of weather is noticed. Perhaps more skilful sailors might guard against danger from the winds; as it more than once happened, when the Russian fleet put to sea, that the ships, commanded by admirals Priestman and Wilson, were the only vessels which escaped being dismasted. Yet even those experienced officers described the Black Sea as ex-

* The account is so characteristick of a Frenchman sailing on a fine day from the canal of Constantinople, that I cannot forbear its insertion. "*Quoiqu'en aient dit les Anciens,* LA MER NOIRE N'A RIEN DE NOIR, *pour ainsi dire, que le nom; les vents n'y soufflent pas avec plus de furie, et les orages n'y sont gueres plus frequens que sur les autres mers. Il faut pardonner ces exagérations aux Poëtes anciens, et surtout au chagrin d'Ovide; en effet le sable de la Mer Noire est de même couleur que celui de la Mer Blanche, et ses eaux en sont aussi claires; en un mot, si les cotes de cette mer, qui passent pour si dangereuses, paroissent sombres de loin, ce sont les bois qui les couvrent, ou le grand éloignement qui les font paroître comme noirâtres. Le Ciel y fut si beau, et si serein pendant tout notre voyage, que nous ne pûmes nous empêcher de donner une espéce de démenti a Valerius Flaccus fameux Poëte Latin, qui a décrit la route des Argonautes, lesquèts passoient pour les plus celebres voyageurs de l'antiquité, mais qui ne sont cependant* QUE DE PORT PETITS GARCONS *en comparaison des Vincent le Blanc, Tavernier, &c. Ce Poëte assure que le Ciel de la Mer Noire est toujours embroüillé.*" Voyage du Levant, Lett. XVI. tom. III. p. 1. ed. Lyon. 1717.

† This truth, founded on the experience of ages, and admitted by the ablest writers of antiquity, might seem sufficiently well established to be considered undeniable. But modern authors, instigated by the example of Tournefort, are determined to set aside testimony so respectable. That a very considerable part of the danger encountered, in navigating the Black Sea, is owing to the want of proper charts and able mariners, cannot be disputed; yet, from its very nature, and the heights around, it is necessarily liable to dark fogs and violent squalls; consequently the proximity of a lee shore and shallows cannot be destitute of peril. Still we are told: "It is a notion received from the Turks, that the Black Sea is dangerous. To them, indeed, it is truly black; and it would even be so to British sailors, in such vessels as the Turks use, and which are peculiar to that sea. They cannot lie to, and are consequently obliged to run before the wind, and, if they miss a port, go on shore. It is not more stormy than other seas." *Survey of the Turkish empire, Fourth edit. Introd. Chap Lond.* 1809.

hibiting tempests more horrible than any thing they had ever encountered in the ocean. Many vessels were lost during the year we visited Odessa, by the storms which preceded and followed the equinox. A hulk, driven on shore at Varna, was all the intelligence received of the fate of a merchant ship which sailed out of port while we were there; and not a soul on board escaped. Another was wrecked attempting to enter the canal of Constantinople; and eight sailors, with two officers, were drowned; the rest of the crew were saved by remaining a whole day on the ship's yards, until the storm abated, when they swam on shore. Those storms were so great, that an alarm prevailed on shore for the safety of the houses. During one day and night, the stoutest stone walls seemed unequal to resist the violence of the gale. The vineyards at Sudack, as professor Pallas by letter informed us, and along the south coast of the Crimea, were destroyed; houses were unroofed: and all those with casements had their windows forced in by the tempest.

Odessa will ever be a port of great importance to Russia, while she is prevented from laying her hands upon the Turkish empire; because, from the proximity to the *Porte*, a constant eye is kept upon the operations of the Turks. It has also the advantage of being obstructed by ice so rarely, that a vessel may generally escape; whereas, in the other ports of the Black Sea, an enemy from the ice may attack the ships as well as the works. This happened when the Russians took Oczakof. The extraordinary degrees of temperature, which occur in these latitudes, are altogether unaccountable. Captain Bergamini informed us that his ship was once detained five months in the mouth of the Danube by the freezing of the sea. Ovid, during his residence near the same place, had witnessed a similar event.* Upon the subject of English commerce and navigation in the Black Sea, I avoid going into much detail, from the consciousness

* The description possesses admirable force and beauty:

"Vidimus ingentem glacie consistere pontum,
Lubricaque immotas testa premebat aquas.
Nec vidisse sat est. Durum calcavimus æquor;
Undaque non udo sub pede summa fuit."

Ovid. lib. iii. *Triest. Eleg.* X.

Those who have experienced a Russian winter will also know how to estimate the truth and elegance of the following lines:

"Sæpe sonant moti glacie pendente capilli,
Et nitet inducto candida barba gelu." *Ibid.*

that my personal observations were of limited extent, and because the theme is amply discussed in some interesting remarks addressed to a respectable periodical work.* These remarks, notwithstanding their unassuming form, bear such internal evidence of authenticity, that I adopt them as authority, without hesitation, in my appendix. In fact, the official documents therein comprised I know to be derived from the records kept in the chancery office of the British legation at Constantinople; to which the writer, as a member of the Levant company, could, of course, command access. I can venture, indeed, to pledge myself for the authenticity of the papers in question; and am glad to be instrumental in bringing under the publick eye such valuable materials for history, in a way more calculated to perpetuate the recollection of them, than the fugitive manner in which they were first published.†

The fortress of Odessa is small, but kept in good order, it has, like that of Cherson, a double fosse. We paid one visit to the commandant, a genuine Russian, living in a little hole, among bundles of official writings, and stinking like a hog. In answer to a very rude interrogation concerning our business, we said, with palpitating hearts, that we came to have our passports signed. After keeping us in a state of most painful suspense for about half an hour, the expected rouble being paid, and the *hums* and *haws*, and difficulties of office thereby done away, we heard the cheerful word *Carashol*, which never sounded so agreeably in our ears; and we withdrew, with the important paper close folded and concealed from the inquisitive observation of several spies of the police, who, with outstretched necks and eager eyes, seemed aware that it contained wherewithal to gratify their curiosity.

On the morning of the last day of October, at daybreak, captain Bergamini, of the Moderato, came with the joyful intelligence that all was ready for his departure; and begged to hasten us on board, as the wind was favourable, and he wished to get under weigh with all possible expedition. The delays of the custom house kept the vessel in port until ten o'clock. We embarked a little before nine. At ten precisely, we began to heave the anchor; but from the foulness of the harbour it was with difficulty raised. The crew of the

* Naval Chronicle, vol. XXI. p. 215.

† See the appendix to this volume, No. III.

custom house boat, who had left us, returned to get a little more brandy, and offered to lend us their assistance. At half after ten the vessel was in motion; but we lay-to for the captain's nephew, who commanded another merchant ship called *Il Piccolo Aronetto*, which had not yet cleared. Soon after eleven she came along side; and with hearts elate, although still beating with anxiety, through dread of being again detained, we bade a last adieu to Russia; steering along the coast towards Akerman, in the mouth of the Dniester,* which we passed in the evening. For the rest of this voyage, the extracts from my own Journal will be accompanied by a literal translation, in the appendix,† of the log-book of the *Moderato*, in order to afford as faithful an account as possible of our navigation in the Black Sea. At four o'clock in the morning of the next day, we were called upon deck by the captain to see the Isle of Serpents, anciently Lence, lying off the mouths of the Danube, and celebrated in history for the tomb and temple of Achilles. It is so small, that as we passed we could view its whole extent, which continued in sight until nine. According to the eye it appeared to be near a mile in length, and less than half a

* Akerman and Kilia, in Lower Moldavia, or Bessarabia, were two celebrated towns. The first is the Ὀζία of Herodotus, called by the Romans *Julia Alba*, and by the Moldavians of the present day, *Czetate Alba*, or the *White City*. Kilia, in the mouth of the Danube was, perhaps, the ancient Λυκόστομον. In the *Histoire de la Moldavie, et Valachie*, printed at Neuchatel in 1781, whence this note is derived, circumstances are mentioned concerning the celebrity of Akerman, as the place of Ovid's exile, which have all the air of a fable. It is impossible to examine Ovid's writings without being convinced, from his own language, that the place of his residence was *Tomis*, which was much nearer the situation of Kilia; yet says the author of the work to which I have alluded, speaking of Akerman: "It is famous in having been the exile of Ovid. There is now a lake called by the peasants *Lacul Ovidului*, Ovid's Lake. Ovid left *Czetate Alba*, and retired to a village three miles distant, of which the ruins are still visible. Near the cottage in which he lived is a small spring which bears his name, as well as the lake on the banks on which he used to walk. The peasants pretend that he composed poems in the Moldavian language, but none have ever been found. They have still various traditions concerning him." Similar absurdities exist about his tomb, which they pretend to show to travellers, somewhere near Odessa. It seems, those who would thus move him from the marshes of the Ister to the Tyras, or Dniester, have never read these lines of the poet:

"Quam legis, ex illâ tibi venit epistola terrâ
Latus ubi æquoreis additur Istur aquis."

Lib. v. *Trist. Eleg.* VII.

Nor can they, surely, have considered the force of these words;
——"Medio defendimur Istro." *Lib.* iii. *Eleg.* X.

† See appendix, No. IV.

mile in breadth. It is quite bare, being covered only with a little grass, and very low herbage. When carefully examined with a telescope, there did not seem to be upon it the smallest remains of antiquity. I made a drawing of it from the southeast. On the south side there appeared to be cliffs about fifty feet high. Might not its present name originate in the resemblance which the island bears to a serpent, or large fish, floating on the surface of the water? Many absurd stories of Turkish and Russian mariners are founded on a belief that the island is itself covered with serpents. An opportunity rarely occurs in which ships can lie-to in order to visit it; and, if this was to happen, not a man of any of their crews would venture on shore; although there are twenty fathoms of water within a cable's lenght of the island, and any vessel may sail close to it. The Russians relate, that four persons, belonging to the crew of a ship wrecked there, no sooner landed than they encountered a worse enemy than the sea, and were all devoured by serpents. Ammianus Marcellinus* records a similar superstition to have prevailed in his time, concerning the dangers of the place. I regret exceedingly that I did not land upon this island; because, after a description so remarkable and so recent as that of Arrian, who wrote about the second century, there is great reason to believe some interesting remains of antiquity might have been discovered. This secluded spot escaped the ravages to which almost every other portion of classical territory has been exposed; neither is it known that any traveller ever ventured there. Anciently it had various appellations; among these, the most received was that of *Leuce*, or *the White Island*. It was so called in consequence of the white appearance caused by the swarm of sea-fowl which in certain seasons of the year, were seen to cover it; serving to render the island more visible. I have witnessed similar sights among the Hebrides; where the number of Solan geese, and of other birds, cause the rocks and islands to appear as if capped with snow. All the superstitions respecting *Leuce* seem to have had their origin in its importance as a land-mark; the coast near the mouths of the Danube being so low, that mariners were unable to discern it, even when close in with the shore; and the island itself, obscured by the hazy atmosphere of the Black Sea, rendered navigation dangerous, except when conspicuous

* Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxii. c. 8.—"*Aiunt enim non sine discrimine vitiæ, illic quenquam pernoctare.*

by its white birds. On this account Pindar* called it Νῆσον φαέννην, *the Conspicuous Island*; and his commentators add, that it was "called *the White Shore* in the Euxine; where many white birds appearing, show the island to those who sail that way." And again: "It is called *Leuce* on account of the number of *white birds*† which make their nests there." Euripides‡ describes it as the White Shore of Achilles, and calls it ΠΟΛΥΟΡΝΙΘΟΝ, from the number of its birds; Scymnus Chius§ also affirms that it was sacred to Achilles, and remarkable for its white birds. Arrian¶ says it had the name of *Leuch*, or *the White Island*. The part of its history which Scymnus Chius considered as most marvellous was, that the main land could not be discerned from it, although distant only forty stadia, or five miles. This is literally true; for the land is invisible to a person much nearer the coast, as will appear by my own subsequent description, made from notes written while we were lying off the mouth of the Danube. Arrian thus introduces his very interesting description: "Sailing out of that mouth of the Ister which is called ΥΙΛΟΝ, with the wind ΑΠΑΡΚΤΙΑΣ,** the island of Achilles, appears; by some called the Course of Achilles and by others, from its colour, the White Island. It is related: Thetis gave this isle to Achilles, and that he still inhabits it; his temple and statue, both of very ancient workmanship, are there seen. No human being dwells there; only a few goats, which mariners convey as votive offerings. Other offerings, or sacred gifts, are suspended in honour of Achilles; such as vases, rings, and costly stones. Inscriptions are also read there, in the Greek and Latin language, in different metres, in honour of Achilles and Patroclus; for Patroclus is there worshipped as well as Achilles. A number also of aquatick birds are seen; such as the larus, the diver, and the sea-quail. Those birds

* Pindar Nem.

† Ἐρωδίοι, Pelicans.

‡ Iphigen. in Taur.

§ Scymnus Chius, Frag. 1. 45.

¶ Arrian. Peripl. Pont. Eux. p. 21. Ed. Huds. Ox. 1698.

** *Aparctias* was a name given by the Greeks to the north wind, as appears by this passage from Pliny: "From the north blows the wind SEPTENTRIO; and between that and the rising of the solstitial sun, AQUILO: these are respectively named (*by the Greeks*) *Aparctias* and *Boreas*." *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* ii.

one have the care of the temple. Every morning they re-
ir to the sea, wet their wings, and sprinkle the temple;
erwards sweeping with their plumage its sacred pave-
nt." A further account of the superstitions respecting
e island is then added by the same author, who relates that
hilles and Patroclus appear in dreams to those who ap-
oach it, and tell them where to land; "all of which," says
rian, "appears to me very worthy of credit." Many other
thors, although of less note, contribute by their descrip-
ns to the celebrity of this very interesting island. Philos-
tus* affords its dimensions, stating that it is thirty stadia,
three miles and three quarters, in length; and four stadia,
half a mile, wide; and this account corresponds with its
pearance, from the distance at which it was visible to us.
is further mentioned by Pausanias,† and by Ammianus
arcellinus.‡ According to ancient poets, the souls of de-
rted heroes enjoyed there perpetual repose and felicity.§
stus Avienus,¶ although erroneous in his account of its
uation, alludes to this part of its history in the following
ies:

"Ora Borysthenii quà fluminis in mare vergunt,
E regione procul spectabit culmina Leuces;
Leuce cana jugum, Leuce sedes animarum."

In the number of ancient writers by whom this island is
entioned, several, as might be expected, had confused and
en false notions of its position in the Euxine. Some of
em describe it as opposite either the mouth of the Bo-
sthenes, or the Tyras, others, as lying between those riv-
. A few have confounded it with the neck of land which
s between the mouth of the Borysthenes and the *Sinus*
rsinites formerly called the *Dromus Achillis*, and now
lled *Kilbûrnii*. Arrian is the only author whose text
y be reconciled with the true situation of the island; and
t to his description, in point of accuracy, is that given
his predecessor, Strabo.** Its modern names are *Ilan*

* Philostratus in Heroicis.

† Pausan. in Laconicis.

‡ Ammian Marcell. lib. xxii. c. 8.

§ The Turks also believe the souls of men, after death, reside in the
ies of birds.

¶ Festus Avienus in orbis descriptione.

** Strab. lib. vii.

Idase, and *Phidonisi*.* It is placed wrong in all the charts; in some it is altogether omitted, and indeed its existence has been doubted by modern geographers. The best, and almost the only charts of the Black Sea, are those which were printed in Paris: yet even in these the Isle of Serpents lies 15 minutes or geographical miles, too far towards the north. A greater errour prevails respecting the port of Odessa, which may lead ships into danger, as it is placed at least 27′, out of its position towards the north. The great obscurity which often prevails over the Black Sea in the winter, renders it a fortunate event to make the Isle of Serpents, not only, as was said before, from the impossibility of descrying the coast near the Danube, but because ships are liable to run upon it during the night. The principal cause of danger, however, must be attributed to the ignorance of pilots, and a deficiency of proper charts. We had on board two excellent sextants, and observations were daily made at noon; by these we found our latitude to equal 44°. 44′, the ship lying at the time five leagues and a half to the south of the island. A third sextant, on board the vessel commanded by the captain's nephew, was also employed by him which enable us, by comparison, to detect, with greater certainty, the errours in the French charts.

Having passed the Isle of Serpents, we fell in with the current from the Danube. So great is the extent over which its waters diffuse themselves from the shallowness of the sea, that, although the discharge is scarcely adequate to our notions of so considerable a river, the effect is visible, for several leagues, by the white colour communicated. Dipping buckets in the waves, we observed that the water was almost sweet at the distance of three leagues from the mouth of the river, and within one league it was perfectly fit for use on board. The shore is very flat all the way from Odessa to the Danube, and so low, near the river's mouth,

* It is laid down in the manuscript chart of Freducius of Ancona, preserved in the library of Wolfebutel, near Vienna, under the name of *Fidonixi*, and delineated as having a port. That chart bears date AD. 1497. Count John Potocki, in its illustration, states, that *Fido-Nixi* signifies *Isle de la Foy*. The count sailed from the Dnieper for Constantinople in 1784 and gives this account of the island, which he passed during the voyage: "*J'ai fait moi-même ce trajet en l'année* 1784, *et n'ai pas manqué de demander s'il ne se trouvoit pas dans l'isle des restes de temple ou de quelque autre edifice. Lion me repondoit alors, qu'il étoit difficile d'y aborder; tant parceque la côte étoit dangereuse que parceque la terre y étoit couverte de serpents venimeux.*" Mémoire sur en Nouveau Peryple du Pont Euxin, par le Comte Jean Potocki, Vien. 1796.

that no other object appears to those who approach the shore, than tall reeds rising out of the water, or the masts of vessels, lying in the river. A very singular appearance takes place in the mouths of the Danube, which I am unable to explain. The dolphins,* which every where else exhibit a dark colour, are there perfectly white. This may wear so much the air of a fable, that, in proof of the fact, I shall only state a practice which prevails among Greek mariners, during mists and dark weather, of ascertaining their position by such phenomena. As soon as they descry the white dolphins, they become assured that they are in the current of the Danube, although in thirty fathoms water, and many leagues distant from its mouth. It has been already stated that the water is of a white colour, and probably, from this circumstance, arises the supposed colour of the dolphin.†

After passing the mouths of the Danube, but still carried by its current, we observed four mountains with such regular conical forms, and so insular as to their situation in a horizon otherwise perfectly flat, that we at first supposed them to be immense *tumuli*. The captain, however, assured us that they were at least twenty three leagues distant to Wallachia, our situation being about three leagues from the shore. Soon after, another mountain appeared in view; making the whole group to consist of five. Other elevations of less magnitude were afterwards visible; but speaking generally of the coast, it is low and flat.

November 2nd. Our observation by sextant this day proved our latitude to be 34°. 25′; the ship's distance from the mouths of the Danube being, at the time of observation, five leagues and a half. The water, even here, tasted very little brackish. Sounded, and found a depth of one hundred and fifty English feet. We had calm weather during this and the preceding day.

November 3d. The atmosphere somewhat overcast. We discovered the coast indistinctly from the masthead, in thirty fathom water. Our latitude, at noon, was 43°. 30′.

November 4th. Atmosphere this day turbid. We had but little wind from the east, but a good deal of sea rose. From

* Dolphin is the name given to this fish, in these seas, and it is the *Delphinus* of Pliny; which I believe, is nothing more than our porpoise. They are seen sporting in great abundance, and generally in pairs, in the Straits of Taman and Constantinople.

† The notion of *white dolphins*, in this part of the Black Sea, seems connected with opinions entertained by the ancients concerning the *whiteness* of the island of Achilles; and of the birds seen there.

midday, until five o'clock, P. M. our course was S. S. W. at that hour we descried Cape Kelegry, somewhat less than seven leagues distant. Unable to make any observation of the ship's latitude. Cloudy weather and a heavy sea.

November 5th. The weather still hazy; a light wind from the east, and a heavy sea. The crew observed, during the day that our vessel leaked, and made about an inch of water in four hours, owing to the heavy sea. At six in the evening there fell a calm, when we discovered the coast and at daybreak, the next morning [November 6th] observed distinctly the land at the mouth of the canal of Constantinople, distant about six leagues and a half. All this morning we were animated by the captain with such hopes of entering the canal, that we expected to breakfast in Constantinople. During our short voyage from Odessa, the captain, by lying to continually for his nephew's ship, which proved but an indifferent sailer, had regularly lost one league in three; and it happened, most unfortunately, that we had to lie to again at the very mouth of the canal; by which delay we not only lost the opportunity of getting in at that time, but nearly sacrificed the crews and cargoes of both ships. The copy from our log-book, given in the appendix, will best tell what our situation was in the dreadful storm that succeeded. Landsmen are apt to magnify the danger they encounter by sea; but it will appear that, in this instance, little room was offered for amplification. At midday we stood opposite to the light-house of the canal; this bore only ten miles distant to the west; but a calm, accompanied by a heavy sea, prevented our approach. During the evening the crew were employed in working the pumps.

November 7th. At sunrise, the wind had gained considerable force, and the sails were reefed. We still discerned the mouth of the canal, and even the lighthouse on the Asiatick side. About ten, we took in all the reefs in the main-topsail, and at noon, the wind still increasing, struck the topsail yards. A tremendous sea rolled over the deck from one side to the other, and the water in the hold increasing fast, all hands were called to the pumps, which were kept working continually. At four in the afternoon we had our last view of the canal, distant about eight leagues. Within half an hour afterwards the Black Sea afforded a spectacle which can never be forgotten by those who saw it. We were steering with a hard gale and heavy sea, from the S. S. W. when there appeared, in the opposite horizon, clouds in

the form of pillars, dark and terrible; these were whirled upon their bases, and advanced, with astonishing rapidity, along the horizon, on either side, against the wind. Our captain, who had retired for a short repose, being called by the boatswain to notice this appearance, instantly ordered all the yards to be struck, and we remained under bare poles, while a general silence prevailed on board. The suspense was not of long duration. Suddenly such a hurricane came upon the vessel, from the northwest, that we thought she would have foundered in the mere attempt to take it, as their mode of expression is, *in poop.** During one entire hour the ship was suffered to drive before the storm, encountering all the fury of the wind and sea, without being able to bear away from the land. At every plunge our vessel made, her bowsprit and forecastle were carried under water; a few sailors in the helm were lashed to the steerage, but almost every thing upon the deck was washed away. If the tempest had continued half an hour longer, no one of the crew would have survived to tell the story. About five o'clock it somewhat abated, and the captain laid the vessel, as he termed it; *a la capa*,† hoisting the jib, and a portion of the mainsail, to get clear of the shore. Still the vehement agitation of the waves continued, the deck being continually under water. At six o'clock it came on to blow again from the s. w. so that, with the swell from two opposite points of the compass at the same time, a sea was raised, which none of the crew had ever beheld before. All this time the leak was gaining fast upon us, and we passed a night that cannot be described. Two Turkish vessels, towards sunset, were seen under the lee of the *Aronetto*, both of which foundered before morning, and every soul on board perished. To increase the horrour of our situation, scarcely any of the crew could be kept to their station; but slunk away, and crept to their hammocks, leaving the ship at the mercy of the sea.

The next day, Saturday, November 8th, at noon, we made the high land to the south of the canal, bearing s. w. and distant about ten leagues. The tempest continued as before, during the whole day and following night; but we were able

* Taking a gale *in pupa*, is done by opposing the ship's stern to the wind, and letting her drive before it under bare poles.

† *A la capa* is placing the ship in a diagonal position, with her rudder to leeward, so that her head is kept to the sea, but the vessel lies stationary upon the water.

to keep the pumps going, and gained considerable upon the leak. Three hours after midnight, on the morning of November 9th, we made the coast of Anatolia, near the mouth of the canal. At noon, on this day, a calm succeeded, which was, if possible, more terrible than the hurricane; the ship continuing to labour incessantly, with her deck continually under water, the sails and rigging flying to pieces, and all things at the mercy of the waves. The whole of Sunday, November 9th, was passed in the same manner, until about six o'clock P. M. when a light wind, springing up from the south enabled us to put the ship's prow to the westward, and about eight on the following morning, November 10th, we again made the land at the mouth of the canal. The whole of this day we continued steering, with a heavy sea, towards the S. S. W. but from midnight until seven, A. M. November 11th, a stormy wind prevailing from the S. W. we kept the ship's head W. and by N. when we discovered the coast on the European side, and a mountain, which the sailors called *Gabbiam*, to the N. W. of the harbour of *Ineada*, in Turkey. Towards noon, the weather, fortunately for us, became more calm, for we discovered that the ship's cargo, which was of corn, had shifted, the pumps becoming choked with her lading; and the vessel, at the same time, preponderating towards her starboard side. We therefore opened all her larboard portholes, and moved as much of her cargo as possible; but, finding it impossible to right her, and being to windward of the harbour of Ineada, we put the ship's head to the west, and, to our great joy, at four o'clock, P. M. came to an anchor within the port, in six fathoms water.

The harbour of Ineada lies in 41° 52′ of north latitude. A few scattered houses upon its shore carry on a small trade, in the occasional supply of coffee, tobbacco, dried beef, cheese, curd, fruit, and fresh water, to Turkish mariners, and other navigators of the black sea. Charcoal is also there made for exportation; several fabricks busy in its preparation, were seen smoking near the beach, and upon the hills above, when we arrived. The chief part of it is sent to Constantinople, where it is almost the only article of fuel. Turkish boats were continually lading with it while we remained. There is no village, nor inhabited spot within three hours' distance of this port.* The interiour of the country was de-

* The distances in Turkey, and almost all over the east, are measured by time; that is to say, by the number of hours usually employed by a ca-

ibed as in a very dangerous state; especially the road to lrianople, owing not so much to the adherents of the el chief, Pasvan Oglou, as to the number of Turkish ops passing under various pretences, and to the banditti ich more or less always infest that part of the country. ssels frequenting this harbour, generally prefer its north le, where they find good anchorage, among gravel mixed th black sand. It is only exposed to winds from the east, d southeast; and is sufficiently spacious to contain a fleet. ke the port of Odessa, however, it rather merits the appel- ion of a road for shipping than a harbour; as a heavy sea ers when those winds blow to which it lies open. At the ne of our arrival, there was hardly a single boat in the rt; but, before we left it, we noticed five large merchant ips, besides upwards of thirty Turkish *checktirmeh*, all ing at anchor. The latter were stationed close to the ore on the north side, where there were two coffeehouses; se, in a Turkish harbour, correspond with the brandy ops, or ale houses, frequented by English sailors, coffee ng the substitute for spirits or beer. In those coffeehouses y be seen groups of Turkish mariners, each party squat- in a circle round a pan of lighted charcoal; and, either oking, sipping coffee, chewing opium, or eating a sort of etmeat, in shape like a sausage, made of walnuts or al- nds, strung upon a piece of twine, and dipped in the con- ted syrup of new wine, boiled until it has acquired the sistence of a stiff jelly and bends in the hand like a piece ndian rubber. The coffeehouses have grated windows those of a common jail, without any glass casement, as they use no other stove to heat the room than the braziers I have mentioned, the climate cannot be very ous. When we landed, we found the earth still cover- ith flowers at this advanced season of the year; particu- with those of a plant resembling the daisy; but with oms as large as an English shilling; perhaps those of *Bellis sylvestris*, common in Portugal. We found a es of *Allium* and the *hyacinthus botryoides* very abun- ; also, a very beautiful *Dianthus*, the flowers of which aggregated at the end of every separate stem. Wild ppeared among the rocks. We collected the seeds of al other plants. The trees had not yet cast their leaves; e were surprised to find the heat of the sun towards

pon its march; and these are estimated according to the pace of a which generally proceeds at the rate of three miles an hour.

the middle of November, too great to render walking a pleasing exercise. We landed the evening of our arrival: and, as first impressions are usually the most vivid in visiting new scenes, it may be well to note even the trivial events that took place upon this occasion.

It was nearly night. A number of Turkish sailors, black and frightful, were employed in lading a boat with charcoal; singing during their labour. Their necks, arms, and legs were naked. They had large wiskers, and wore turbans. The rest of their clothes consisted in a short jacket with a pair of drawers. As we proceeded from the shore, a party of better dressed natives approached us; every one of whom was differently habited. One wore a long pelisse, with a high Tartar cap; another a large green turban; a third, who was a Greek slave, and kind of "*Mungo here, Mungo there,*" at every one's call, had upon his head a small skull-cap of red cloth. The heavy looking Turks, rolling their yellow sleepy eyes, and exhaling volumes of smoke from their lips, spoke to no one, seeming to think it labour to utter a syllable, or even to put one foot before the other. Some few murmured out the word *Salaam;* upon which our captain congratulated us; adding, "The *welcome* of a Turk, and the *farewell* of a Russian, are pleasing sounds." Encouraged by this favourable character of the people, we applied to one of them for a little brandy, which our crew wanted; but were instantly checked by the captain, who asked, how we could think of asking a Turk for brandy? and directed us to make our wishes known to the Greek slave, in a whisper, who would find means to procure it from them without offending their prejudices. None, however, could be obtained; tobacco, wood, charcoal, and coffee, was all they had at that time to sell; so, after taking a little of the latter, we returned on board.

During the night and the following day, Turkish boats continued to sail into the harbour; the atmosphere being cloudy and very dark, with a strong wind from the south, and a very threatening aspect in the sky. Their pilots said, they came "*to see what the moon would do;*" it being within three days of the change. The next day we visited the north-west side of the port, near the coffeehouses. Close to the shore appeared the ruin of an ancient mole, part of which is under water; and on its western side, as we passed in the boat, might be discerned the shafts of ancient columns, lying at the bottom of the sea. Having landed, we found the Turk-

ish sailors, with all the passengers who had arrived in their vessels, seated, as before described, round pans of charcoal, smoking. The master of the principal coffeehouse brought us coffee in little cups, without milk or sugar, as thick as we drink chocolate; at least one half of each cup being filled with sediment. This our interpreter told us the Turks consider a great proof of perfection in coffee prepared for use; not liking it when presented only as a clear infusion. The reader, perhaps, will not feel himself much concerned to be further informed respecting such particulars. So fickle a thing is taste, that Englishmen resident in Turkey, soon learn to prefer coffee made after the Turkish manner; and Turks, after living in England, drink their coffee clear.

The following day brought with it a greater number of vessels into the harbour, and many of the natives flocked to the coast to sell flesh and fruit, or to gratify their curiosity in viewing the numerous fleet assembled. By much the greater part of them were inhabitants of the mountains that separate Adrianople from the coast of the Black Sea. Those mountains, although not of a nature to be described as Alpine, seem to possess great elevation, and have many profound valleys covered with forests. Oaks, and other trees, flourish close to the sea shore. The cattle consist of sheep, cows, and buffaloes. The mountaineers, who came to Ineada, appeared as wild and savage a race as the natives of Caucasus: they were in stature stout and short; and all carried arms, both as weapons of defence, and badges of distinction. Their girdles were so laden with carabines, pistols, knives, and poignards, that, besides their cumbrous size, the mere weight of them must prove a serious burden. The handles of their pistols and poignards were made as tawdry as possible; being richly mounted in silver, studded with ivory, mother of pearl, and precious stones. Upon their heads they wore caps of black wool; and over these, coarse turbans bound about the forehead and temples. Upon their shoulders they carried the same kind of short cloak made of felt, or fleece, which is worn by the Circassian mountaineers; and from these they only differ in being more heavily armed, and in wearing the turban.

As their numbers increased, our visits to the shore became less frequent; not so much from the immediate danger to which our lives were exposed, as from certain characteristicks of the Turks, which had been manifested more than once very unequivocally, and which rendered it impossible

for any of our ship's crew to venture up the shore, or to leave the boat unattended. To these alarms were added others from the disputes which had taken place among them in their dealings; the noise of which reached even to our vessel as she lay at anchor. The Turkish sailors, belonging to the little fleet of boats, behaved better; and from these we often purchased tobacco, bread, brandy, honey, and other necessaries.

On the north side of the port is a series of basaltick columns, forming part of the cliff towards the sea, and they are distinguished by circumstances of mineral association, which merit particular notice. On the same side of the coast, to the westward of the basaltick range, the strata consist of a secondary deposit, which inclines to the horizon at an angle of about thirty five degrees. Then occur the pillars in their prismatick forms, preserving, in the line of their bases, exactly the same dipping inclination towards the level of the sea, and they continue the whole way to the extreme point of the promontory, forming the northern side of the port of Ineada. There is not a single appearance any where, in or near the harbour, to indicate the agency of subterranean fire. The strata, of which the different basaltick layers form a continuation, are of lumachella, of ochreous, indurated clay, of common limestone, or of grit; these are all terminated by the range of prismatick rocks, which end abruptly at the point of the promontory; their further extension being lost in the sea. Therefore, as this series of basaltick rocks has the same dipping inclination which all the other strata possess, it seems, upon the most superficial examination, that they were deposited at the same time, and after the same manner, as the other secondary strata; and, by attending to their internal structure and composition, this truth appears further established. Their form, in general, is hexagonal; but rarely determined with precision. The substance of which they consist, is decomposed and crumbling porphyry, so imperfectly adhering, that upon the slightest shock, it falls to pieces. In climbing the sides of the cliff, we found it dangerous even to place our feet upon them, as whole masses gave way with a touch, and, falling down, were instantly reduced to the state of gravel. Nuclei, of an aluminous substance, might be discerned in the very centre of their shafts; and white veins, of an exceedingly soft, crumbling, semi-transparent matter, not half an inch thick, traversed the whole range in

a direction parallel to the base of the columns. At the same time, the vertical fissures between all the pillars were filled by a kind of white marble, forming a line of separation between them, which prevented their lateral planes from touching. The vertical veins, thus coating the sides of the columns, were, in some instances, three inches in thickness. From all these facts it seems evident, that the basaltick pillars of Ineada were the result of an aqueous deposition; and that their prismatick configuration, like that of starch, or the natural columns of trap, seen at Halleberg and Hunneberg, in Sweden, and many other parts of Europe, is entirely owing to a process of CRYSTALIZATION, equally displayed in the minutest and most majestick forms; which while it prescribes the shape of an emerald, also directs the particles of other mineral substances to assume that regularity of structure, which has been the result, wheresoever they have liberty to combine according to the laws of cohesion.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FROM THE HARBOUR OF INEADA, IN THE BLACK SEA, TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

Voyage to Constantinople—Entrance of the Canal—Return to the Cyanean Isles—Geological Phenomena—Votive Altar—Singular Brecia—Origin of the Thracian Bosporus—Antiquities—Of the Temple of Jupiter Urius, and the Place called Hieron—Probable Situation of Darius when he surveyed the Euxine—Approach to Constantinople—Disgusting Appearance of the Streets—Arrival at Galata—Pera—State of Turkish Commerce.

ON Friday, November the twenty first, at ten o'clock in the evening, we heard a bustle in the little fleet of Turkish boats, and found they were all getting to sea as fast as possible. The wind had veered, after a foggy day, to the w. s. w. and the atmosphere became perfectly clear. Our captain, following their example, as, perhaps, deeming them more experienced mariners of the Black Sea, ordered his crew to weigh the anchor. When it came on board we

found it had lost one of its claws, which the sailors deemed a bad omen; and some of them said, if we left the port with such an anchor, we should never have occasion to use another. We were, however, under weigh; and, spreading all the great sails to the wind, soon quitted the harbour of Ineada, steering to the southeast. At three in the morning of the 22nd, we were becalmed, and a hazy atmosphere surrounded us on all sides. At four, it came on to blow a gale from the north, and we made our course E. and S. until eight, when we discovered the coast near the mouth of the canal of Constantinople, and then steered S. E. Scarce had we made the land, when a heavy rain fell which continued till midday; and we were involved in such darkness that those in the poop could hardly see the forecastle. About noon, the wind having abated, and a prodigious sea rolling, the weather again cleared, and we discovered the light tower, on the European side of the canal, at no great distance. The boatswain, first of all, gave us the agreeable intelligence of its appearance from the masthead; and soon after we all saw it from the deck, stationed at the base of an immense range of mountains. At the same time the whole coast, both on the European and Asiatick side, opened with a degree of grandeur not to be described, and appeared like a stupendous wall opposed to the great bed of waters, in which the mouth of the canal could only be compared to a small crack or fissure, caused by an earthquake. Soon afterwards a fog covered us again, and we once more lost sight of land. We were then enveloped in such thick darkness that we began to despair, and dread another scene of trial in that terrible sea, which the ancients so properly termed ΑΞΕΝΟΣ *inhospitable.** The superstition of the crew served, however, to amuse us even in this state of suspense. Our old pilot, a Greek, hobbled about the ship, collecting small pieces of money from the crew, which he tied up in a rag, and bound upon the pole of the rudder. "It was to buy oil," he said. "for the lamp burning before an image at the light-house;" a curious trace of more ancient superstition, when mariners, entering the Bosporus from the Euxine, paid their vows on the precise spot where the *Phanary*, or light tower, now stands.† About half after one, P. M our hopes revived;

* "Frigida me cohibent *Euxini* littora Ponti;
Dictus ab antiquis Axenus ille fuit." *Ovid. lib.* iv. *Trist. Eleg.* IV.

† Xenophon. Hist. Græc. lib. vii. pp. 380. 412.

a general cry on board announced that we were close in with the land. Two little Turkish boats, like Nautili, had been flying before us the whole day, and served as pilots to encourage our perseverance in the course we held. Without them, the captain said he could not have ventured to carry such a press of sail upon a lee shore, covered, as it was, by darkness. The rapidity with which they sailed was amazing. Nothing could persuade the captain, but that they were "*due angeli;*" and, in proof, he asserted that they vanished as soon as they entered the straits. We now clearly discerned the mouth of the canal, with the land both on the European and the Asiatick side; the houses upon the shore facing the Black Sea; and an enlivening prospect of groves and gardens. Every preparation was made for terminating our perilous voyage; the hold being opened to let out the anchor-cables, and all the crew expressing their transports by mirth and congratulations.

As we entered the straits, a miserable lantern placed upon a tower, on either side, presented to us all that was intended to serve as guidance for seamen during the night. Never were lighthouses of more importance, or to which less attention has been paid. An officer of the customs put off from the shore in his boat, but contented himself with merely asking the name of the captain, and did not come on board. After passing the lighthouses, there appeared fortresses, the works of French engineers; and their situation, on rugged rocks, had a striking effect.* Presently, such a succession of splendid objects was displayed, that, in all the remembrance of my former travels, I can recall nothing with which it may be compared. A rapid current, flowing at the rate of a league an hour, conveyed us from the Black Sea. Then while we were ruminating upon the sudden discharge of such accumulated waters by so narrow an aqueduct, and meditating the causes which first produced the wonderful channel through which they are conveyed, we found ourselves transported, as it were in an instant, to a new world. Scarcely had we time to admire the extraordinary beauty of the villages, scattered up and down at the mouth of this canal, when the palaces and gardens of European and Asiatick Turks, the villas of foreign ambassadours, mosques, minarets, mouldering towers, and ivy-mantled walls of ancient edifices, made their appearance. Among these

* That on the European side was the work of baron de Tott.

we beheld an endless variety of objects which seemed to realize tales of enchantment: fountains and cemeteries, hills, mountains, terraces, groves, quays, painted gondolas, and harbours, presented themselves to the eye, in such rapid succession, that as one picture disappeared, it was succeeded by a second, more gratifying than the first. To the pleasure thus afforded, was added the joy of having escaped the dangers of an inhospitable sea; and it may be readily conceived that a combination of circumstances more calculated to affect the heart could seldom occur. All the apprehensions and prejudices, with which our minds had been stored, respecting the pestilence, barbarity, vices, and numberless perils of Turkey, vanished as ideal phantoms. Unmindful of the inward deformities of the country, we considered only the splendid exterior, which, as a vesture, she puts on; eagerly waiting the opportunity which might enable us to mingle with the splendid and lively scene before our eyes. Suddenly, our vessel, instead of advancing, although every sail was distended by the wind, remained immoveable in the midst of the canal. An extraordinary and contrary current held us stationary. The waters of the Black Sea, flowing for ages, towards the sea of Marmora, had now taken an opposite course, and were returning to their native bed. At a loss to account for this new phenomenon, the captain ordered his men to let go the small anchor; and a number of Turks, in gondolas, crowding round the *Moderato*, informed us of the cause. A southwest wind had blown during many days, and by its violence diverted the ordinary course of the current. It was necessary, therefore, to wait until a change took place; and an occasion was thereby presented in which we might not only examine more attentively the scenery around us, but also inquire into the history of a country, remarkable for the natural wonders it exhibits, and highly interesting in its ancient annals.

We had passed the town of *Büyükdery*, a sort of watering place, where foreign ministers at the Porte retire during the summer months, and which is filled with villas and palaces belonging to the inhabitants of Pera. Our vessel was anchored opposite to *Yenikewy*, a similar retreat of less celebrity. Here, the canal is so narrow, that we found we could, without difficulty, converse with persons on either side, in Europe or Asia. The late hurricane had unroofed, and otherwise damaged, several houses in both these towns; and during the night after our arrival, a storm

raged with such fury from the north, that the *Moderato* and the *Aronetto*, although held by stout cables fastened round the trees upon the shore, as well as by their anchors, drove from their station during the violence of the gale. Soon after midnight we were called by the watch to notice a dreadful conflagration at Constantinople, which seemed to fill the horizon with fire, and exhibited a fearful spectacle from our cabin windows. This sight is so common, that we were told, we should find no notice taken of the accident when we reached the city; and this proved to be the case. The burning of fifty or an hundred houses is considered of no moment by persons who are not immediately sufferers; and their place is soon supplied by others, built precisely after the plan and model of those which have been destroyed.

On the following morning, a contrary wind and current still prevailing, notwithstanding the gale which had blown from the north during the night, we dispatched our interpreter to Constantinople, to inform the British ambassadour of our safe arrival; to provide lodgings; and also to bring our letters: in the mean time, having procured a large boat with a set of stout gondoliers, we were determined to adventure an excursion as far as the islands anciently called *Cyaneæ*, or *Symplegades*, which lie off the mouth of the canal. The accurate Busbequius* confessed, that, in the few hours he spent on the Black Sea, he could discern no traces of their existence; we had, however in the preceding evening, seen enough of them to entertain great curiosity concerning their nature and situation; even in the transitory view afforded by means of our telescopes. Strabo correctly describes their number and situation. "The Cyaneæ," says he, "in the mouth of Pontus, are two little isles, one on the European, and the other on the Asiatick side of the strait; separated from each other by twenty stadia."† The more ancient accounts, which represented them as sometimes seperated, and at other times joined together, was satisfactorily explained by Tournefort;‡ who observed, that each of them consists of one craggy island, but that, when the sea is disturbed, the water covers the lower parts, so as to make the different points of either resemble insular rocks. They are, in fact, each of them

* Busbequius's Travels in Turkey, Epist. I.

† Strab. Geog. lib. vii. p. 463. ed. Oxon.

‡ Voy. du. Lev. Lett. XV.

joined to the main land by a kind of isthmus, and appear as islands when this is inundated; which always happens in stormy weather. But it is not clear that the isthmus, which connects either of them with the continent, was formerly visible. The disclosure has been probably owing to that gradual sinking of the level of the Black Sea before noticed. The same cause continuing to operate, may hereafter lead posterity to marvel what is become of the Cyaneæ; and this may also account for their multiplied appearance in ages anteriour to the time of Strabo. The main object of our visit was not, however, the illustration of any ancient author, in this particular part of their history; but to ascertain, if possible, by the geological phenomena of the coast, the nature of a revolution, which opened the remarkable channel, at the mouth of which those islands are situated.

Some time before we reached the mouth of the canal, steering close along its European side, we observed the cliffs and hills, which are there destitute of verdure, presenting even to their summits, a remarkable aggregate of enormous pebbles; that is to say, heterogeneous masses of stony substances, rounded by attrition in water, and imbedded in a hard, natural cement; yet differing from the usual appearance of breccia rocks; for, upon a nearer examination they appeared to have undergone, first, a violent action of fire, and, secondly, that degree of friction, by long contact in water, to which their form was due. Breccia rocks do not commonly consist of substances so modified. The stratum formed by this singular aggregate and the parts composing it, exhibited, by the circumstances of their position, striking proof of the power of an inundation; having dragged along with it all the component parts of the mixture, over all the heights above the present level of the Black Sea, and deposited them in such a manner, as to leave no doubt concerning the torrent which passed towards the Sea of Marmora. As in a field of corn long agitated by a particular wind, we see the whole crop incline towards one direction; so, at the mouth of the canal of Constantinople, all the strata of the mountains, and each individual mass composing them, lean from the north towards the south. On the point of the European lighthouse we found the sea, still tempestuous, beating against immense rocks of hard and compact lava. These had seperated prismatically, and

exhibited surfaces tinged by iron oxide wherever a division was effected.

From this point we passed to the Cayanean Isle, on the European side of the strait, and there landed. It is remarkable for an altar of white marble, long known under the name of Pompey's Pillar. Whence it received this appellation, it is, perhaps, impossible to ascertain. If the representation given in Sandys' Travels be correct,* there once stood a column upon this altar. He describes it as "a pillar of white marble," called vulgarly, The Pillar of Pompey; the bases whereof did bear these now worn-out characters:

DIVO·CAESARI·AVGVSTO
L·CLANNIDIVS
L·F·CLA·PONTO

If by the basis is meant the altar, the characters are no longer visible; at least they escaped our observation. Sandys was too accurate a writer to insert such an inscription without authority. Tournefort confirms what he has said, by giving a description of the pillar, although the sea would not permit him to examine it closely; and he adds, that the basis and shaft were not made for each other.† According to him, it was a Corinthian pillar, about twelve feet high, placed, perhaps, as a guide to vessels. The history of the altar is preserved by Dionysius of Byzantium,‡ who relates, that an altar to Apollo was placed upon this rock; of which, says Tournefort, the base of this pillar may be a remnant; for the festoons are of laurel leaves, which were from a tree sacred to that god. The altar remains entire; and the loss of the column has only restored it to its original state. The festoons are supported by rams' heads,§ a mode of decora-

* Sandys' Travels, p. 40. ed. 3. Lond. 1562.

† Voyage du Lev. Lett. XV.

‡ Dionysius Byzantius, apud Gyllium, de Bosph. Thrac. lib. iii. c. 5.

§ During a subsequent visit which we made to this isle, with the commander of an American frigate, one of his boat's crew attempted to break off a part of the sculpture with a large sledge hammer; instigated by an inferiour officer, who wished to carry home a piece of the marble. We were fortunate in preventing a second blow, although some injury was done by the first. The loss the Fine Arts have sustained in this way, by our own countrymen, in Greece and Egypt, cannot be too much regretted. A better taste seems, however, about to prevail. The example of sir J. Stuart, who prevented the destruction of the Granite Sarcophagus, in

tion alluded to by Euripides, in the fine descriptive scene between Orestes and Pylades, at the Temple of the Tauridan Diana.* The shores of this extremity of the Thracian Bosporus were once covered by every description of votive offering; by tablets altars shrines, and temples; monuments of the fears or gratitude of mariners, who were about to brave, or who had escaped, the dangers of the Euxine; and, on this account, from their peculiar sanctity, the different places in the mouth of the strait were anciently dignified by the appellation of IEPA. The remains of those antiquities were so numerous, even in the time of Tournefort, that he describes the coasts "*as covered by their ruins;*" and almost every thing interesting or important in ancient history, concerning them, has been concentrated, with equal brevity and learning, in his description of the canal of the Black Sea.†

To return, therefore, to the immediate purport of our visit upon this occasion. The structure of the rock, of which the island consists, corresponds with the nature of the strata already described; but the substances composing it, were, perhaps, never before associated in any mineral aggregate. They all appear to have been more or less modified by fire, and to have been cemented during the boiling of a volcano. In the same mass may be observed fragments of various coloured lava, trap, basalt, and marble. In the fissures are found agate, chalcedony, and quartz; but in friable and thin veins, not half an inch in thickness, and apparently deposited posteriour to the settling of the stratum, of which the island consists. The agate appeared in a vein of considerable extent, occupying a deep fissure, not more than an inch wide, and coated by a green substance, resembling some of the lavas of Etna, which have been decomposed by acidiferous vapours. Near the same vein appeared a substance resembling native mercury; but in such exceedingly minute particles, in a crumbling matrix, that it was impossible to preserve a specimen. The summit of this insular rock is the most favourable situation for surveying the mouth of the canal; which, thus viewed, has the appearance of a cra-

the great pyramid of Djiza, by his positive orders to those of our troops in Egypt, who were under his command, deserves the commendation of all Europe.

* Iphig. enin Taur.

† See Voyage du Lev. Lett. XV. addressed to the French secretary of state.

ter, whose broken sides opened towards the Black Sea, and, by a smaller aperture, towards the Bosporus. The Asiatick strait is distinguished by appearances similar to those already described; with this difference, that, opposite to the island, a little to the east of the Anatolian lighthouse, a range of basaltic pillars may be discerned standing upon a base inclined towards the sea; and, when examined with a telescope, exhibiting very regular prismatick forms. From the consideration of all the preceding observations, and comparing events recorded in history, with the phenomena of nature, it is, perhaps, more than a conjectural position, that the bursting of the Thracian Bosporus, the deluge mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, and the draining of the waters which once united the Black Sea to the Caspian, and covered the great oriental plain of Tartary, were all the consequence of earthquakes, caused by subterranean fires, described as still burning at the time of the passage of the Argonauts, and whose effects are visible even at this hour.

The antiquities of the Thracian Bosporus have been noticed in a cursory manner by many travellers. The Abbè Barthelemy, in his travels of Anacharsis, has, upon this subject, been particularly deficient, considering the extent of his resources, and the importance of the discussion to the work he had undertaken.* By estimating the nature of the worship, and the antiquity of the temples, founded by the earliest inhabitants of the Bosporus upon its shores, some notion might be formed of the era in which the channel itself was first laid open. Formaleoni, whose writings have before been cited, has entered somewhat diffusely into the inquiry; and a reference to his work† may be found highly gratifying to those who seek for information in this respect. Tournefort has assigned the situation of the castles on the European and Asiatick sides of the strait, as the places where stood, in ancient times, the fanes of Jupiter Serapis, and of Jupiter Urius, called by Strabo, respectively, the temples of the Byzantines, and of the Chalcedonians.‡ The latter seems to have been the sanctuary held in supreme veneration; the district in which it stood was called, by way of eminence, TO IEPON. This appellation is noticed by Herodotus, Demosthenes, Polybius, Arrian, Procopius, Marci-

* Voyage d' Anachars. I.

† Hist Philos. et Polit. du Comm. &c. dans la Mer Noire.

‡ Strabon, Geog. lib. vii. p. 463. ed. Oxon.

anus, and Dionysius of Byzantium; some of whom expressly declare that it was used to signify the temple of Jupiter Urius.* On which account writers maintain that it was from this temple Darius surveyed the Euxine, as mentioned by Herodotus; but Herodotus does not specify the name of the fane from whence the prospect was afforded. The fact is, that the *Hieron* was not a single temple, but a town and a port, containing a fane of great sanctity within its district, and situated upon the Asiatick side of the Bosporus.† "The Thracian Bosporus," observes Polybius‡ "is ended at a place called *Hieron*; in which Jason, at his return from Colchis, is said first to have offered sacrifice to the twelve gods. This place, although it be situated in Asia, is not far removed from Europe; being distant about twelve stadia only from the temple of Serapis, which stands opposite to it upon the coast of Thrace." Marcianus also calls *Hieron* a country or district.§ A due attention to the features of the country may now, perhaps, ascertain the position of the eastern monarch. If he was then placed near any temple, or upon any point of land, called *Hieron*, low down towards the shore of the Strait, he could not have been gratified with the prospect he sought to obtain: nor does the text of Herodotus unequivocally warrant such an interpretation.¶ In our return from the Cyanean Isles, we landed opposite

* I have endeavoured to collect and compare the references; but the reader may find yet other authorities. *Herodot. Melpom.* 85; *Demosth. in Orat. adv. Polyclem; et in al. loc.* [*vid. Taylor in Præfat. Comment. ad L. Becenw.* p. 7. &c.] *Arrian. Peripl. Pont. Eux. ad finem; Procop. de Aedif. Justinian. lib.* ix. *Marcian. Heracleot. edit. Oxon. Geog. Vet. Script. Minor.* p. 69; *Polyb. Hist. lib.* iv. *Dionys. Byzant. apud Gyll. lib.* iii, c. 5. Of this number *Arrian* and *Marcianus* state, that the *Hieron* was so called from the temple of Jupiter Urius. *Dionysius of Byzantium* says, it was a fane built by Phryxus, in his voyage to Colchis. It is not easy to reconcile the account given by *Herodotus*, with the ordinary notions of the situation of the temple, or with the position of the modern town of *Joro*, or *Joron*, at the mouth of the strait; since, according to Herodotus, the *Hieron*, at which Darius sat, might have been one of the Cyanean Isles.

† Its name is still preserved in the appellation of a modern town, *Joro* or *Joran*.

‡ Polybius, lib. iv. c. 5. The passage is given from Hampton.

§ Marciani Heracleotæ. Peripl. p. 69. ed. Oxon. 1698.

¶ Ἐζόμενος δὲ ἐν τῷ ΙΕΡΩΙ ὁρᾶτο τὸν Πόντον πάντα ἀξιοθέητον. "*And sitting at the Hieron, and he beheld the admirable Pontus.*" Herodot. Melpom. 85.

Büyükdery, upon the Argyronian cape,* in order to examine the particular eminence which still bears the name mentioned by Dionysius Byzantius,† of the "*Bed of the Giant*," or "*Bed of Hercules.*" We there found the capital of a very ancient column of the Ionick order, not less than two feet and a half in diameter. It had been hollowed; and now serves as a basin, near the residence of the Dervish, who relates the idle superstitions of the country, concerning the mountain, and the giant supposed to be there buried.‡ It is, therefore, evident, that a temple of considerable magnitude once stood in this situation; as a slight knowledge of the country suffices to induce the belief that the inhabitants would never have been at the pains to carry this piece of antiquity there;§ whatever remains they may have removed by rolling them down the mountain. From this spot I made a drawing of the opening to the Black Sea: showing the European lighthouse upon the point of the Lycians, at the extremity of the canal; the ruins of an ancient castle, on the Asiatick side, the ARX MUNITA, mentioned by Dionysius Byzantius, as situated above the temple built by *Phryxus*; and a small port in front below the castle, perhaps anciently that of *Hieron*, mentioned by the same author, as the

* See *Banduri Imperium Orientale; Anaplus Bosp. Thrac. ex. indag. P. Gyll. &c.*

† "Herculis ΚΛΙΝΗ, hoc est, Lectus." *Dionys. Byzant. apud. Gyllium.* lib. iii. c. 6.

‡ The fables which have been related of the giant and his sepulchre, had their origin in the annals of more remote history. They refer to the story of Amycus, king of Bithynia (called, by Valerius Placcus, *Argonaut, lib. iv. v. 2000.* the *Giant*) who was killed by Pollux, the son of Jupiter. His tomb is mentioned by ancient authors; and if tradition has preserved the memory of the place in which it was situated, the origin of the temple will be thereby illustrated.

§ During a subsequent visit to the same place, I was accompanied by an artist in the service of our late minister at the porte, Mr. Spencer Smith; and caused a drawing to be made of this Ionick capital. This is now in Mr. Smith's possession. Although the discovery of such a relick, so situated, may serve to prove the former existence of a temple there, it by no means follows that it was the temple of Jupiter Urius; the temples of Jupiter were generally, if not universally, constructed of the Dorick order. At the same time, the text of Marcianus decidedly shows that *Hieron* was a name given to a whole district on the Asiatick side of the Bosporus, and not merely to a single temple. The temple of Jupiter Urius stood in the country called *Hieron*; as appears by the following passage of that author. Κεῖται χωρίον ἱερὸν καλούμενον, ἐν ᾧ ναὸς ἐστι Διὸς Οὐρίου σφοδρὰ σεβόμενος. *Marc. Herac.* p. 69.

common haunt of all persons navigating the Bosporus.* The temples, indeed, which adorned the *Hiera*.† have disappeared; but the features of nature continue the same; the awful chasm, which, in remoter periods, conducted the waters of an immense ocean to overwhelm the territories of ancient Greece, now affords a passage to the fleets of the world, bearing the tributary wealth of nations; while its aspect, then so fearful, presents every assemblage that can captivate the eye. The Bosporus of Thrace, in whatever point of view it is considered, is unequalled in the interest it excites; whether with reference to the surprising nature of its origin; the number of local circumstances attached to its ancient history; the matchless beauty of its scenery; its extraordinary animal productions; the number of rare plants blooming amidst its towering precipices; its fleets and gondolas, towns, villages, groves and gardens; the cemeteries of the dead, and the busy walks of the living; its painted villas, virandas, flowery terraces, domes, towers, quays, and mouldering edifices: all these, in their turn, excite and gratify curiosity; while the dress and manners of the inhabitants, contrasting the splendid costume and indolence of the east, with the plainer garb and activity of the west, offer to the stranger an endless source of reflection and amusement.

It was near midnight when we returned from this excursion. On the following morning we determined to leave the *Moderato*, and proceed to Constantinople in one of the gondolas that ply in the canal for hire. These are more beautiful than the gondolas of Venice, and are often richly ornamented, although destitute of any covering. They are swifter than any of our boats upon the Thames; and this fact, I am told, has been ascertained by an actual contest between a party of Turkish gondoliers, in their own boat, and a set of Thames watermen in one of their wherries. We passed the gorge of the canal, remarkable as the site

* "Post Chelas esse nuncupatum *Hieron*, hoc est *Fanum* à Phryxo Nephelæ et Athamantis filio ædificatum, cum navigaret ad Colchos, à Byzantiis quidem possessum sed *commune receptaculum omnium navigantium*. Supra templum est murus in orbem procedens. In hoc est *Arx munita*, quam Galatæ populati sunt, ut alia pleraque Asiæ." *Dionysius Byzantius, ap Gyll: lib.* iii. *c.* 5.

† The European and Asiatick sides of the Bosporus, towards this mouth of the Strait, were anciently called *Hiera*, with a plural termination; as generally referring to the number of consecrated places, upon the shore, on either side.

of the bridge constructed by Darius for the passage of his numerous army; the grandeur of the scenery increasing as we approached the capital. The sides of the canal appeared covered with magnificent pavilions, whose porticos, reaching to the water's edge, were supported by pillars of marble; when, all at once, the prospect of Constantinople, with the towns of Scutari and Pera, opened upon us, and filled our minds with such astonishment and admiration, that the impression can never be effaced. Would only, that the effect produced upon the mind, could receive expression from the pen! As nothing in the whole world can equal such a scene, it is impossible, by any comparison, to convey an idea of what we saw. Le Bruyn, one of the oldest European travellers, before the close of the seventeeth century, apologized for introducing a description of this astonishing sight, after the number of relations which other authors had afforded. What must then be the nature of an apology used by an author, who, at the beginning of the nineteenth, should presume to add one to the number; especially when it is added, that more has been written on the subject, since the days of Le Bruyn, than in all the ages which had preceded him, from the earliest establishment of the Byzantine colonies, to the time in which he lived. In the long catalogue thus afforded, no one has been more happy in his description of Constantinople than an author, who had himself no ocular demonstration of the veracity of his remarks.* The Turkish squadron, returned from a summer cruise, were, when we arrived, at anchor off the point of the seraglio. One of the ships, a three decker, the construction of a French engineer of the name of Le Brun, surprised us by its extraordinary beauty, and the splendour of its appearance. Its guns were all of polished brass; and its immense ensign, reaching to the surface of the water, was entirely of silk.

After what has been said of the external magnificense of this wonderful city, the reader is perhaps, ill prepared for a view of the interiour; the horrour, the wretchedness, and filth of which are not to be conceived. Its streets are narrow, dark, ill paved, and at the same time full of holes and erdure. In the most abominable alleys of London, or Paris, there is nothing so disgusting. They more resemble the interiour of common sewers than publick streets. The putrifying carcases of dead dogs, with immense heaps of dung and mud, obstruct a passage through them. From the ine-

* Hist. of the decline and fall of the Roman empire. c. 17.

qualities and holes in the narrow causeway, it is almost impossible to proceed without danger of putting an ankle out of joint. We landed at Galata in the midst of dunghills; on which a number of large, lean, mangy dogs, some with whelps, wallowing in mire, and all covered with filth and slime, were sprawling or feeding. The appearance of a *Frank** instantly raises an alarm among these animals, who never bark at a Turk; and, as they were roused by our coming on shore, the noise became so great that we could not hear each other speak. To this clamour were added the bawlings of a dozen porters, vociferously proffering their services, and beginning to squabble with each other as fast as any of them obtained a burden. At length we were able to move on; but in such confined, stinking, and yet crowded lanes, that we almost despaired of being able to proceed. The swarm of dogs, howling and barking, continually accompanied us, and some of the largest attempted to bite. When we reached the little inn of Pera, where a few small rooms, like the divisions in a rabbit-hutch, had been prepared for our reception, we saw at least fifty of these mongrels collected round the door in the yard, like wolves disappointed of their prey. The late storms had unroofed several of the houses in Pera; that in which we lodged was among the number; one corner of it had been carried away by the wind, so that, without climbing to the top for a view of the city, we commanded a fine prospect of the *Golden Horn*, and part of Constantinople, through the walls of our bed-rooms, which were open to the air. Pera had recently suffered in consequence of a conflagration which had nearly consumed every house in the place. There was reason to believe some improvement would take place during its restoration; but we found it rising from its ashes like a new phenix, without the slightest deviation from the form and appearance of its parent. The exception only of one or two houses formerly of wood and rebuilt with stone might be noticed; but all the rest were as ugly, inconvenient, and liable to danger, as before, and were it not for a few workmen employed in fronting the houses of the merchants, no stranger could discover that any accident had taken place.

Considering the surprising extent of the city and suburbs of Constantinople, the notions entertained of its commerce, and the figure it has long made in history; all the conve-

* The name applied to every Christian in the Levant, of whatsoever nation.

niences, if not the luxuries of life, might be there expected Previous to an arrival, if any inquiry is made of merchants, and other persons who have visited the place, as to the commodities of its markets; the answer is almost always characterized by exaggeration. They will affirm, that every thing a stranger can require may be purchased in Constantinople as in London, Paris, or Vienna; whereas, if truth be told, hardly, any one article good in its kind can be procured. Let a foreigner visit the bazars,* properly so called; he will see nothing but slippers, clumsy boots of bad leather, coarse muslins, pipes, tobacco, coffee, cooks' shops, drugs, flower-roots, second-hand pistols, poignards, and the worst manufactured wares in the world. In Pera, where Greeks and Italians are supposed to supply all the necessities of the Franks, a few pitiful stalls are seen, in which every thing is dear and bad. Suppose a stranger to arrive from a long journey in want of clothes for his body; furniture for his lodgings; books or maps for his instruction and amusement; paper, pens, ink, cutlery, shoes, hats; in short, those articles which are found in almost every city of the world: he will find few or none of them in Constantinople; except of a quality so inferiour as to render them incapable of answering any purpose for which they were intended. The few commodities exposed for sale are either exports from England, unfit for any other market, or, which is worse, German and Dutch imitations of English manufacture. The woollen cloths are hardly suited to cover the floor of their own compting-houses; every article of cutlery and hardware, is detestable; the leather used for shoes and boots so bad that it can scarcely be wrought; hats, hosiery, linen, buttons, buckles, are all of the same character; of the worst quality, and yet of the highest price. But there are other articles of merchandise, to which we have been accustomed to annex the very name of Turkey, as if they were the peculiar produce of that country, and these at least a foreigner expects to find; but not one of them can be had. Ask for a Turkish carpet, you are told you must send for it to Smyrna; for Greek wines, to the Archipelago; for a Turkish sabre, to Damascus; for the sort of stone expressly denominated *turquoise*, they know not what you mean; for red leather they import it themselves from Russia or from Africa; still you are said to be in the center of the commerce of the world: and this may be true enough with reference to

* *Bazar* is the Turkish word for *market*.

the freight of vessels passing the Straits which is never landed. View the exterior of Constantinople, and it seems the most opulent and flourishing city in Europe; examine its interiour, and its miseries and deficiences are so striking, that it must be considered the meanest and poorest metropolis of the world. The ships which crowd its ports have no connexion with its welfare: they are, for the most part, French, Venetian, Ragusan, Sclavonian, and Grecian vessels, to or from the Mediterranean, exchanging the produce of their own countries for the rich harvests of Poland; the salt, honey, and butter of the Ukraine; the hides, tallow, hemp, furs, and metals of Russia and Siberia; the whole of which exchange is transacted in other ports, without any interference on the part of Turkey. Never was there a people in possession of such advantages, who either knew or cared so little for their enjoyment. Under a wise government, the inhabitants of Constantinople might obtain the riches of all the empires of the earth. Situated as they are, it cannot be long before other nations, depriving them of such important sources of wealth, will convert to better purposes the advantages they have so long neglected.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

PAGE 6 line 11. "*A most interesting and remarkable phenomenon.*" The same appearance has been since observed near Cambridge, as numerous witnesses can testify, and precisely under similar meteorological circumstances. The stars were, if possible, even more perfect in their forms than at Petersburgh. This happened January 16, at half past ten, A. M. during the year of the publication of this volume. An account of it appeared in the Cambridge Chronicle.

P. 13. l. 3, 4. "*Brought with them the pictures of the saints.*" Broniovius, in his account of the city of Chersonesus, has afforded historical evidence of the fact. "*Ex illo monasterio duas portas æris Corinthii, . . . et Imagines insigniores . . . . Kioviam deportavisse.*" *Martini Broniovii Tartaria L. Bat.* 1630. The words *Imagines insigniores* can only apply to pictures; the Greek church admitted idols of no other form.

P. 46. Note. "*One of the late empress's favourites.*" It was Rimsky Korzakof, a serjeant in the guards, who succeeded Zoritz in the affections of Catherine the Second.

P. 76. Note. "*It was founded, according to Augustin, in* 1653, *during the reign of Alexis.*" The discordant accounts which have been published of the age of this bell, are owing to a circumstance I neglected to notice: it has been more than once founded. The first cast was made in the reign of Boris Gudenof, and injured by a fire. The empress Anne, in 1737, caused it to be refounded with considerable augmentation of metal, when it was again damaged by fire. This explains the cause of the different statements made, concerning its weight and age, by different authors; and accounts for the figure of the empress Anne Ivanovna upon its exteriour surface.

P. 100. l. 5. "*Could not be misunderstood.*" The Russians exulted very much in the failure of lord Macartney's embassy to accomplish the object of the mission to China. and I believe it is now generally known, that our want of success was owing to the prompt manœuvres of the court of Petersburgh with regard to that country.

P. 105. l. 15. "*A distinction of dialect.*" According to the classification of the Sclaves by *Schloezer*, preserved in the notes to *Storch's Tableau de la Russie, tom.* I. *p.* 12, that people admit of a sevenfold division: they were either Russians, Poles, Bohemians, Vendians, Illyrians, Hungarians, or Turks. Perhaps I may some day be permitted to discuss the interesting subject of the origin of these and other nations, where its introduction will be less extraneous. The three great progenitors, the Tartar, the Arab, and the Goth,* have transmitted to their progeny the clearest and most decisive marks of the source whence they were derived. It is singular, that from their opposite and devious track, the descendants of those families have all found their way to Europe. The Getæ, established by right of

* By Goths, I would not be understood to mean the barbarians who invaded the Roman empire from the east; but the more ancient descendants of Getæ, who, crossing the Dardanelles, peopled Thrace, and were the origin not only of the Teutonick tribes, but of the Greeks.

> "In paucis remanent *Graiæ* vestigia *linguæ*:
> Hæc quoque jam Getico barbara facta sono." *Ovid. Trist. Lib.* v. *Eleg.* VII.

long possession, were found concentered as a nucleus, when the Slavi and the Moors, by the most remote and unconnected operations, possessed themselves of the borders.

P. 195, Note. "*At the time of making this extract,*" &c. In the Morning Post of the 6th of March, 1810, the following extract was given of a private letter from Abo, the capital of Finland, respecting the atrocities committed there by the Russians, bearing date February 6th, of the same year.

Extract of a Private Letter from Abo, the Capital of Finland, 6th Ult.

"It is with the deepest regret that I communicate to you an account of the perpetration of atrocities, scarcely exceeded by the memorable massacre on St. Bartholomew's day at Paris, by the Russian troops on the inhabitants of this ill-fated country. In violation of an express stipulation in the treaty for the transfer of Finland to Russia, a certain proportion of the inhabitants were ordered to be drafted, or rather impressed, into the emperour's service. The despotick mandate was in general obeyed; and considerable levies were procured, before their destination was known to be the shores of the Euxine to fight against the Turks. In the province of Savolax the alarm became general; and the people, conceiving that they were exempt from service for a limited time, ventured to remonstrate against what they considered as an infraction of the treaty. Count Tolesky, the governour of Finland, to whom the appeal was made in the most respectful and submissive terms, invited the inhabitants by proclamation to repair on Sunday last to their respective churches, in order to obtain a redress of grievances. This artifice had the desired effect. The inhabitants, who are widely scattered, and difficult to be got at in detail, were collected in a focus; and, while in anxious expectation for the proffered act of grace, and unconscious of the impending danger, they were suddenly surrounded by bands of soldiers, who, regardless of the sanctity of the place, and deaf to the voice of humanity, dragged the flower of the young men from the altars of their God, from the bosom of their parents, and the enjoyment of all that was most dear to them in life; and moreover butchered, without any distinction of age, sex, or condition, those that attempted by intercession or force to soften the hearts, or avert the deadly weapons of their remorseless assassins. In the parishes where those atrocities were perpetrated, no less than 700 unoffending and defenceless individuals have fallen victims to the relentless fury of monsters in a human form."

P. 372. Note. "*See the additional Notes,*" &c. "Chersonesum seu Cherronesum, Corsunum, vel Chersonam, Sari Germenum, quasi flavam aroem, Turcae urbem eam vocarunt, nam solum quasi flavum ille tractus habet. Quae quod superba, dives, delicata et clara quondam, Graecae gentis colonia fuerit, universaeque peninsulae urbs antiquissima, frequens, magnifica, portuque nobilissima extiterit, admirandae ruinae illius manifeste testantur. In extremitate isthmi illius, quem parvam Cherronesum Strabo vocat, et in ostio ipso portus qris augusti, ac per universum isthmum sicut latitudo ripae utriusque maris est, urbs murum altissimum et magnum turresque plurimas et maximas ex secto et grandi lapide erectas nunc etiam habet, ac tota mari exposita existit. Aquarum ductus, qui milliaribus quatuor cuniculis ex petris excises in urbe ducebantur, in quibus nunc etiam aqua purissima est, ad urbis ipsius moenia conspiciuntur. Est in eo loco unde rivulus ille delabitur pagus quidam non ignobilis, et non procul in ripa maris, in monte saxoso, Graecum monasterium, Sancti Georgii solemne; anniversaria devotio Graecis Christianis qui nunc in Taurica sunt reliqui, in magna frequentia ibi fieri solet. Urbs illa à multis non solum annis, verum saeculis, et hominibus et habitatoribus prorsus vacua, funditus diruta ac in vastitatem, reducta est. Muri et turres integrae adhuc et miro opere

sumptuose factae conspiciuntur. Principum Regia vel domus in ea istham partem, et urbis moenibus, turribus, et portis magnificis existit. Verum a Turcis insignes columnae marmoreae et serpentinae, quarum intus adhuc loca apparent, et grandiores lapides, spoliatae et per mare ad sedes eorum in aedificia publica et privata deportatae sunt. Id circo ad majorem ruinam ea urbs pervenit; non aedium et templorum ne vestigia quidem in ea visuntur. Urbis aedificia humi prostrata et solo aequata sunt. Monasterium Graecum maximumque in urbe est reliquum; parietes templi apparent quidem, sed testitudinem non habent, et ornamenta aedificii ejus, quae ibi erant insignia, diruta et spoliata sunt. Exillo monasterio duas portas aeris Corinthii, quas Graecorum presbyteri Regias portas vocant, et imagines insigniores, Graecos aliquos ad Volodimirum magnum Russorum seu Kioviensium Principem ea tempestate praedae loco Kioviam deportavisse, postmodum vero à Boleslao secundo rege Poloniae Kiovia Gnesnam praedae itidem loco, quae in templi maximi porta nunc etiam ibi visuntur, delatas esse, Russorum et Polonorum annales memoriae prodidere; Volodimirum Principem Ioanni Zemiscae Constantinopolitano Imperatori eam urbem quondam eripuisse; verum Basilii et Constantini Imperatorum Anna sorore in matrimonio ducta, et sacro fonte ritus Graeci in eodem monasterio à Patriarcha quodam initiato, restituisse. Quod et in hodiernum usque diem in locis iisdem à Christianis Graecis, quorum obscurae et parvae admodum reliquiae supersunt, praedicatur. Ante urbem promontorium existere, et Parthenium, id est, virgineum appellatum esse, Deaeque illius aedem ac statuam habere. Ac eam urbem liberam fuisse, propriisque legibus vixisse; verum à Barbaris direptam, eoque necessitatis deductam esse. Eupatore Mithridate praesule sibi directo adversus Barbaros bellum gessisse, et tanta spe erectum exercitum in Chersonesum misisse, ut et Scythis pariter Strabone teste intulerit, et Sciluri liberos quinquaginta (ut Possidonus scribit) captivos habuerit, et à Perisade praefecto loci ditione accepta Bospho potitus sit; Ac inde ex eo tempore in hunc usque diem Chersonesitarum civitatem Bosporanis Regulis subjectam fuisse olim idem Strabo asserit." *Descrip. Tartar.* pp. 258—261.

P. 382. Note. "*See the additional Notes*" &c. "Sidagois à Graecis, à Genuensibus vero Sudacum, arx et civitas illa dicta fuit Tartaris prorsus incognita est. In monte altissimo, saxoso et peramplo, ad mare sito, in summitate montis, arcem superiorem, alteram mediam, tertiam vero inferiorem arcem, muro et turribus cinctas et munitas Graeci seu Genuenses Itali condidere. Templa Graeca ex grandioribus saxis infinita esse, et quasi sacella pauca admodum, nonnulla integra visuntur, plurima vero in ruinam versa et humi jam prostrata jacent. Superbi, discordes et desides Graeci à Genuensibus Italis fracti et debilitati civatem eam amiserant. Non contemnenda Genuensium vestigia Graecis multo clariora ibi conspiciuntur. At insignem locumque quondam, ut ex ruinis videre licet, extitisse, à Christianis Graecis, quorumque parvae admodum reliquiae ibi sunt, memoratur; Graecorum gentem eo discordiarum et inimicitiarum devenisse, quod familiae, quae dissidiis laborabant, ne devotionem quidem publicam fieri eique interesse volebant. Propterea templa illa infinita quam plurimi aedificavere, quae aliquot centena ibi extitisse Christiani perhibent. Templa tria maxima Catholica, domus, muri, portae, ac turres insignes, cum textilibus et insignis Genuensium in arce inferiori visuntur. A Metropolita quodam viro Graeco et honesto, qui ex insulis Graecis ad visitandos presbyteros illos tum eò advenerat, et hospitio me exceperat, accepi, quod cum inmanissima gens Turcarum eam civitatem ingenti maritimo exercitu oppugnasset, à Genuensibus fortiter et animose illa defenderetur. Verum cum obsidionem diuturnam ac famen Genuenses diutius ferre, nec impetum tam numerosi exercitus Turcarum sustinere amplius possent, in maximum templum illud, quod adhuc ibi integrum est, centeni aliquot, vel, ut ille asserebat,

millia fere viri egregii sese receperant, per dies aliquot in arce inferiori, in quam Turcae irruperant, fortiter at animose sese defendentes, insigni et memorabili Turcarum strage edita. Tandem in templo illo universi conciderc. Templi illius portae et fenestrae à Turcis muro impletae. Caesorum cadavera in eum usque diem insepulta jacent. In id templum ne accederem, à Caphensi Seniaco quondam Turca, quem in ea arce perpetuum ille habit, ego prohibitus sum. Portorium non ignobile civitatis ejus fuit. Vineae et pomaria, quae ad duo et amplius milliaria extenduntur, fertilissima à Caphensibus, Turcis, Judaeis, et Christianis nunc etiam ibi coluntur. Nam universae Tauricae vinum optimum ibi nascitur. Rivis amoenissimis, qui ex altissimis et mediis montibus et sylvis, quae admodum frequentes ibi sunt, decurrunt, universus ille tractus abundat." *Ibid.* pp. 269—271.

P. 386. *Note.* "*See the additional Notes.*" &c.—Putant autem aliqui fossam hanc in Tauricae isthmo factam, eo nimirum perfosso, ut insulam eam faceret. Sed quum nemo sit, qui id pro certo doceat, non possum et ego dicere, quae aut qualis ea fossa fuerit, à qua nomen hoc desmpserint, an nimirum ad fortificationem aut munitionem, an vero ad irrigandum solum ducta sit; neque quisquam mihi hactenus (quamvis diligenter inquirenti) occurrit, qui certi quid hac de re attulerit. Neque ego itiam adduci possum ut credam eam hanc esse fossam, cujus Herodotus libro quarto meminit; quod nimirum Scythis à longa et diuturna illa Asiae et Mediae expeditione redeuntibus, ac exoribus tantae absentiae taedio servis sibi conjugio junctis, ex quibus numerosam juventutem susceperant, inventis, bello eam adorti sint, in quo haec ad sui defensionem à Tauricis montibus usque ad paludem Maeotidem latam fossam duxerit; Nam si nomen ipsis hinc dandum, necesse erit ut ipsorum ea Tartarorum opus fuerit; alias enim nescio quomodo ab eo antiquo opere cognominari ita possint. Veram si sit qui me informet, nullam aliam in ea provincia esse fossam notabilem, quam hanc a Scytharum nothis ductam, assentirer forte. In medio autem relinquo, hoc saltem addens, quod fossa haec à servorum (qui ccei plerique erant) filiis ac Scytharum nothis ducta, Oriza nominata fuerit, fortassis à fine; Ideo enim à montibus Tauricis qui in Scythia erant (è qua illi egressi sunt Chersoneso de qua nunc agimus, nomen dederunt) usque ad paludem Maeotidem eam deduxerunt, ut ea regione, quae Chersonesus non erat, domum redeuntes dominos excluderent." *Descrip. Tartar.* pp. 224, 225.

APPENDIX. No. I.

THE following document is inserted to prove the remarkable fact, that during a period when England was not at war with Russia, two English gentlemen, accredited by their government, and bearing with them recommendatory letters from the English Secretary of State, were detained prisoners in that country, contrary to the laws observed between civilised nations.

It is an answer from the governour of Moscow to their petition for a passport to rerurn to England; after every application to the emperour, by means of their minister at Petersburgh, had failed of effect; given verbally and literally.

"Le Comte Soltijcof et mortifié qu'il ne peut pas contenter Messieurs Cripps et Clarke, en leurs procurant la permission de sortir hors des frontieres par la raison que ça ne depend que de SA MAJESTE L'EMPEREUR même: Ce qui concerne l,envoi de la lettre au Ministre d'Angleterre à Petersbourg, ces Messieurs la peuvent faire remittre par la poste, et elle sera rendue en toute suretè."

TRANSLATION.

"Count Soltijcof is concerned that he cannot gratify Messrs. Cripps and Clarke, in obtaining permission for them to pass the frontiers, since that depends solely on his majesty the emperour. As to the conveyance of the letter addressed to the English minister at Petersburgh. those gentlemen may send it by the post, and it will be delivered in perfect safety."

As a comment upon this curious communication, it may be necessary to add, concerning the pretended security of letters entrusted to the post in Russia, that few of them ever reached their destination; they were all opened and read by the police; and often destroyed, or sent back to their authors. We had at that time no other means of intercourse with our minister, than by sending a messenger the whole way from Moscow to Petersburgh; a distance nearly equal to five hundred miles; and it was in this manner we obtained his instructions for attempting an escape by the southern frontier.

NO. II.

FIELD MARSHAL COUNT ALEXANDER VASSILIAVITCH SUVOROF'S

"*DISCOURSE UNDER THE TRIGGER.*"*

Being a Series of Instructions drawn up by himself, for the use of the Army under his command, after the Turkish war; and since transmitted, by order of the Russian Government, to every regiment in the service.—It is commonly called Suvorof's Catechism.

"DISCOURSE UNDER THE TRIGGER."

[THE GENERAL IS SUPPOSED TO BE INSPECTING THE LINE, AND ADDRESSING THE TROOPS.]

HEELS close—knees straight.—A soldier must stand like a dart!—I see the fourth—the fifth I don't see!

* *A* Discourse under the Trigger, *is the harangue made by a general to his troops, when the line is drawn out and the soldiers rest their pieces.*

A soldier's step is an *Archine*†—in wheeling, an *Archine* and a half. Keep your distances well!

Soldiers, join elbows in front! First rank three steps from the second—in marching two!

Give the drum room!

Keep your ball three days:—it may happen for a whole campaign, when lead‡ cannot be had!

Fire seldom—but fire sure!

Push hard with the bayonet; The *ball* will lose its way—the *bayonet* never! The *ball* is a fool—the *bayonet* a hero!

Stab once! and off with the Turk from the bayonet! Even when he's dead, you may get a scratch from his sabre.

If the sabre is near your neck, dodge back one step, and push on again.

Stab the second!—stab the third! A hero will stab half a dozen.

Be sure your ball's in your gun!

If three attack you, stab the first, fire on the second, and bayonet the third!—This seldom happens.

In the attack there's no time to load again.

When you fire, take aim at their guts; and fire about twenty balls.—Buy lead from your *economy*§—it costs little!

We fire sure—we lose not one ball in thirty. In the light artillery and heavy artillery, not one in ten.

If you see the match upon a gun, run up to it instantly—the ball will fly over your head—The guns are yours—the people are yours! Down with 'em upon the spot! Pursue 'em! Stab 'em!—To the remainder give quarter—it's a sin to kill without reason; they are men like you.

Die for the honour of the Virgin Mary—for your *Mother*¶—for all the Royal Family! The church prays for those that die; and those who survive have honour and reward.

Offend not the peaceable inhabitant! he gives us meat and drink—the soldier is not a robber—Booty is a holy thing! If you take a camp, it is all yours! If you take a fortress, it is all yours! At *Ishmael*, besides other things, the soldiers shared gold and silver by handfuls; and so in other places; but, without order, never go to booty!

A battle in the field has three modes of attack:

1. *On the Wing* which is weakest. If a wing is covered by wood, it is nothing, a soldier will get through. Through a morass, it is more difficult. Through a river you cannot run. All kinds of intrenchment you may jump over.

2. *The attack in the Centre* is not profitable—except for cavalry, to cut them to pieces—or else they'll crush you.

3. *The Attack behind* is very good. Only for a small corps to get round. Heavy battle in the field, against regular troops. In squares, against Turks, and not in columns. It may happen against Turks, that a square of 500 men will be compelled to force its way through a troop of 6 or 7000, with the help of small squares on the flank. In such a case, it will extend in a column. But, till now, we had no need of it. They are the *God-forgetting, windy, light-headed Frenchmen*—if it should ever happen to us to march against them, we must beat them in columns.

† *The Russian* Archine *is twenty-eight inches.*

‡ *The Russian soldiers buy their own lead.*

§ *The treasury of the mess.*

¶ *The name given to the Russians by the empress.*

The Battle, upon Intrenchments, in the Field. The ditch is not deep —the rampart is not high. Down in the ditch! Jump over the wall! Work with your bayonet! Stab! Drive! Take them prisoners! Be sure to cut off the cavalry, if any are at hand! At Prague, the infantry cut off the cavalry; and they were threefold, and more, intrenchments, and a whole fortress; therefore we attacked in columns.

*The Storm.** Break down the fence! Throw wattles over the holes! Run as fast as you can! Jump over the palisades! Cast your faggots! [into the ditch.] Leap into the ditch! Lay on your ladders! Scour the colums! Fire at their heads! Fly over the walls! Stab them on the ramparts! Draw out your line! Put a guard to the powder-cellars! Open one of the gates! The cavalry will enter on the enemy! Turn his guns against him! Fire down the streets! Fire briskly! There's no time to run after them! When the order is given, enter the town! Kill every enemy in the streets! Let the cavalry hack them! Enter no houses! Storm them in the open places, where they are gathering. Take possession of the open places! Put a capitol guard! Instantly put piquets to the gates, to the powder-cellars, and to the magazines! When the enemy has surrendered, give him quarter! When the inner wall is occupied, go to plunder!

There are three military talents:

1. *The Coup d' œil.* How to place a camp. How to march. Where to attack; to chase; and to beat the enemy.

2. *Swiftness.* The field artillery must march half or a whole verst in front, in the rising ground, that it may not impede the march of the columns. When the column arrives, it will find its place again. Down hill, and on even ground, let it go in a trot. Soldiers march in files, or four abreast, on account of narrow roads, streets, narrow bridges, and narrow passes through marshey and swampy places; and only when ready for attack draw up in platoons, to shorten the rear. When you march four abreast, leave a space between the companies. Never slacken your pace! Walk on! Play! Sing your songs! Beat the drum! When you have *broken off*† ten versts, the first company; cast off their load and lie down. After them, the second company; and so forth, one after the other. But the first never wait for the rest! A line in columns will, on the march, always *draw out*. At four abreast it will draw out one and a-half more than its length. At two abreast it will draw out double. A line *one* verst in length will draw out *two*. *Two* versts will draw out *four*; so the first companies would have to wait for the others half an hour, to no purpose. After the first ten versts, an hour's rest. The first division that arrived (upon the coming of the second) takes up its baggage, and moves forward ten or fifteen paces: and if it passes through defiles, on the march, fifteen or twenty paces. And in this manner, division after division, that the hindmost may get rest. The second ten versts, another hours's rest, or more. If the third distance is less than ten versts, halve it, and rest three quarters, half, or a quarter of an hour; that the *children*‡ may soon get to their kettles. So much for the infantry.

The cavalry marches before. They alight from their horses and rest a short time, and march more than ten versts in one stage, that the horses may rest in the camp. The kettle-wagons and the tent-wagons go on before. When the *brothers*‡ arrive, the kettle is ready. The master of the mess instantly serves out the kettle. For breakfast, four hours rest;

* *It is impossible in this translation, consistently with fidelity, to preserve the brevity and energy of the original Russians.*

† *This is a Russian mode of expression. To proceed ten versts, they say to* break off *ten.*

‡ Children *and* brothers.—*Appellations given by Suvorof to his troops.*

and six or eight hours at night, according as the road proves. When you draw near the enemy, the kettle-wagons remain with the tent-wagons, and wood must be prepared beforehand.

By this manner of marching, soldiers suffer no fatigue. The enemy does not expect us.—He reckons us at least a hundred versts distant; and when we come from far, two hundred, or three hundred, or more. We fall all at once upon him, *like snow on the head.* His head turns. Attack instantly *with whatever arrives;** with what God sends. The cavalry instantly fall to work—*hack and slash! stab and drive!* Cut them off! Don't give them a moment's rest!

3. *Energy.* One leg strengthens the other! One hand fortifies the other! By firing many men are killed! The enemy has also hands; but he knows not the *Russian bayonet!* (alluding to the Turks.) Draw out the line immediately, and instantly attack with *cold arms!* (the bayonet.) If there is not time to draw out the line, attack from the defile, the infantry with the bayonet, and the cavalry will be at hand. If there be a defile for a verst, and cartridges over your head, the guns will be yours! Commonly the cavalry makes the first attack, and the infantry follows. In general cavalry must attack like infantry, except in swampy ground; and there they must lead their horses by the bridle. Cossacks will go through any thing. When the battle is gained, the cavalry pursue and hack the enemy, and the infantry are not to remain behind. In two files there is strength—in three files, *strength and a half.*†—The first tears—the second throws down—and the third perfects the work.

Rules for Diet. Have a dread of the hospital! German physick stinks from afar, is good for nothing, and rather hurtful. A Russian soldier is not used to it. Messmates know where to find roots, herbs and pismires. A soldier is inestimable. Take care of your health! Scour the stomach when it is foul! Hunger is the best medicine! He who neglects his men—if an officer, *arrest*—if a sub-officer. *lashes*‡—and to the private, *lashes*, if he neglects himself. If loose bowels want food, at sunset a little gruel and bread. For costive bowels, some purging plant in warm water, or the liquorice root. Remember, gentlemen, *the field physick of Doctor Bellypotski!*§—In hot fevers eat nothing, even for twelve days¶—and drink your soldiers' *quass*‖—that's a soldier's physick. In intermitting fevers, neither eat nor drink. It is only a punishment for neglect, if health ensues. In hospitals, the first day the bed seems soft—the second, comes French soup—and the third, the brother is laid in his coffin, and they draw him away! One dies, and ten companions round him inhale his expiring breath. In camp, the sick and feeble are kept in huts, and not in villages; there the air is purer. Even without a hospital, you must not stint your money for medicine, if it can be bought, nor even for other necessaries.

* Whatever arrives. *Suvorof began the attack as soon as the colours arrived; even if he had but half a regiment advanced.*

† Strength and a half. *A common mode of expression in Russia, Suvorof aimed at the style and language of the common soldiers, which renders his composition often obscure.*

‡ Lashes.—*The literal translation of the original is* sticks.

§ *Professor Pallas supposed this to have been a* manual of medicine, *published for the use of the army.*

¶ *Here he endeavours to counteract a Russian prejudice, that it is favourable to immoderate eating during fevers.*

‖ *A sour beverage, made of fomented flour and water.*

But all this is frivolous—we know how to preserve ourselves! Where one dies in a hundred with others, we lose not one in five hundred in the course of a month. For the healthy, *drink*, *air*, and *food*—for the sick, *air*, *drink*, and *food*. Brothers, the enemy trembles for you! But there is another enemy, greater than the hospital—the d–mn'd *I don't know!** From the half-confessing, the guessing, lying, deceitful, the palavering equivocation,† squeamishness, and nonsense of *don't know*, many disasters originate. Stammering, hackering†—and so forth; it's shameful to relate! A soldier should be sound, brave, firm, decisive, true, honourable!—Pray to God! from him comes victory and miracles! God conducts us! God is our general!—For the *I don't know*, an officer is put in the guard—A staff-officer is served with an *arrest* at home. Instruction is *light!* Not instruction is *darkness! The work fears its master!*‡—If a peasant knows not how to plough, the corn will not grow! One wise man is worth three fools! and even three are little, give six! and even six are little,§ give ten! One clever fellow will beat them all—overthrow them—and take them prisoners!

In the last campaign the enemy lost 75,000 *well-counted* men—perhaps not much less than 100,000. He fought desperately and artfully, and we lost not a full thousand.¶ There, brethren, you beheld the effect of military instruction! Gentlemen officers, what a triumph!

N. B. *This translation has been rendered* perfectly literal; *so that* effect *is often sacrificed to a strict attention to the real signification of the words, instead of introducing parallel phrases.*

* *Suvarof had so great an aversion to any person's saying* I don't know, *in answer to his questions, that he became almost mad with passion. His officers and soldiers were so well aware of this singularity, that they would hazard any answer instantly, accurate or not, rather than venture to incur his displeasure by professing ignorance.*

† *The words here are some of them not to be translated, and seem to be the coinage of his own fancy. The Russians themselves cannot affix an explication to them.*

‡ *A Russian proverb.*

§ *Here Suvorof is a little in his favourite character of the buffoon. He generally closed his harangues by endeavouring to excite laughter among his troops; and this mode of forming a climax is a peculiar characteristick of the conversation of the Russian boors. In this manner:* "And not only of the boors, but the gentry!—and not only of the gentry, but the nobles!—and not only of the nobles, but the emperour!"

¶ *A slight exaggeration of Suvarof's.*

NO. III.

STATE OF ENGLISH COMMERCE

IN THE

BLACK SEA,

BY A MEMBER OF THE LEVANT COMPANY:

TO WHICH ARE ANNEXED,

Certain Official Documents Extracted from the "Registrary of the British Chancery Office at Constantinople."

"AT length an end has been put to the reluctant hostilities produced partly by hostile influence, and partly by mismanagement, between England and Turkey. Having now to begin over again in that empire, after the interruption of an amicable intercourse of two centuries, it is to be hoped we shall retrieve past errours. Political misfortune is but another name for misconduct. With the terms of the treaty of peace, concluded on the 5th of January, 1809, we are not likely to be made acquainted until after the ratification. But there is one point which we may take for granted cannot have been neglected in framing the instructions for the negotiation, and to which the attention of our merchants, ship-owners, and mariners, cannot be too early directed, namely, the freedom of the Black Sea, as established in favour of this country in 1799. Those waters have been strangely overlooked by statesmen in our days, as a sort of blank upon the map. In fact, the Genoese and the Venetian republicks seem to have been the only powers of modern Europe thoroughly aware of the importance of access to the very heart of the continent, afforded by that inlet; although the policy of the Romans, on that head, is discoverable, in the war against Mithridates. The principal treaty extant between the crown of England and the Ottoman sultans, does indeed show some vestiges of our having had footing there in the days of queen Elizabeth, or James I.; but when we ceased to frequent the Black Sea is not ascertained. All the information upon record seems to be made use of in the first of the three documents annexed; which is the memorial whereby Mr. Smith, his majesty's minister plenipotentiary at the porte, solicited a fresh recognition, tantamount to a new creation, of the right of access, in favour of the British flag, already alluded to. This was speedily obtained, as appears by the second document, which declares the assent of the late sultan Selim thereto. By one of those eccentrick movements, which characterize English diplomacy, that minister was superseded, a few weeks afterwards by the earl of Elgin, who was invested with the rank of ambassadour extraordinary. But it was not until after the noble earl had been replaced by Mr. Stratton, in the character of *charge d'affaires*, that the third and last document of the series was published in the London Gazette of the 14th of September, 1802.

"To what extent the enjoyment of our privilege, thus renovated, was carried during the subsequent embassy of Mr. Drummond, is not precisely known: at last, however, a total interruption of this beneficial pursuit, in its still infant state, was one of the lamentable consequences, amongst others, of Mr. Arbuthnot's unaccountable *Hegira* from Constantinople in 1807 (on board the Endymion frigate.)

"Although it is not a part of the present subject to trace political effects to their causes, yet this slight retrospect has already introduced such a catalogue of names, as it is impossible to take leave of without a word of regret that the pernicious influence of what is by common consent, called *interest* (although a more appropriate epithet might be employed) should be found to extend its discouraging effects to the filling important foreign missions with novices: while ministers, regularly brought up in the diplomatick school, are laid upon the shelf like yellow admirals. With the two exceptions of the gentleman first named, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Stratton, both of whom completed their servitude in the subaltern ranks of the foreign line; the former, as secretary under Mr. Liston, when ambassadour at Constantinople in 1793; and the latter, under sir R. M. Keith, at Vienna, in 1788. The other representatives of his majesty at the porte, during the interval under review cannot be considered as qualified either by professional education, by official experience, or by local residence to manage our concerns in the Levant. Even down to the very last appointment to a special mission thither, destined to treat with a country convulsed by internal commotions, can it be said that personal knowledge of the orientals was in the slightest degree attended to? It is not the aim of this discussion to detract from the possible merit of any candidate, nor to withhold approbation from the useful employment of abilities: although something might be said upon the palpable combination of the Turkish negotiation with the change of system, in one, at least, of the imperial courts; otherwise the preservation of amity, with a power so critically situated in its interiour, as well as in its exteriour relations, as the Ottoman porte, would be precarious indeed. But the general respectability of the choice, any more than the success attending the experiment, cannot militate against the fact, that, with the third report of the finance committee lying on the table of the house of commons, in the Appendix to which (No. 63, dated 15th March, 1808) are registered the names of five ex-diplomatists who had served in that quarter, and are pensioned off to the amount of *l.* 8,950 annually: with the contingent pension list thus charged, Mr. Adair was sent to set foot in Turkey for the first time in his life.

"To conclude. After reorganizing our old establishments on this side of the Bosphorus, we shall, in all probability, have to form new ones in the Euxine regions. We have the successful example of our natural rivals before our eyes, as to the advantages derivable from preliminary information, whether statistical, geographical, or hydrographical, in the intercourse with foreign countries. Every intelligent traveller knows how indefatigable the French are in their acquisition, and how methodical in the application, of all those branches of local knowledge to the purposes of war or peace. This department of study is too much left to chance amongst us. In proportion to our population, we possess a greater number of well informed individuals than any other country, perhaps, except parts of Germany. But our progressive knowledge of the globe is not digested into convenient and authentick form. Our marine charts, some local surveys attached to expensive publications excepted, are in general, so defective as to disgrace a naval nation. One map maker copies the antiquated blunders of another: and thus is errour perpetuated by each succeeding publication; in which the map seller is more attentive to the workmanlike appearance of the article, than to the scientifick merit of the performance. The revival of Levantine navigation offers a desirable opportunity for rectifying the hydrography of the Black Sea.

Memorial presented to the sublime Ottoman Porte, by his majesty's minister plenipotentiary, Mr. I. S. Smith.

" His Britannick majesty's minister plenipotentiary has already taken occasion to apprise the sublime Ottoman porte of a petition having been presented to his majesty's government, on the part of an ancient corporation (not unknown to the illustrious Ottoman ministry) entitled, by royal charter: ' The Company of Merchants of England, trading into the Levant seas.' The prayer of which petition is, to obtain from the sublime porte the same advantages as are enjoyed within the Ottoman empire, by other more favoured nations, meaning thereby, in express terms, the privilege successively recognised in favour of the Russians and Germans, relative to the navigation of the Black Sea. In addition to the earliest communication of the fact, the English minister thought it expedient to avail himself of the friendly intercourse arising out of the mutual duties of alliance, in order to prepare the Ottoman ministers of state for the more formal agitation of the question. by previous confidential explanation of the opinion entertained by his superiours upon its merits. He is glad of this publick opportunity to acknowledge the favourable reception of those preliminary overtures, which it is now become his duty to authenticate, as well as to substantiate his verbal arguments, by the present detailed exposition.

" Prior to the treaty of defensive alliance, concluded on the 5th of January, 1799, the political relations of the two empires rested on the basis of ' THE SACRED CAPITULATIONS AND ARTICLES OF THE PEACE,' as they have been digested in the times of several ambassadours:* and as they have been revised and amplified in 1661-2, by the earl of Winchelsea,† ambassadour extraordinary from king Charles II And also as they have been since augmented and renewed at Adrianople in 1086, A. H. 1675, A. D. by sir John Finch, Knt. ambassadour in ordinary from his said majesty to the emperour sultan Mohammed Khaan.

" This treaty contains several articles which apply with peculiar force, to the present case, viz. 1. 4. 7. 18. 22. 27. 36. and 38.‡ to which the undersigned begs leave respectfully to refer.

" The text of articles 1. 4. and 7. sets forth in general, but in most comprehensive terms, that ' the English subjects and dependants may, with their merchandise and faculties, freely pass and repass into *all parts* of the Ottoman dominions; and that their *ships* may come and harbour in *any* of the ports or scales§ of the same.' Article 22. recapitulating the preceding permission to ' *navigate* and abide, buy and sell all legal merchandise,' enumerates prohibited commodities. Article 18. sufficiently secures to the English ' *all privileges granted to other nations*:' but to make the point more clear, it is corroborated by the prospective language of article 27. which declares that the ' privileges granted by divers imperial decrees, whether before or after the date of these capitulations, shall always be

* *Amongst whom are named sir Thomas Roe, Knt. sir Sackvill Crow, Bart. and sir Thomas Bendish.*

† *Styled in the text sir Heneage Finch, Knt. earl of Winchelse, viscount Maidston, baron Fitzherbert of Eastwell, lord of the royal manor of Wye, lieutenant of the county of Kent and city of Canterbury.*

‡ *See Appendix.*

§ *Scale. Term employed in the Levant factories, from* Scala *in the* lingua Franca *dialect, or from the Turkish word* Iskeli, *signifying literally a ladder or stairs, and figuratively a commercial quay.*

understood and interpreted in favour of the English nation.' Article 36 distinctly defines the general permission of ingress and egress to enable the 'English merchants, and all *under their banner*, to go by the way of the *Tanaïs** into *Moscovia*; and also to and from Persia; and to traffick, by land or *by sea*, through all those confines.' Finally, as if it were decreed that not a shadow of doubt should remain respecting the extent of our navigation, Article 38, contains the following remarkable maritime provision, viz. 'If English ships, *bound to Constantinople* shall be forced by stress of weather into *Coffa*,† or to such like port, they are not to be compelled to break bulk arbitrarily,' &c. &c. The local description given by this and the preceding article, can need no comment.

"This is our case, as far as it rests on historical testimony, which incontrovertibly proves that, in point of fact, the English have once enjoyed a right, recognised by an authentick instrument, afterwards reduced by the vicissitudes of human affairs, to a dormant state; but never extinguished: mere disuse, occasioned by the varying circumstances of succeeding times, is surely very different from renunciation or forfeiture.

"But, supposing that the implied right to equality of favour was not so explicitly admitted as it is by article 18; supposing further, that the fact of the waters of the Krimea had not been so specifically established as it is by article 38; nay, that England could produce no title at all in support of this claim, there are other arguments to influence the decision of the question in our favour, derived from the liberal system of the sublime porte itself, in its foreign relations, from the fitness of things, and connected with the interests of this empire.

"In the daily transactions between the chancery of state and the different European legations, how often do pretentions come under discussion which are unsupported by conventions *ad hoc?* The invariable practice is to refer all such doubtful cases to the test of ancient usage, which is almost always considered as equivalent; and lapse of time, so far rendering precedent obsolete, generally stamps it with additional value in the eyes of the porte. In proof of which may be cited the conduct of the *Reis-Effendi*, towards the English embassy in 1795, when certain reforms were projected in the customhouse *tariff*, by which the duties on foreign merchandise were collected, *ad valorem*, in order to bring the chargeable valuation nearer to the current prices of the day. The two imperial courts not acceding to the proposed change, on the ground of their commercial *tariffs* forming an integral part of the text of their respective treaties of peace, the sublime porte desisted from the measure with respect to them: and, although we could not make the same plea (inasmuch as our *tariff* stood upon the ground of a simple contract between the customer of Constantinople and the English factory, with the exception of very few articles enumerated in the capitulations) yet, for the sole reason abovementioned, Rashid Effendi, then in office, voluntarily and formally exempted Mr. Liston from any farther discussion of the subject. A memorable instance of that exemplary good faith manifested by the Ottoman government in the observance of treaties, and particularly showing its equitable construction of their meaning, relative to the English.

"Since the time when the Black Sea formed, as it were, a lake encircled by the Turkish territory, circumstances, unnecessary to retrace here, have transferred a part of the Euxine coasts to Russia; and collateral

* Tanaïs *or* Don, *a river of Russia falling into the sea of Azof, or* Palus-Mæotis: *accessible only from the Black Sea by the strait of* Taman *or* Yeni-Kaleh, *formerly the Cimmerian Bosphorus.*

† Goffa *or* Kaffa Keffeh, *alias Theodosia, a port in the Black Sea, on the S. E. coast of the Krimea, formerly the Taurica Chersonesus.*

causes have rendered the house of Austria a participator in the same privilege of access to the Black Sea, although not possessing like the former power, any territorial property in its shores. However natural it might be for any power, which was sole possessor of the key of those inland waters, to conceive its duty, as guardian of the commerce and navigation of its subjects, best fulfilled by a rigid exclusion of strangers; yet, the ice once broken, by the admission of a single foreign flag, the arguments for the original system of monopoly, not only cease to be tenable, but actually change their bearing in favour of another order of things, whereby the excessive benefit of the first grantee shall be shared and subdivided with one or more competitors, leaving the particular shades of their rivality out of the question. So far from the Turkish coasting trade being interfered with by the direct voyages of foreign vessels, it is rather to be expected that the seamanship of the Ottoman mariners would be improved by the example of a naval nation like the English, and the ship builders be advanced in their art by the inspection of more perfect models. The government can always keep the concourse of foreign shipping within due bounds by navigation laws; while the treasury cannot but feel the beneficial effects of the transit by Constantinople. The commodities furnished by the trade with England, are of admitted utility to all classes of this nation, and of prime necessity to some. By enabling the English navigator to penetrate the deep gulfs of the Black Sea, and thus rendering the remotest districts accessible to the English merchant, instead of the present languid routine of a single factory superintending two or three annual cargoes, assorted according to the limited consumption of the metropolis, with the refuse of which the provincial traders are scantily furnished at second and third hand, we shall see whole fleets laden with the richest productions of the old and new world. British capital and credit would attract flourishing establishments in the solitary harbours of Anatolia; from whence the adjacent cities would recieve less indirect supplies; and where the land-owners would find a more ready exchange for their produce. Sinope and Trebizond would again emulate the prosperity and population of Aleppo and Smyrna. The *Abazes*, *Lazes*, and other turbulent hordes, who inhabit the mountainous fastnesses, by mixing more frequently with their fellow-subjects at those marts, could not fail to learn their real interest to be inseparable from the performance of their duty.

"After this solution of the problem, in one sense, there are still some other substantial reasons, to expect the Ottoman ministry will consent to an arrangement, tending to consolidate more and more, the connexion it has pleased the Supreme Providence to ordain between the two empires: but the most elevated ground of hope is found in the magnanimous sentiments of his imperial majesty. That monarch will surely not suffer the ancient and unalterable friend, the zealous and devoted ally of his empire, to sustain a disadvantageous comparison with any other power, in point of the enjoyment of immunities within his dominions; or the contrary, the English minister indulges himself in the flattering persuasion, that even was this question one of an entirely new concession in favour of his countrymen, provided their desires were not unreasonable in themselves, nor incompatible with the essential interests of the Ottoman empire, it would encounter no difficulty on the part of the Emperour; whereas, what is solicited, is the revival of the dead letter of a venerable compact; the favourable interpretation of an ancient grant, become equivocal by change of circumstances; the restoration of a privilege, become questionable, solely for want of exercise. It is suggested, to seize the present auspicious moment, for assimilating that banner which is the victorious antagonist of the enemies of the Ottoman name, the violators of its territory, to the flags of its neighbours and friends, not less the friends of England.

Can Russia, for instance, take umbrage at any arrangement that would open its southern ports to those who are the harbingers of abundance and wealth, to the northern provinces of that Empire?

"Nor are certain moral effects inseparable from such a cause as the arrangement in question, to be overlooked by governments, in the cultivation of political relations; for although diplomatick contracts may organize the body, yet national feeling must animate the soul of alliance. It is impossible, but that such an unequivocal proof of the interest taken by the emperour, in the welfare of the king's subjects, must make the most lively and lasting impression on his majesty's mind; and must augment, if possible, the just confidence he already entertains in the person and government of his august ally. The people of England, distinguished as they are by active industry and speculative habits, will fully appreciate a concession at once so valuable and so seasonable. Publick opinion will derive therefrom that additional intensity and permanent direction, in favour of the connexion between the two countries, no less desirable to ensure its durability, than requisite mutually to realize all its immediate benefits. To appropriate the enterprising energies of a warlike people, is no unfair equivalent for mercantile encouragement: the cordial voice of an independent nation is no unworthy return for an act of grace. British gratitude will pay this tribute to Sultan Selim.

"Here closes the case which the English minister, in obedience to his instructions, has the honour to submit to the consideration of the illustrious ministry. In the first place, he has endeavoured to bring the existence of the privilege within the scope of historical evidence, as a claim of unextinguished right. Secondly, he has discussed the question upon the ground of political expediency. And lastly, solicits the imperial assent as a national boon. The reliance that he places in the justice and wisdom of the sublime porte; and, above all, in the generosity of the emperour, hardly permits him to harbour a doubt adverse to the issue of a negotiation, which, if committed to feeble hands, is founded on such a solid basis.

"It now becomes the duty of the undersigned to state, in the name of his court, the distinct object of this memorial, namely: the promulgation of an imperial *fermaan* [edict,] enacting the reestablishment of the English navigation in the Black Sea, on the footing it appears, by the sacred capitulations, to have been in the reign of sultan Mohammed Khaan, the most puissant emperour of the Ottomans, and of queen Elizabeth of glorious memory, or of her immediate royal successours. It is more particularly wished to move the sublime porte to decree the same, according to the tenour of its treaty with Russia, dated at Constantinople, 10th of June, 1783, of the Christian era, confirmed by the treaty of peace concluded at Yassy* on the ninth of January 1792, from article 17, to article 35 inclusive; subject, nevertheless, to such provisions as existing circumstances may render expedient. To which end the proper officers on both sides shall be instructed to take arrangements in concert, consulting the regulations for the passage of the sound into the Baltick sea, or such other acts *de transito* as obtain authority in the publick or marine law of Europe.

"Individually, there remains one other duty for the undersigned to fulfil; and that is, to offer his most respectful thanks to the illustrious Ottoman ministry, for the courteous attention always paid to his representations, in transacting the business of the station he has the honour to hold, and especially on the present affair; as well as for the ready access allowed him on all occasions. Also to renew the assurances of that conscientious

* *Yassy, or Iassi, the capital of Moldavia, a frontier province of Turkey, the governour or* vaivoda *of which is always selected from the Greek nobility.*

discharge of duty towards the court where he is seat to reside, of which he trusts the labours of his ministry, in critical times, have furnished too frequent and ample testimony for those assurances not to be accepted as sincere by the Sublime Porte.

(Signed) I. S. SMITH."

Beligrad, near Constantinople,
1st. September, 1799.

APPENDIX TO MEMORIAL.

Extract from the treaty, entitled the capitulations or articles of the peace

Article 1. " First, That the said nation and the *English* merchants, and any other nation or merchants which are or shall come under the English banner and protection, with their ships, small and great, merchandise, faculties, and all other their goods, may always pass safe in our seas, and freely and in all security may come and go into any part of the imperial limits of our dominions in such sort, that neither any of the nation, their goods and faculties, shall receive any hindrance or molestation from any person whatsoever.

Art. 4. " All *English* ships or vessels, small or great, shall and may at any time safely and securely come and harbour in any of the scales and ports of our dominions, and likewise may from thence depart at their pleasure, without detention or hindrance of any man.

Art. 7. "The *English* merchants, interpreters, brokers, and all other subjects of that nation, whether by sea or land, may freely and safely come and go in all the ports of our dominions ; or returning into their own country, all our begierbegs, ministers, governours, and other officers, captains by sea of ships, and others whomsoever our slaves and subjects, we command that none of them do or shall lay hands upon their persons, or faculties or upon any pretence shall do them any hindrance or injury.

Art. 18. " All those particular privileges and capitulations, which in former times have been granted to the French, Venetians, or any other Christian nation, whose king is in peace and friendship with the porte, in like manner, the same were granted, and given to the said English nation ; to the end, that in time to come, the tenour of this our imperial capitulation may be always observed by all men, and that none may, in any manner, upon any pretence, presume to contradict, or violate it.

Art. 22. " The *English* nation, and all those that come under their banner, their vessels, small or great, shall, and may navigate, traffick, buy, sell, and abide in all parts of our dominions, and, excepting arms, gunpowder, and other such prohibited commodities, they may load, and carry away in their ships, whatsoever of our merchandise, at their own pleasure, without the impeachment or trouble of any man ; and their ships and vessels may come safely and securely to anchor at all times, and traffick at all times in any part of our dominions, and with their money buy victuals, and all other things, without any contradiction or hindrance of any man.

Art. 27. " All these privileges, and other liberties granted to the English nation, and those who come under their protection, by divers imperial commands, whether before or after the date of these imperial capitulations, shall be always obeyed and observed, and shall always be understood and interpreted in favour of the English nation, according to the tenour and true contents thereof.

Art. 36. " The English merchants, and all under their banner, shall and may safely, throughout our dominions, trade, buy, sell (except only

commodities prohibited) all sorts of merchandise; likewise either by land or sea, they may go and traffick, or by the way of the river *Tanaïs*, in *Moscovia*, or by *Russia*, and from thence may bring their merchandise into our empire; also, to and from *Persia* they may go and trade, and through all that part newly by us conquered, and through those confines, without the impediment or molestation of any of our ministers; and they shall pay the custom or other duties of that country, and nothing more.

Art. 38. "The *English* ships which shall come to this our city of *Constantinople*, if by fortune of seas, or ill weather, they shall be forced to *Coffa*, or to such like port, as long as the English will not unlade or sell their own merchandise and goods, no man shall enforce nor give them any trouble or annoyance; but in all places of danger the *Caddees*, or other of our ministers, shall always protect and defend the said English ships, men, and goods; that no damage may come unto them: and with their money may buy victuals, and other necessaries: and desiring also with their money to hire carts or vessels, which before were not hired by any other to transport their goods from place to place; no man shall do them any hindrance or trouble whatsoever."

TRANSLATION

Of the original Grant of the Freedom of the Black Sea, as delivered to J. S. SMITH, ESQ. *and Recorded in the Publick Register of the Chancery of the British Factory at Constantinople.*

"The friendship and good intelligence which subsist since the most remote times, between the Sublime Porte, of solid glory, and the court of England, being now crowned by an alliance founded on principles of the most inviolable sincerity and cordiality; and these new bands thus strengthened between the two courts having hitherto produced a series of reciprocal advantages, it is not presumptuous to suppose, that their salutary fruits will be reaped still more abundantly in time to come. Now after mature reflection on the representations that the English minister Plenipotentiary residing at the Sublime Porte, our very esteemed friend, has made relative to the privilege of navigation in the Black Sea, for the merchant vessels of his nation; representations that he has reiterated, both in writing and verbally, in conformity to his instructions, and with a just confidence in the lively attachment of the Porte towards his court: therefore, to give a new proof of these sentiments, as well as of the hopes entertained by the Sublime Porte, of seeing henceforward a multiplicity of new fruits spring from the connexion that has been renewed between the two courts, the assent granted to the before-named minister's solicitations is hereby sanctioned as a sovereign concession and gratuitous act on the part of his imperial majesty; and to take full and entire effect as soon as farther amicable conferences shall have taken place with the minister our friend, for the purpose of determining the burthen of the English vessels, the mode of transit by the canal of Constantinople, and such other regulations and conventions as appertain to the object; and which shall be as exactly maintained and observed with regard to the English navigation, as towards any other the most favoured nation. And in order that the minister, our friend, do inform his court of this valuable grant, the present prescript has been drawn up, and is delivered to him."

Constantinople, 1 *Jamazi-ul-Evvell*, *A. H.* 1214
30*th October*, *A. D.* 1799.

TRANSLATION.

Official Note delivered by the REIS EFFENDI *to* ALEXANDER STRATTON, ESQ. *at a Conference in his Excellency's house on the canal, the* 29*th of July*, 1802.

"It behoves the character of true friendship, all sincere regard to promote with cheerfulness, all such affairs and objects as may be reciprocally

useful, and may have a rank among the salutary fruits of those steady bonds of alliance and perfect good harmony, which happily subsists between the Sublime Porte and the court of Great Britain; and as permission has heretofore been granted for the English merchant ships to navigate in the Black Sea for the purposes of trade, the same having been a voluntary trait of his imperial majesty's own gracious heart, as more amply appears by an official note presented to our friend, the English minister, residing at the Sublime Porte, dated at *Jemazi-ul-Akhir*, 1214,* this present *Takrir*† is issued; the imperial court hereby engaging that the same treatment shall be observed towards the English merchant ships coming to that sea, as is offered to ships of powers most favoured by the Sublime Porte, on the score of that navigation."

23 *Rebi-ul-Evvell*, 1217.
23 *July*, 1802.

NO. IV.

EXTRACT

FROM

THE LOG-BOOK OF THE MODERATO,

A VENETIAN BRIGANTINE,

COMMANDED BY

IL CAPITANO SIGNOR BERGAMINI.

Literally translated from the original Italian,

Giving an Account of her Voyage in the Black Sea, from the time she quitted the port of Odessa, until she arrived in the Canal of Constantinople.

N. B. *The days, in this Journal, after the observation of latitude, begin at Midday. Before the said Observation, they are dated at Sunset the preceding evening, and the same while in port at anchor.*

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1800.

CLEAR day—wind N. N. W. During the night, it had blown from the north. At daybreak, the captain went on shore to give information to the custom-house officer to come on board, and make the usual visit previous to the ships departure. Wind fresh from the north—sky clear. At eight o'clock the said officer came on board. After his search was ended, heaved anchor, and put to sea, accompanied by the Piccolo Aronetto, captain G. Bergamini, the captain's nephew.—Kept along the coast. At ten o'clock, A. M. passed the Cape of Odessa.

Continued steering S. S. W. along the coast, till two o'clock P. M. in nine fathoms water. At that hour found ten fathoms water.—Continued S. S. W. till five o'clock, P. M. Made the point of Akerman, which bore N. W. of us at the distance of ten minutes, or geographical miles. Continued the same course, in ten, twelve, and fifteen fathoms water, with a gravel bottom.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1.

Little wind from sunset, till six A. M.—Steering S. S. W.; at which hour

* *30th October*, 1799. † *Official Note.*

lay off the Isle of Serpents.* Then steered S. W. and by S. with wind N. N. W. At eight o'clock the said isle bore N. and by E. distant about six minutes, or geographical miles. From that time, till midday, steered S. and by W. and made 14′ course.

Latitude observed at midday, 44° 44′.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 2.

Clear weather—Little wind from midday till six o'clock P. M. steering N. N. W. Afterwards a calm. Remainder of the night, partly calm, and partly light, variable breezes. Our course W. S. W. and S. W.. At sunrise discovered the coast of St. George, and land beyond. Till midday, chiefly calm. The current bore the vessel towards the south. In the whole of this day, made about 23′ course westward and 19′ towards the east. Calm wind and sea.

Latitude observed, 44° 25′.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 3.

Wind and sea calm. Clear weather. Steered the whole day with very little wind from the east, and little sea, the atmosphere sometimes overcast. At midday calculated the course made, and found it 9′ W. and 53′ S.

Latitude observed, 43° 30′.

Discovered the coast from the masthead, indistinctly, in thirty fathoms water; gravel bottom, with broken shells.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 4.

Atmosphere turbid; little wind, and a good deal of sea. From midday, till five o'clock, P. M. steered S. S. W. with an east wind. At that hour made Cape Kalegdri, bearing S. W. and by W. about 20′ distant. From this time and place, till midday, we made about 60′ course, with an east wind, a heavy sea, and cloudy weather.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 5.

Atmosphere turbid; light wind, and a heavy sea. Discovered that the ship made a little water; about an inch every four hours; owing to the heavy sea. From midday till five o'clock, P. M. steered with little wind from the east. Afterwards a calm, till two o'clock, A. M. when there sprung up a wind from the N. W. Continued our course to the south till six, A. M. At six, a calm. Discovered the coast, and at daybreak observed the land off the mouth of the canal of Constantinople, distant 20′. Till midday, calm, with a heavy sea from the east, which worked the ship very much. From sunset of the preceding evening, till noon this day, had made 42′ south. At midday, stood opposite the lighthouse of the canal, which bore only ten miles distant to the west of us. Calm, with a heavy sea.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 6.

Hazy weather. The wind calm, and a heavy sea from the east. Continued to work the pumps, the ship making an inch of water every four

* *Isle of Serpents—called Fidonisi by the modern Greeks. We discovered it at three o'clock in the morning. An account of its antiquities may be found in the writings of ancient authors alluded to in the work. It appeared a bleak mound, rising out of the sea, covered only with low grass. Perhaps a nearer inspection might have discovered ruins. It is a remarkable fact that the dolphins round this isle, and near the mouths of the Danube, are white.*

hours. From midday, till five o'clock, light variable breezes. Keeping the prow to the sea, viz. to the south, at that hour the wind veered from the south to the S. S. E. which caused us to keep the prow to the east; little wind. Continued thus till six o'clock, A. M. when the wind veered to the S. S. W. and we turned the prow to the west. At sunrise the wind strengthened very much. Reefed the sails; the sea having calmed from the east, and swelled from the S. W. At this hour discovered the mouth of the canal of Constantinople, as well as the lighttower on the Asiatick side. At ten o'clock the wind still increasing, and a heavy sea, we were forced to take in all the reefs in the main topsail. At twelve, midday, the wind and sea rose to such a pitch, that we were forced to let down the topsail, remaining only with the foresail, the mainsail, the main staysail, and jib. The sea rolled over the ship from one side of the deck to the other; and we perceived, at the same time, that the water in the hold had risen even to the *sentima*. Immediately we pumped the ship. At midday, made the mouth of the canal, bearing S. by W. distant about 20'. Heavy sea, and tempestuous wind.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7.

Atmosphere exceedingly turbid. Wind tempestuous, and heavy sea. Obliged to work the pumps every hour; the ship making two inches of water. From midday to four o'clock, P. M. steering with a tempestuous wind from the S. S. W. At that hour, the mouth of the canal bore S. S. W. distant about 25'. On a sudden, experienced a stroke of wind from the N. W. so unexpected and tremendous, that we had scarce time to lower the sails, and were compelled to take it in poop;* encountering, for an hour a hurricane of wind and sea from the N. W. which at the same time met the heavy sea from the S W. in such a manner, that, at every pitch the ship made, her bowsprit was carried under water; our vessel, at the same time labouring so much, that the sea washed entirely over her, and we were obliged to nail up the portholes and other apertures. At five o'clock, P. M. the great fury of the hurricane abated. Put the ship *a la Capa*.† with the prow to the S. W. carrying only the jib and mainsail, with three reefs with a view to get clear of the land; at the same time the wind and sea still continued with such fury, that the sea rolled over the deck, from one side to the other. At six, P. M. the wind veered to the S. W. again;‡ so that, what with the sea from the N. W. and from the S. W. the ship laboured beyond all measure, and we were compelled to keep the pumps going every hour. At eight P. M. hauled in the jib with the view, if possible, to keep the prow more to the sea; the great fury of the wind and sea continuing without abatement, and the sea continually passing over us,

* *The common and only resource of Turkish vessels in a storm, but never used by European ships, unless in cases of imminent and absolute danger. Had the storm continued another half hour with the same violence, we must have been inevitably lost; as we had a lee shore under the ship's prow, even supposing her to sustain the violence of the sea.*

† *A la Capa is placing the ship diagonally, or cross-ways, with the rudder to leeward, in such a manner that her head is kept to the sea, but the ship is stationary in the water.*

‡ *Perhaps a greater commotion cannot be raised in the sea than what was here witnessed. The wind having raged with violence for a length of time from the S. W. had raised a prodigious sea. It was met by a hurricane from an opposite quarter, the two seas encountering each other; and in the course of two hours it veered to the same point again, when the sea became horrible beyond description.*

from one side to the other, so that the deck was continually full of water. Matters continued in this manner till midday, when the fury of the wind somewhat abated. Unreefed and let go the mainsail, the same tremendous sea still continuing and the deck being allways full of water. From four o'clock to midday we had made about 20′ course towards the east, deducting the vessel's swerving. At midday, made land to the south of the mouth of the canal, bearing to the S. W. and distant about 30′. The last land visible on the coast of Anatolia, bearing E. by S.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8.

Atmosphere exceeding turbid. Wind tempestuous, and a very turbid sea. Kept the pumps working, the ship still making two inches of water every hour. From midday, till three o'clock after midnight, continued steering with the prow to the north, and our course corrected, N. E by E. having continually a stormy wind from the W. N. W. and a prodigious heavy sea. At the said hour the wind veered to the north. Turned the ship's side, keeping the prow to the west. Continued thus till ten o'clock, A. M. when we discovered the coast of Anatolia, near the mouth of the canal. Then steered to the W. S. W. towards the said land; having at that time, taken up all the reefs, and let go all the greater sails. Continued thus till midday, when there fell a calm; a prodigious heavy sea remaining from the N. W. which made the ship labour in such a manner, that the deck was continually covered with water; causing also great damage to the works and sails. Lowered and furled all the sails, leaving every thing to the mercy of the sea.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 9.

Atmosphere turbid; wind calm, and a heavy sea. Kept the pumps continually going. From midday, to six o'clock P M. remained becalmed, with a most prodigious heavy sea from the N. W. which caused the ship to labour exceedingly, and did great damage to the works and rigging; the deck being, at the same time, always full of water, which, with the ship's rolling, washed from one side to the other. At this hour sprung up a light wind from the south. Put the prow to the S. S. W. with all the greater sails to the wind; and the ship, in consequence, laboured less than before. At ten o'clock, P. M. the wind veered to the S. S. W. which obliged us to put the prow to the west, having, at the same time, much calmed the sea. At eight o'clock, A. M the mouth of the canal bore to the S. S. W. of us, distant about 30′. From the time of this observation till midday, made 12′ course to the W. N. W. the wind S. W. by S. The sea calmed from the N. W. and somewhat swelled from S. W.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 10.

Atmosphere exceedingly turbid. Light wind, and a heavy sea from the S. W. Continued to work the pumps as before. From midday to midnight continued to steer, with a stormy wind from the S. S. W. Course corrected, W. and by N. 36′. From midnight to seven o'clock, A. M. with wind from S. W. Course corrected, W. and by N. 28′. At that hour discovered the coast on the European side; viz. the land towards Ineada, and the coast to the N. W. Also the mountain Gabbiam, bearing to the N. W. of Ineada. Towards midday, steering with little wind from S. W. Course, E. to N. W. by W 10′. The sea much becalmed. Discovered that the ship preponderated on her starboard side. Opened the portholes, and (*rhombagi*) on the larboard side, and moved part of her cargo; endeavouring, as much as possible, to set her right; but she still preponderated somewhat towards her starboard side.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 11.

Atmosphere somewhat overcast. Light wind, and little sea. Continued to pump as before. From midday to nine o'clock, P. M. steered with the prow to the N. W. with wind from W. S. W. The wind afterwards veering to the W. by N. and turned her side with the prow to the S. S. W. Light favourable wind. Continued steering thus till ten o'clock, A. M. when the wind veered to the S. S. W. and being to the windward of the port of Ineada, turned the ship's bow with the prow to the west, towards the said port; being determined to anchor there, and endeavour to set the ship right on her keel. At four o'clock east anchor in the middle of the port of Ineada, in six fathoms water, with a small, gravelly bottom, mixed with black sand. The same wind continued till towards sunset, when there came a calm.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 12.

Atmosphere somewhat overcast, and a calm wind. Continued to pump as before. Lay at anchor. Light breezes of wind. In this day, opened the (*rhombagi*) and portholes, to right the ship as much as possible; moved part of her cargo; repaired and altered part of the rigging, and sent the crew ashore for water.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13.

Atmosphere somewhat overcast, and calm wind. Continued to pump as before. Lay at anchor. The whole night passed with light breezes of wind and calms; also all the rest of the day till sunset. This day employed in repairing various damages sustained in the rigging, &c.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14.

Atmosphere overcast. Calm wind. Continued to pump as before. Lay at anchor. From sunset to midnight, calm wind, and atmosphere somewhat overcast. Afterwards it became cloudy on all sides, and there sprung up a slight wind from the west, which continued till ten o'clock, A. M. when the wind veered to the east, and the atmosphere became very turbid on all sides, especially from the north to the east; at the same time a heavy sea rolling into the port from the east. A slight wind continued till sunset, a turbid sky, and a heavy sea. About twenty Turkish boats entered the port this day, from various places, bound for Constantinople, and waiting for favourable weather.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15.

Atmosphere exceedingly turbid. Little wind and a heavy sea. Remained at anchor; continued to work the pumps, although the water diminished, and we only pumped two inches in twenty four hours. From sunset till eight, A. M. a slight wind from the east. At that time the wind veered to the S. W. having swelled the sea, which, entering the port from the east, made the ship labour very much, so that we were obliged to anchor the poop, with a small cable to keep the ship with the prow to the sea, which eased her very much. All the rest of the night, and the following day till sunset, the same wind continued, with an atmosphere extremely turbid on all sides.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 16.

Atmosphere exceedingly turbid; moderate wind, and a heavy sea. Remained at anchor; continued to pump as before. The whole day a S. W.

wind. Atmosphere exceedingly turbid, and the wind sometimes stormy; all of which continued so till sunset.

After midday, captain Morini, from Odessa, arrived in the port, bound to Constantinople, having had six day's passage. Also two Turkish boats from the same place.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 17.

Atmosphere exceedingly turbid; stormy wind, and a heavy sea. Continued to pump as before. Remained at anchor the whole night and day. Till sunset, a stormy wind from the S. W. and a cloudy atmosphere, every where exceedingly overcast. At sunset the wind somewhat calmer. During the night, arrived in the port captain Bilaffer, from Odessa, laden with corn, bound to Constantinople; having had six day's voyage.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 18.

Atmosphere exceedingly turbid. Little wind, and heavy sea from the east. Continued to pump as before. Remained at anchor in the port.

All night and day, till sunset, passed with a slight wind from the E. S. E. and E. and a light sea from the east. Atmosphere continued turbid. This day, raised the small anchor.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 19.

Atmosphere turbid; light wind, and a little sea from the east. Continued to pump as before. Remained at anchor. The whole night, light breezes of wind from the east, and a dark fog. The remainder of the day with light breezes of wind, scattered and cloudy, with rain, which continued till sunset.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 20.

Atmosphere exceedingly turbid; wind calm, with rain, and a little sea from the east. Continued to pump as before. Remained at anchor. The whole night, till daybreak, with a wind from S. S. E. with the said rain; and the whole day, till sunset, with unsettled, variable winds from all points, and heavy rain, with intervals of calm wind and rain.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

Atmosphere exceedingly turbid; calm wind and little sea from the S. E. Continued to work the pumps. Remained at anchor. From sunset till six o'clock, the wind calm. At that hour there sprung up a light breeze from the south, and the atmosphere cleared; only remaining thick towards the east, which was covered with a dark fog. Continued thus till ten P. M. when the wind veered to W. S. W. and the atmosphere became quite clear. Immediately raised anchor, the same wind continuing. Set sail, spreading all the great sails to the wind. When the anchor came on board, found it had lost one of its claws. All the vessels and boats in the port also set sail, steering to the S. E. with the said wind. Continued thus until three o'clock after midnight, at which hour we had made 20′ course to the S. E. Then succeeded a calm, and this continued until half after three, when the atmosphere became turbid on all sides. At four o'clock a stormy wind rose from the north, accompanied with rain. Made our course to the E. by S. till eight o'clock, when we discovered the coast near the mouth of the canal, and steered to the S. E. At that time there came on heavy rain, which continued till midday, with thick fog, and it was very dark; insomuch that we could no longer see land. At noon, the rain being somewhat diminished but the stormy wind, and a prodigious sea continuing, we discovered the light-tower off the mouth of the canal, on

the European side, at no great distance. Immediately let go all the flying sails, steering to the south, directly towards the mouth of the canal, the wind having somewhat calmed; although the rain fell in torrents, and such darkness prevailed, that we could, with difficulty, discern the land.

At three o'clock, P. M. arrived, opposite to *Bûyûkdery*, in the canal; and at five o'clock, P. M. cast anchor at *Jenikuy*, letting go the great anchor with the new cable, there not being time to lash the middle cable above the small anchor, the middle cable having broken in the harbour of Ineada. Fastened also two cables to land, our anchorage being very near the shore, in six fathoms water.

NO. V.

A LIST OF THE PLANTS,

Collected by the author during his different Journeys in the Crimea, principally in company with his friend Professor Pallas. Alphabetically arranged.

ACHILLEA tomentosa	Cottony Milfoil.	
Aegilops squarrosa.		
Agrimonia eupatoria	Common Agrimony.	
Ajuga Alpina	Mountain-Bugle.	
Alcea ficifolia	Fig-leaved Marshmallow.	
Allium descendens	Deep-rooted Garlick.	
Allium subhirsutum	Dwarf Garlick.	
Alyssum incanum	Hoary Alysson.	
Amaryllis belladonna	Belladonna Lilly	*From Gardens.*
Anabasis aphylla.		
Anagallis arvensis *flore phœnicio.*	Purple-flowered Pimpernel	*In the groves of the Sinabda mountains, south of the Crimea.*
Anchussa angutifolia	Narow-leaved Bugloss.	
Anchusa tinctoria	Dyers' Bugloss.	
Andropogon ischæmum	Beard-grass.	
Androsace septentrionalis.		
Antirrhinum liniaria	Yellow Toad-Flax.	
Apium graveolens	Wild Celery.	
Apocynum venetum	Venitian Dog-bane.	
Arebis alpina	Alpine Rock-cress.	
Arabis garndiflora	Great flowered Rock-cress	
Arenaria marina	Sea Sandwort	
Aristolochia clematitis	Climbing Birthwort	
Artemsiia campestris	Field Wormwood	*Large downy excrescences grow upon this plant from the perforations of insects, which are made use of by the Tartars to light their pipes.*
Ascelepias vincetoxicum	Common Swallow-wort	
Asphodelus luteus	Yellow Asphodel	

Asphodelus taurieus.*		
Aster amellus - - -	Italian Starwort.†	
Aster tripolium -	Sea Starwort.	
Astragalus Austriacus	Austrian Milk-vetch.	
Astrigalus dealbatus‡	Whitish Milk-vetch.	
Astragalus hypoglottis	Purple Mountain Milk-vetch.	
Astragalus onobrychioides§	Sainfoin-like Milk-vetch.	
Astragalus pilosus -	Hairy Milk-vetch.	
Astragalus utriger¶ -		
Astragalus virgatus -	Twiggy Milk-vetch.	
Borago Orientalis -	Oriental Borage.	
Bromus squarrosus -	Corn Brome-grass - -	*In the south of the Crimea.*
Bupleurum tenuissimum - - -	Slender Hare's ear.	
Butomus umbellatus -	Flowering-rush.	
Calendula arvensis -	Field Marygold - -	*Hills about Pera. In bloom Dec.* 30, 1809.
Campanula hybrida	Mule Bell-flower.	
Campanula lilifolia -	Lily-leaved bell-flower.	
Campanula stricta	Erect Bell-flower.	
Carduus pulcher [*nova species.*] - -	** Fair Thistle.	
Carpinus Orientalis††	Oriental Hornbeam.	
Carthamus lanatus.		
Centaurea buxbaumiana‡‡		
Centaurea frigida -	Northern Knapweed.	*Steppes.*
Centaurea lineata -	Streaked Knapweed.	
Centaurea radiata -	Rayed Knapweed - -	*On the steppes near Koslof. Called by the Tartars* Kurai. *The sheep feed on it in winter, and it is supposed to give them that gray wool so much valued by the Tartars.*
Centaurea Romana -	Roman Knapweed - -	*Sea coast on the mountains in the south.*
Centeaurea Sibirica -	Siberian Knapweed.	
Centaurea solstitialis -	Saint Barnaby's Thistle.	
Centaurea Tartarica -	Tartarian Knapweed.	
Cerastium alpinum -	Mountain Mouse-ear.	
Cerastium tomentosum	Wooly Mouse-ear.	
Ceratocarpus arenarius	Sand Honeywort - -	*Perecop.*
Cerinthe minor - -	Small Honeywort.	
Cherianthus odoratissimus - - -	Taurian Gilly-flower.	
Chrysocoma graminifolia -		

* *Pallas.* † *See Virgil's Georgicks, IV.* 271—276.

‡ *Pallas.* § *Biberstein.* ¶ *Pallas.*

** *Pallas.* †† *Willdenow.* ‡‡ *Pallas.*

folia - -	Grass-leaved Goldylocks.	
Chrysocoma villosa -	Downy Goldylocks.	
Cichorium intybus -	Wild Endive, or Succory.	
Cistus fumana - -	Prostrate Rock-rose.	
Cistus helianthemum	Dwarf Cistus.	
Cistus angustifolius	Narrow leaved Rock-rose.	
Clematis vitalba - -	Travellers Joy.	
Clinopodium vulgare -	Wild Basil.	
Colchicum vernum* -	Spring Meadow-saffron.	
Convolvulus arvensis -	Common Bindweed.	
Convolvulus cantabrica	Silky Bindweed.	
Convolvulus cneorum	Silvery Bindweed.	
Convolvulus lineatus -	Streaked Bindweed.	
Convolvulus terrestris	Creeping Bindweed.	
Corispermum squarrosum† - - -	Scaly Tickseed.	
Cornus mascula -	Male Cornel-cherry.	
Coronilla coronata.		
Crocus sativus - -	Autumnal Meadow-saffron - - - -	*Steppes, near Achmetchet, Oct.* 10, 1800.
Cynoglossum officinale	Common Hound's-tongue.	
Cyperus pannonicus.		
Daucus carota - -	Wild Carrot.	
Delphinium ajacis -	Rocket - - - -	*On this flower appear the letters* AIAÏA ‡
Delphinium consolida -	Branching Rocket.	
Dianthus arenarius§ -	Oriental Pink.	
D. Orientalis.	Curtis's Botanical Magazine.]	
Dianthus plumarius -	Feathered Pink.	
Dianthus salinus.¶		
Dianthus saxatilis.**		
Dorycnium herbaceum††	- - - - -	*On the mountain Tschetirdagh.*
Dorycnium monspeliense. - - - -		
Dracocephalum altaicum - - - -	Altai Dragon's-head.	
Dracocephalum grandiflorum - - -	Great Flowered Dragon's-head.	
Dracocephalum tauricum‡‡		
Echinops ritro - -	Small Globe-Thistle.	
Echium orientale -	Oriental Viper's Bugloss.	
Echium rubrum - -	Red-flowered Viper's Bugloss - - -	*Gum is made from the roots.*
Epilobium hirsutum -	Hairy Willow-herb.	
Epilobium roseum .	Smooth Willow-herb.	

* *Pallas.* † *Ibid.*

‡ *Dic, quibus in terris inscripti nomine Regum Nascantur flores; et Philada solus habeto.* VIRGIL.

§ *Pallas.* ¶ *Pallas.* ** *Pallas.*

†† *Wildenow.* ‡‡ *Pallas.*

Erigeron villarsii.*		
Erysimum barbarea	Bitter Winter-Cress.	
Euonymus verrucosus	Warty Spindle-Tree.	
Euonymus latifolius	Broad-leaved Spindle-Tree.	
Euphorbia hyberna	Winter Spurge.	
Euphrasia lutea	Yellow Eye-Bright.	
Euphrasia odontites	Red Eye-Bright.	
Frankenia hirsuta	Hairy Sea Heath.	
Fucus asplenoides	Turner's Fuci, Table 62.	*Found at the Point of Phanari, in the Heracleotick Peninsula, near the ruins of the Old Chersonesus of Strabo. Only found before at Prince William's Sound, in Capt. Vancouver's voyage, and on the shores of Kamtschatka.*
Galanthus nivalis	Snow Drop.	
Galega officinalis	Goat's Rue.	
Galium glaucum†	Sea-green Ladies' Bed-straw.	
Galium rubioides	Madder-like Ladies Bed-straw.	
Galium sylvaticum	Wood Ladies' Bed-straw	*Near Perecop.*
Gentiana septemfida	Sevencleft Gentian.	
Geranium rotundifolium	Round-leaved Crane's-bill.	
Geranium sanguineum	Bloody Crane's Bill.	
Geranium sylvaticum	Wood Crane's Bill.	*Steppes.*
Glechoma hederacea	Ground Ivy.	
Glycyrrhiza glabra	Common Liquorice.	
Gypsophila glomerata.‡		
Hedysarum argenteum§		
Hedysarum cretaceum¶		
Hedysarum tauricum**		
Helianthus tuberosus	Jerusalem Artichoke	*Fields at Achmetchet.*
Heliotropium Europæum	Turnsole.	
Herniaria hirsuta	Hairy Rupture-wort.	
Herniaria lævis	Smooth Rupture-wort.	
Hesperis Tartarica††	Tartarian Night Violet.	
Hordeum murinum	Wall Barley.	
Hyacinthus botryoides	Grape Hyacinth.	
Hyacinthus comosus	Purple Grape Hyacinth.	
Hyacinthus fuliginosus‡‡	Sooty Hyacinth	
Illecebrum capitatum	Downy Knot Grass	
Illecebrum paronychia	Shining Knot-Grass.	
Impatiens noli-tangere	Touch-me-not. Yellow	
Inula dysenterica.	Balsam.	

* *Wildenow.* † *Pallas.* ‡ *Pallas.* § *Pallas.*
¶ *Pallas.* ** *Ibid.* †† *Ibid.* ‡‡ *Ibid.*

Inula ensifolia.		
Iris ochroleuca	Pale Sword-Lily.	
Iris tenuifolia	Fine-leaved Sword Lily.	
Iuncus acutus	Sharp Rush.	
Lamium amplexicaule	Henbit.	
Linum flavum	Yellow-flowered Flax.	
Linum hirsutum	Hairy Flax.	
Linum narbonense	Narbonne Flax.	
Lithospermum dispermum	Two-seeded Gromwell.	
Lonicera cærulea	Blue-berried Honeysuckle.	
Lonicera xylosteum	Fly-Honeysuckle.	
Lotus corniculatus	Birds-foot Trefoil.	
Lycopsis pulla	Dark-flowering Wild-Bugloss.	
Lycopsis vesicaria	Inflated-Wild-Bugloss.	
Lysimachia vulgaris	Yellow Loose-Strife.	
Lythrum vigatum	Twiggy Willow-Herb.	
Marrubium peregrinum	Rambling Horehound.	
Medicago lupulina	Black Medick. Nonesuch.	
Melica lanata	Wooly Melick-Grass.	
Mentha sylvestris	Wood Mint.	
Molucella tuberosa.		
Myosotis lappula	Prickly-seeded Scorpion-Grass.	
Nepeta nuda	Smooth Calamint.	
Nigella damascena	Common Fennel-Flower.	
Ocymum basilicum	Sweet Basil	*Gardens.*
Olea Europæa	Common Olive.	
Ononis hircina	Smooth Rest-Harrow.	
Onosma echioides		*The Tartars use the root to paint a rouge.*
Onosma simplicissima.		
Onosma Taurica.*		
Origanum heracleoticum	Winter Majoram.	
Ornithogalum circinatum† [*O. recticulatum*]	Netted Star of Bethlehem.	
Ornithogalum proliferum‡	Proliferous Star of Bethlehem.	
Ornithogalum uniflorum	One-flowered Star of Bethlehem.	
Orobanche cernua§	Nodding Broom-Rape.	
Pæonia triternata¶	Davurian Pœony.	
Panicum dactylon	Fingered Panick-Grass.	
Panicum viride	Green-flowered Panick-Grass.	
Pedicularis tuberosa	Tuberous Lousewort.	
Peganum harmala		*At Kaffa.—The Tartars send the seeds to Turkey as a cure for worms.*
Pheleum arenarium	Sand Cat's-tail Grass.	
Pheleum schœnoides	Rush-like Cat's-tail Grass.	
Pholomis herba-venti-		

* *Pallas.* † *Pallas.* ‡ *Pallas.* § *Pallas.*
¶ *Ibid.*

Physalis alkekengi	Winter Cherry.	
Phyteuma canescens*	Hoary Rampion.	
Picris hieracioides	Hawkweed like Ox-tongue	
Pimpinella dioica	Dwarf Burnet-Saxifrage.	
Poa cristata	Crested Meadow-Grass.	
Polycnemum arvense.		
Polycnemum volvox †		
Polygala major	Greater Milk-wort,	
Polygonum maritimum.*	Sea Bistort	*Near Perecop.*
Polentilla argentea	Silver Goose-Grass.	
Potentilla recta	Upright Cinque-foil.	
Prenanthes viminea.		
Psoralea bituminosa.		
Punica granatum	Pomegranate.	
Ranunculus auricomus	Goldy locks. Wood-Crow-foot.	
Ranunculus pedatus‡	Small Crowfoot.	
Reseda lutea	Base Rocket.	
Rhododendron dauricum	Davurian Rosebay.	
Rhus coriaria	Elm-leaved Sumach.	
Rhus cotinus	Venice Sumach	*The Tartars give the yellow colour to their Morocco with this.*
Ribes nigrum	Black Currant	*Circassia.*
Rosa pygmæa	Dwarf Rose	*On the lofty precipices of Mankoop.*
Rumex crispus	Curled Dock.	
Rumex dentatus	Toothed Dock.	
Salicornia herbacea	Glasswort.	
Salsosa brachiata§	Armed Salwort.	
Salsola kali	Prickly Saltwort.	*Perecop.*
Salsola soda	Saltwort.	*Ruins of the Old Chersonese, on the little fortress near Alexiano's-Khouter.*
Salvia æthiopis	Wooly Sage.	
Salvia glutinosa	Clammy Sage.	
Salvia Hablitziana‖	Scabious leaved Sage.	
Salvia Horminum	Red-topped Sage.	
Salvia nemorosa	Wood Sage.	
Salvia officinalis	Common Sage.	
Salvia pratensis	Meadow-Clary.	
Salvia verbenaca	Vervain.	
Saponaria officinalis	Common Soapwort.	
Scabiosa argentea	Silvery Scabious.	
Scabiosa leucantha	White-flowered Scabious.	
Scabiosa maratima	Sea-side Scabious.	
Scabiosa stellata	Starry Scabious.	
Scabiosa Ukranica	Ukraine Scabious.	
Schoenus aculeatus	Prickly Rush.	
Scilla autumnalis	Autumnal Squill.	
Scrophularia chrysanthemifolia¶	Ox-eye Daisy-leaved Figwort.	
Scutellaria orientalis	Oriental Skull-cap.	
Sedum acre	Stone Crop.	
Sedum album	White Stone Crop.	
Sedum saxatile	Rock Stone Crop.	
Sedum serangulare	Insipid Stone Crop.	
Senecio erucifolius	Hedge Ragwort.	

* *Waldstein.* † *Pallas.* ‡ *Waldstein.* § *Pallas.* ‖ *Ibid.* ¶ *Waldstein.*

Seseli dichotomum.*		
Seseli gummiferum.†		
Sideritis montana	- Mountain Ironwort.	
Sideritis Syriaca	- Syrian Ironwort.	
Silene bella.‡ [*nova species.*]		
Silene quadrifida	- Tour-cleft Catch-fly	*Steppes near Perecop*
Sinapis erucoides	- Ragged-leaved Wild Mustard.	
Sisymbrium loeselii	- Loesels Hedge Mustard	*Steppes near Perecop.*
Sisymbrium panonicum	- Pannonian Hedge Mustard.	
Sisymbrium pyrenaicum	Pyrenian Rocket.	
Syum falcaria	- Sickle-leaved Water-Parsnip.	
Solanum dulcamara	- Woody Nightshade.	
Sorbus domestica	- Service.	
Spiræa filipendula	- Dropwort.	
Statice ferulacea	- Fennel-like Sea-pink.	
Statice trigona	- Three sided Sea-Lavender	*In the Steppes very frequent.*
Stipa capillata	- Hair-like Feather Grass.	
Symphytum orientale	- Oriental Comfrey.	
Tamarix gallica	- French Tamarisk.	
Tanacetum vulgare	- Common Tansy.	
Teucrium capitatum	- Headed Germander.	
Teucrium chamæpitys	- Ground Pine	*Perecop.*
Teucrium montanum	- Mountain Germander.	
Teucrium polium	- Poly, or Sweet Germander	
Thesium linophyllum.		
Thymus Marschallianus§ Thymus Zygis.‖	Taurian Thyme.	
Thymus patavinus	- Patavian Thyme.	
Tilia Europæa	- Common Lime-tree.	
Tragopogon orientalis	- Oriental Goats-beard.	
Tribulis terrestris.		
Trifolium melilotus officinalis	Melilot.	
Trifolium subterraneum	Subterranean Trefoil.	
Trigonella Ruthenica	- Russian Fenugreek.	
Triticum prostratum	- Prostrate Wheat grass.	
Ulmis pumila	- Dwarf Elm.	
Verbascum phœniacum	- Purple Mullein.	
Verbena officinalis	- Vervain.	
Veronica alpina.		
Veronica incana	- Hoary Speedwell.	
Veronica longifolia	- Long-leaved Germander.	
Veronica multifida	- Manycleft Germander.	
Veronica procumbens [*nova species.*]	- Procumbent Germander.	
Veronica verna	- Spring Germander.	
Vicia pannonica	- Pannonian Vetch	*Steppes.*
Vitex Agnus-Castus	- Chaste Tree.	
Xeranthemum annuum	Annual Cudweed.	
Zygophyllum fabago	- Bean Caper.	

* *Pallas.* † *Ibid.*

‡ *Silene caule decumbente ramoso, ramis glabriusculis, foliis lanceolatis glabris trinerviis, floribus faciculatis terminalibus, calycibus striatis pilosiusculis; longissimis; petalis integris.* 2f.

§ *Wildenow.* ‖ *Pallas.*

NO. VI.

TEMPERATURE OF THE ATMOSPHERE,

ACCORDING TO

DIURNAL OBSERVATION

MADE DURING THE AUTHOR'S TRAVELS:

WITH A CORRESPONDING STATEMENT OF TEMPERATURE IN ENGLAND DURING THE SAME PERIOD;

As extracted from the Register kept in the apartments of the Royal Society of London, by order of the President and Council.

N. B. *The Observations during the Journey were always made at noon those of the Royal Society at two* P. M.: *and both on the Scale of Fahrenheit.*

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.		Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same day.
32°	{Freez. Point.}	Petersburgh,	April 3, 1800.	49°
34		Novorogod,	April 4,	54
37		Yaschelbizy,	April 5,	56
35		Vysneulilykoy,	April 6,	59
40		Gorodna,	April 7,	62
47		Tchernaia,	April 8,	56
49		Moscow,	April 9,	56
42		Moscow,	April 10,	57
47		Moscow,	April 11,	56
51		Moscow,	April 12,	60
25		Moscow,	April 13,	53
31		Moscow,	April 14,	57
36		Moscow,	April 15,	60
44		Moscow,	April 16,	55
46		Moscow,	April 17,	55
50		Moscow,	April 18,	61
50		Moscow,	April 19,	60
50		Moscow,	April 20,	58
53		Moscow,	April 21,	56
57		Moscow,	April 22,	57
65		Moscow,	April 23,	50
69		Moscow,	April 24,	52
73		Moscow,	April 25,	49
70		Moscow,	April 26,	59
66		Moscow,	April 27,	50
50		Moscow,	April 28,	61
		Moscow,	April 29,	58
58		Moscow,	April 30,	59
31		Moscow,	May 1,	60
37		Moscow,	May 2,	67
44		Moscow,	May 3,	68
50		Moscow,	May 4,	74
66		Moscow,	May 5,	74
66		Moscow,	May 6,	72
70		Moscow,	May 7,	74
53		Moscow,	May 8,	72
37		Moscow,	May 9,	73

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same day.
34°	Moscow,	May 10, 1809.	54°
31	Moscow,	May 11,	57
48	Moscow,	May 12,	57
53	Moscow,	May 13,	59
50	Moscow,	May 14,	57
64	Moscow,	May 15,	59
61	Moscow,	May 16,	56
52	Moscow,	May 17,	56
51	Moscow,	May 18,	60
55	Moscow,	May 19,	64
68	Moscow,	May 20,	61
64	Moscow,	May 21,	62
77	Moscow,	May 22,	62
77	Moscow,	May 23,	62
80	Moscow,	May 24,	64
78	Moscow,	May 25,	61
46	Moscow,	May 26,	67
54	Moscow,	May 27,	67
48	Moscow,	May 28,	69
57	Moscow,	May 29,	66
68	Moscow,	May 30,	64
63	Grischinka,	May 31,	60
79	Celo Volotis,	June 1,	58
75	Tula,	June 2,	51
69	Tula,	June 3,	63
75	Bolshoy Platy,	June 4,	60
72	Eletz,	June 5,	65
74	Woronetz,	June 6,	55
75	Woronetz,	June 7,	62
83	Woronetz,	June 8,	64
84	Woronetz,	June 9,	63
75	Woronetz,	June 10,	58
84	Woronetz,	June 11,	60
86	Steppe, between Ekortzy & Jestakovo,	June 12,	59
82		June 13,	64
	Paulovsky,	June 14,	57
74	Kasankaia,	June 15,	61
90	Kasankaia,	June 16,	61
94	Lazovai,	June 17,	66
89	Kavanskaia,	June 18,	70
88	In the Steppes,	June 19,	74
75	Oxai,	June 20,	72
86	Tscherchaskoy,	June 21,	66
76	Tscherchaskoy,	June 22,	64
76	Tscherchaskoy.	June 23,	68
80	Oxai,	June 24,	72
80	Oxai,	June 25,	73
87	River Don, near Rastof,	June 26,	68
82	River Don, near Rastof,	June 27,	72
75	Taganrock,	June 28,	69
73	Taganrock,	June 29,	69
71	Taganrock,	June 30,	72
85	Taganrock,	July 1,	67
84	Taganrock,	July 2,	75
86	Taganrock,	July 3,	71
85	Sea of Azof,	July 4,	71
79	Steppe near Aeskoy,	July 5,	60
82			

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same day.
89	Steppe near Protchalnoy,	July 6,	75
80	Steppe near Penovra,	July 7,	76
81	Ekaterinedara,	July 8,	77
81	Ekaterinedara,	July 9,	77
86	Steppe near Kuk Kuban,	July 10,	71
82	Temrook,	July 11,	74
79	Sea of Azof near Taman	July 12,	76
79	Sea of Azof near Yenikalé,	July 13,	68
80	Yenikalé,	July 14,	66
79	Yenikalé,	July 15,	71
77	Yenikalé,	July 16,	79
78	Yenikalé,	July 17,	79
73	Yenikalé,	July 18,	77
77	Kertchy,	July 19,	74
72	Sultanovka,	July 20,	73
77	Aegibin,	July 21,	74
78	Caffa,	July 22,	73
82	Karasubazar,	July 23,	79
82	Akmetchet,	July 24,	79
79	Akmetchet,	July 25,	75
82	Akmetchet,	July 26,	72
77	Akmetchet,	July 27,	69
77	Akmetchet,	July 28,	71
72	Akmetchet,	July 29,	70
74	Akmetchet,	July 30,	78
77	Akmetchet,	July 31,	81
82	Baktcheserai,	Aug. 1,	85
85	Aktiar,	Aug. 2,	88
82	Aktiar,	Aug. 3,	84
87	Balaclava,	Aug. 4,	75
81	Savtaxy,	Aug. 5,	68
82	Alofika,	Aug. 6,	76
86	Aijudagh,	Aug. 7,	72
81	Alusta,	Aug. 8,	74
80	Akmetchet,	Aug. 9,	78
81	Akmetchet,	Aug. 10,	78
80	Akmetchet,	Aug. 11,	85
75	Akmetchet,	Aug. 12,	83
73	Akmetchet,	Aug. 13,	77
80	Akmetchet,	Aug. 14,	77
75	Akmetchet,	Aug. 15,	83
73	Akmetchet,	Aug. 16,	78
80	Akmetchet,	Aug. 17,	82
70	Akmetchet,	Aug. 18,	82
81	Akmetchet,	Aug. 19,	78
83	Akmetchet,	Aug. 20,	80
85	Akmetchet,	Aug. 21,	68
89	Akmetchet,	Aug. 22,	55
83	Akmetchet,	Aug. 23,	55
83	Akmetchet,	Aug. 24,	58
89	Akmetchet,	Aug. 25,	65
90	Akmetchet,	Aug. 26,	64
88	Akmetchet,	Aug. 27,	62
88	Akmetchet,	Aug. 28,	65
83	Akmetchet,	Aug. 29,	69

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.		Observation in London on the same day.
88°	Akmetchet'	Aug. 30,	1800,	70°
88	Akmetchet,	Aug. 31,		70
77	Akmetchet,	Sept. 1,		67
70	Akmetchet,	Sept. 2,		68
75	Akmetchet,	Sept. 3,		69
65	Akmetchet,	Sept. 4,		72
65	Akmetchet,	Sept. 5,		59
79	Near Akmetchet,	Sept. 6,		65
79	Mountain above Balaclava,	Sept. 7,		60
81	Ruins near Balaclava,	Sept. 8,		69
81	Shulu,	Sept. 9,		69
83	Akmetchet,	Sept. 10,		67
77	Akmetchet,	Sept. 11,		67
65	Akmetchet,	Sept. 12,		69
63	Akmetchet,	Sept. 13,		64
57	Akmetchet,	Sept. 14,		69
63	Akmetchet,	Sept. 15,		72
75	Akmetchet,	Sept. 16,		75
68	Akmetchet,	Sept. 17,		71
70	Akmetchet,	Sept. 18,		71
72	Akmetchet,	Sept. 19,		66
77	Akmetchet,	Sept. 20,		66
70	Akmetchet,	Sept. 21,		65
68	Akmetchet,	Sept. 22,		65
78	Akmetchet,	Sept. 23,		62
75	Akmetchet,	Sept. 24,		62
70	Akmetchet,	Sept. 25,		56
72	Akmetchet,	Sept. 26,		60
77	Akmetchet,	Sept. 27,		62
68	Akmetchet,	Sept. 28,		59
57	Koslof,	Sept. 29,		61
53	Akmetchet,	Sept. 30,		58
53	Akmetchet,	Oct. 1,		59
59	Akmetchet,	Oct. 2,		65
57	Akmetchet,	Oct. 3,		61
59	Akmetchet,	Oct. 4,		56
53	Akmetchet,	Oct. 5,		58
54	Akmetchet,	Oct. 6,		53
56	Akmetchet,	Oct. 7,		60
68	Akmetchet,	Oct. 8,		62
73	Akmetchet,	Oct. 9,		59
75	Steppes near do.	Oct. 10,		54
75	Chaplinky,	Oct. 11,		56
73	Chahinka,	Oct. 12,		51
59	Cherson,	Oct. 13,		56
59	Kopenskai,	Oct. 14,		55
59	Nicholaef,	Oct. 15,		56
59	Banks of the Bogh,	Oct. 16,		53
55	Angelica,	Oct. 17,		54
53	Odessa,	Oct. 18,		56
55	Odessa,	Oct. 19,		54
53	Odessa,	Oct. 20,		56
59	Odessa,	Oct. 21,		54
64	Odessa,	Oct. 22,		45
62	Odessa,	Oct. 23,		50
57	Odessa,	Oct. 24,		53
50	Odessa,	Oct. 25,		52

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.		Observation in London on the same day.
52°	Odessa,	Oct. 26,	1800.	55°
50	Odessa,	Oct. 27,		49
44	Odessa,	Oct. 28,		52
46	Odessa,	Oct. 29,		51
57	Odessa,	Oct. 30,		54
48	Black Sea near Odessa,	Oct. 31,		52
50	Black Sea lat. 44° 44′	Nov. 1,		52
56	Black Sea, lat. 44° 23′	Nov. 2,		52
53	Black Sea, lat. unknown.	Nov. 3,		47
51	Black Sea, lat. unknown.	Nov. 4,		47
53	Black Sea, lat. unknown.	Nov. 5,		48
65	Black Sea, 4 leagues from canal of Constantinople.	Nov. 6,		49
59	Black Sea, 4 leagues from canal of Constantinople.	Nov. 7,		52
53	Black Sea, 8 leagues from canal of Constantinople.	Nov. 8,		53
56	Black Sea, off Cape Noir, lat. 41° 30′	Nov. 9,		47
60	Ibid. lat. 42° 0′	Nov. 10,		51
58	Harbour of Ineada,	Nov. 11.		59
60	Harbour of do.	Nov. 12,		46
57	Harbour of do.	Nov. 13,		45
55	Harbour of do.	Nov. 14,		55
53	Harbour of do.	Nov. 15,		52
54	Harbour of do.	Nov. 16,		50
54	Harbour of do.	Nov. 17,		47
64	Harbour of do.	Nov. 18,		46
63	Harbour of do.	Nov. 19,		44
61	Harbour of do.	Nov. 20,		44
50	Off the canal of Constantinople.	Nov. 21,		42
47	Canal of Constantinople,	Nov. 22,		44
47	Constantinople,	Nov. 23,		50
47	Constantinople,	Nov. 24,		48
49	Constantinople,	Nov. 25,		42
51	Constantinople,	Nov. 26,		39
53	Constantinople,	Nov. 27,		37
51	Constantinople,	Nov. 28,		38
57	Constantinople,	Nov. 29,		42
60	Constantinople,	Nov. 30,		46

Observation on the Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Observation in London on the same day.
59	Constantinople,	Dec. 1,	48
54	Constantinople,	Dec. 2,	43
57	Constantinople,	Dec. 3,	40
59	Constantinople,	Dec. 4,	38
57	Constantinople,	Dec. 5,	37
57	Constantinople,	Dec. 6,	39
59	Constantinople,	Dec. 7,	37
59	Constantinople,	Dec. 8,	39
58	Constantinople,	Dec. 9,	38
57	Constantinople,	Dec. 10,	34
57	Constantinople,	Dec. 11,	43
52	Constantinople,	Dec. 12,	46
50	Constantinople,	Dec. 13,	46
52	Constantinople,	Dec. 14,	49
50	Constantinople,	Dec. 15,	45
48	Constantinople,	Dec. 16,	44
43	Constantinople,	Dec. 17,	38
38	Constantinople,	Dec. 18,	37
35	Constantinople,	Dec. 19,	39
33	Constantinople.	Dec. 20,	50
42	Constantinople,	Dec. 21,	51
35	Constantinople,	Dec. 22,	49
36	Constantinople,	Dec. 23,	48
41	Constantinople,	Dec. 24,	49
47	Constantinople,	Dec. 25,	44
50	Constantinople,	Dec. 26,	39
50	Constantinople,	Dec. 27,	40
53	Constantinople,	Dec. 28,	39
50	Constantinople,	Dec. 29,	42
49	Constantinople,	Dec. 30,	31
51	Constantinople,	Dec. 31,	34

No. VII.

NAMES OF PLACES VISITED IN THE AUTHOR'S ROUTE,

WITH THEIR DISTANCES FROM EACH OTHER,

IN RUSSIAN VERSTS AND ENGLISH MILES.

	Russ. versts.	*Eng. miles.*
From Petersburgh to Novogorod,	180	120
Tver,	388	258 2-3
Moscow,	162	108
Molodtsy,	27	18
Celo Molody,	26	16 2-3
Grischinka,	21	14
Serpuchof,	24	16
Celo Zavody,	34	24 2-3
Vaszany,	21	14
Celo Volotia,	22	14 2-3
Tula,	13	8 2-3
Dedilof,	33	22
Bogborodi'tz,	25	16 2-3
Celo Nikitskoy,	25	16 2-3
Bolshoy Platy,	27	18
Effremoff,	18	12
Nikolajevka,	22	14 2-3
Celo Petrovskia Palnia,	19	12 2-3
Eletz,	29	19 2-3
Ezvoly,	22	14 2-3
Zadonetz,	18	12
Celo Chlebnoy,	30	20
Beztuzevka,	17	11 1-3
Celo Staroy Ivotinskoy,	18	12
Woronetz,	25	16 2-3
Celo Usmani,	15	10
Podulok Moscovskoy,	25	16 2-3
Mojocks,	12	8
Ekortzy,	25	16 2-3
Jestakovo,	35	23 1-3
Locova Sloboda,	15	10
Paulovsky,	22	14 2-3
Kazinskoy Chouter,	21	14
Nizney Mouton,	22	14 2-3
Dobrinka,	30	20
Metscha,	16	17 2-3
* Lapok,	15	10
Kasankaia Stanitza,	15	10
Tichaia,	30	20
Verchneia (upper) Lazovaia.	22	14 2-3
Nizneia (lower) Lazovaia,	28	18 2-3
Acenovskaia,	25	16 2-3
Suchovskaia,	21	14
Rossochinskaia,	25	16 2-3
Pichovskaia,	25	16 2-3
Kamenskaia,	26	17 1-3
Dubovskaia,	25	16 2-3
Grivenskaia.	26	17 1-3
Tschestibaloshnia,	26	17 1-3
Tuslovskaia,	27	18
Oxal,	27	18
Tscherchaskoy, by water,	15	10
Oxal, by do.	15	10
Azof, by do.	45	30
Taganrock, by do.	100	66 2-3
Chumberskaia,	45	30
Margaritovskaia,	3	2
Ae'skoy,	37	24 2-3
Cherubinovskoy,	7	4 2-3
Aesinkoy,	25	16 2-3
Albaskoy,	35	23 1-3
Chalbaskoy,	30	20
Protchalnoy,	30	20
Beyseatskoy,	25	16 2-3
Sirpiltzy,	35	23 1-2
Kirperenska,	7	4 2-3
Katachibba,	18	12
Ponoura,	17	11 1-3
Ekaterinedara,	25	16 2-3
Vydnia,	25	16 2-3
Mechastovskoy,	20	13 1-3
Kara Kaban,	25	16 2-3
Kopil,	25	16 2-3
Kalaus,	25	16 2-3
Kourky,	35	23 1-3
Temrook,	35	23 1-3
Sienna,	35	23 1-3
Taman,	25	18 2-3
Voyage on the sea of Azof, and return,	26	17 1-3
Passage to Yenikalé,	18	12
Kertchy,	10	6 2-3
Sultanovska,	28	18 2-3
Arghuine,	22	14 2-3
Parporzy,	28	18 2-3
Caffa,	22	14 2-3
Kiernitchy,	24	16
Bournidik,	23	15 1-3
Karasubazar,	22	14 2-3
Uia,	21	14
Akmetchet,	21	14
Baktcheserai,	30	20
Aktiar,	32	21 1-3
Monastery of St. George and return,	24	16
Balaclava,	12	8
Kiltchick Moscomia,	7	4 2-3
Savtick,	7	4 2-3
Kiltchuckzy,	15	10

* Not in the regular route.

	Russ. versts.	*Eng. miles.*
Aloupka,	15	10
Yourzova,	15	10
Kour Kouiet,	7	4 2-3
Alusta,	25	16 2-3
Yenikeuy,	15	10
Akmetchet,	15	10
Katcha,	34	22 2-3
Shulu,	20	13 1-3
Alexiano's Chouter,	36	24
Tchorgona,	28	18 2-3
Shulu,	8	5 1-3
Koija Sala,	5	3 1-3
Mankoop.	4	2 2-3
Kala Ilaes,	8	5 1-3
Katcha,	10	6 2-3
Akmetchet,	34	22 2-3
Koslof,	64	42 2-3
Akmetchet,	64	42 2-3
Meranchtik,	26	17 1-3
Ablania,	16	10 2-3
Ibaira,	22	14 2-3
Burman,	24	16
Ishuna,	19	12 2-3
Pereeop,	26	17 1-3
Chaplinky,	25	16 2-3
Techordonakia,	25	16 2-3
Kouka,	30	20
Biroslaf,	10	6 2-3
Chshinka,	28	18 2-3
Ingoulitz,	19	12 2-3
Cherson,	18	12
Kopenskai,	42	21 1-3
Nicholaef,	30	20
River Bogh,	4	2 2-3
Ferry over do.	4	2 2-3
Authecra,	25	16 2-3
Sasiska,	21	14
Kalegulska,	28	18 2-3
Angelica,	21	14
Odessa,	18	12
	3890	2593 1-3

Voyage across the Black Sea to Constantinople, in a direct line from Odessa, does not exceed three hundred leagues; but from our deviations, return from the canal to Ineada, &c. it equalled

Eng. miles.
500 — 1500

Miles.

Total of distance in the author's route from Petersburgh to Constantinople, 4093 1-2

END OF PART FIRST.

RETURN TO the circulation desk of any
University of California Library
or to the
NORTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
Bldg. 400, Richmond Field Station
University of California
Richmond, CA 94804-4698

ALL BOOKS MAY BE RECALLED AFTER 7 DAYS
2-month loans may be renewed by calling
(415) 642-6753
1-year loans may be recharged by bringing books
to NRLF
Renewals and recharges may be made 4 days
prior to due date

DUE AS STAMPED BELOW

JUL 10 1992

SENT ON ILL

MAR 14 1994

U. C. BERKELEY

JUN 06 2007

YB 58144

GENERAL LIBRARY - U.C. BERKELEY

B000571343

933
D975
C6
1813
v.1

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY